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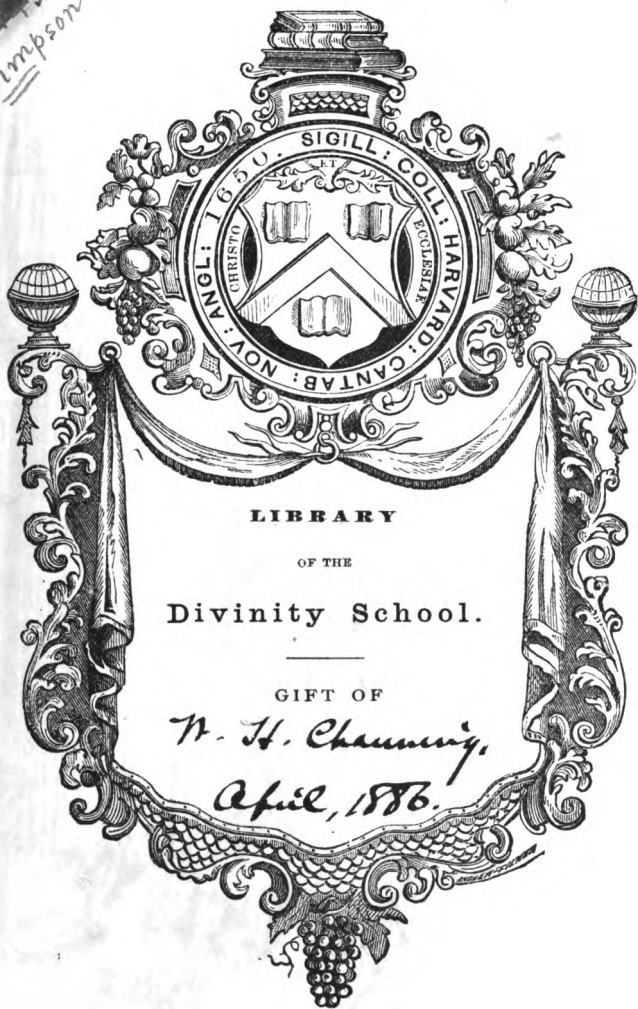
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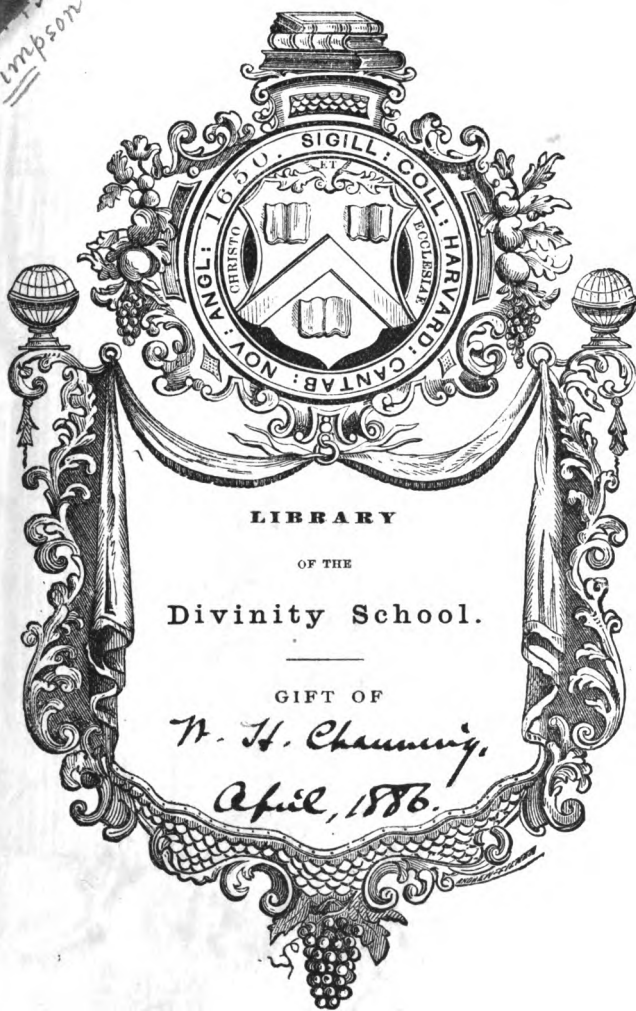
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

INCLUDING

THE RELIGION OF THE DRUIDS,

THE

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO BRITAIN,

AND THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE OF EVERY DENOMINATION OF
CHRISTIANS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

BY THE REV. T. TILPSON,

MINISTER OF UNION CHAPEL, LEWISHAM,

AUTHOR OF THE "COMPANION TO THE BIBLE," "ANGELS OF GOD."

SECOND EDITION.

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LONDON:

AYLOTT AND JONES, 8, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1849.

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1838.

To the
CHRISTIAN PASTORS
of every Denomination in the Empire of
GREAT BRITAIN,
with the sincerest veneration for their Character and Office,
as the Instruments
Divinely appointed for the Moral Improvement
of the People, and for
promoting their eternal Salvation by the infinite
Propitiation of JESUS CHRIST,
THIS
BRITISH ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,
designed to aid their important Ministry,
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY
Their Friend and Fellow-Labourer in the
Gospel of GOD OUR SAVIOUR,
THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

DIVINE Revelation, conveying to man the knowledge of salvation with eternal glory by Jesus Christ, is contained in various records of Church History, in the Holy Scriptures. This branch of study, therefore, is commended to every mind by the infinite wisdom and goodness of God.

Divine Revelation contains the most glowing prophetic descriptions of the glories of Messiah's kingdom; and these prophecies having been accomplished, according to the purposes of Heaven, no human records can be compared for instructiveness, to the annals of the Church of Christ. Who that believes in the Holy Scriptures can doubt the correctness of this position? And who that presumes to call himself a Christian can possibly be uninterested in the triumphs of the Gospel through successive ages? Or who that hopes for life everlasting by the blood of atonement, can be regardless of the growing honours of the Redeemer?

Church History has nevertheless been greatly neglected by all denominations of Christians; and an inquiry into *the causes of that neglect* would not fail to be profitable, especially to Ministers of the Gospel. The recent publication of several excellent works on this most instructive subject proves, however, that it is beginning to be regarded according to its real importance; and this study, in the judgment of many wise persons, is admirably adapted to be instrumental in healing the divisions among Christians, and in engaging them to co-operate cordially in advancing the kingdom of God.

Ecclesiastical History was deeply studied by the "Fathers of the Protestant Reformation;" and the inestimable "ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH," by the immortal JOHN FOX, brought undying honour to his worthy name, contributing, in no small degree, in the *sixteenth century*, to the cause of religion in England. These venerable records were read with avidity, in every family whose means allowed them to purchase the ponderous folios; and every friend to Scriptural Christianity must regard the publication, at the present time, of a new edition of that great work, as among the brightest signs of our eventful times.

Fuller's "CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN, from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the year MDCXLVIII," having also been announced for republication, affords further evidence of a growing desire in Christians to become acquainted with the progress of religion in our country. But were Fuller's valuable work far better adapted for "family reading" and the instruction of our youth than its warmest admirers consider it to be, still it falls short of our times by nearly *two centuries*.

Knowledge and Scriptural Christianity have achieved their mightiest triumphs since the Protestant Reformation; and they are making progress in our days far greater than was ever imagined by Fuller. The advancement of pure religion among the English Puritans and Nonconformists—the rapid colonization of North America by those persecuted servants of Christ—the prevalence of godliness in that amazing country—the increase of piety among the Dissenters in Great Britain—the origin and zealous labours of the Methodists—the revival of religion in the Church of England—and the formation of the Missionary and Bible Societies, supported by the different denominations of Christians—with the translation of the Scriptures into all languages—are most truly astonishing; and, as the most delightful facts of Church History,

afford edifying and consolatory illustrations of the Word of God.

General Education is creating a thirst for information on every subject; and while history is universally acknowledged to be the most instructive branch of study, what Christian, what father of a family especially, can be satisfied without a familiar acquaintance with this kind of knowledge? Every inferior school throughout the nation professes to read the "History of England;" but which of all, even among those of a superior class, reads the "History of the Church in England?" *There has not yet issued from the British Press any work of the kind, adapted for general utility.* Bede, Fox, Fuller, Burnet, Strype, Collier, Woodrow, Echard, Neal, Warner, Brown, Cook, Southey, Bogue, Bennett, Stebbing, &c. have furnished many useful works on *different portions of British Church History, but no one has hitherto offered such a complete volume to the families or to the youth of Britain!*

That *desideratum* the Author has here endeavoured to supply, in a *comprehensive, faithful, and condensed* epitome of the History of Christianity in Great Britain.

Sunday Schools alone are effecting an intellectual and moral transformation among the *millions* of our youth in the lower classes; and they, in no small degree, are the hopes of the Church of Christ in Britain. To contribute to enlighten them in ecclesiastical matters, and to aid that most influential body of *one hundred and twenty thousand* gratuitous Sunday School Teachers, the worthy benefactors of our country and age, with their *one million two hundred thousand* inquiring pupils, are among the chief considerations with the Author in publishing the present result of his labours in the service of his Divine Lord.

Difficulties, and some of them of considerable magnitude, are inseparable from the giving of a *faithful* "History of the

of Church of Christ in Britain." These must be obvious to every intelligent person, who surveys the present state religious profession, as followed by the different denominations of Christians.

Religious liberty, the natural fruit of the Protestant Reformation—acknowledged at the "glorious Revolution," and rendered sacred by the "Act of Toleration" under William III — prompted men to follow their own convictions of divine truth, as read in the Holy Scriptures, and gave occasion for the existence of the several Christian communities in Great Britain. These are viewed by many, not as "sister-churches," but merely in their separation from the Established Churches of England and Scotland; and, therefore, regarded under the designation, in some degree at least obnoxious, of DISSENTERS. Hence the difficulties which attend the writing of a faithful British Church History. Notwithstanding which, the Author has endeavoured to accomplish it, and he now offers it to the Christian public. He has contemplated all who acknowledge the inspiration of the Scriptures, holding the doctrines of the Divinity, Incarnation, and Atonement of Christ, and who "love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," as parts and members of the true Church of God.

Archbishop Secker's sound Protestant principles are, therefore, those upon which the Author has written this Church History. "By our Saviour's appointment there was founded, and through his mercy shall ever continue," says that judicious prelate, "a society of persons, of what nation or nations is indifferent, who have faith in his name and obey his laws, without being destroyed by sin or error; as he hath promised, that *the gates of hell*, or of the invisible world, that is persecution and death, *shall not prevail against his Church*.—The Jewish Church was not universal, but par-

ticular ; but the Christian consists of *every kindred, tongue, and people* ; and offers unto the name of God in every place, from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, incense and a pure offering. The Catholic Church then is the Universal Church, spread through the world ; and the catholic faith is the universal faith ; that *form of doctrine*, which the apostles delivered to the whole Church, and it received. *What that faith was, we may learn from their writings contained in the New Testament* ; and, at so great a distance of time, we can learn it with certainty nowhere else. Every Church or Society of Christians, that preserves this catholic or universal faith, accompanied with true charity, is a part of the Catholic or Universal Church. And in this sense, churches, that differ widely in several notions and customs, may, notwithstanding, each of them be truly Catholic Churches *."

Dissenters from the Church of England, and from the Church of Scotland, "as by law established," are, therefore, included in this History of the Church in Britain : as they hold the catholic, the apostolic faith : and while they appeal exclusively to the Scriptures as the divine warrant for their faith and practice, their piety, charity, and intelligence, demonstrate that their Societies are true Churches of Christ.

General History, how carefully soever and impartially written, cannot be expected to be satisfactory to all parties. Church History also, how faithful soever its details may be, is not likely to give perfect satisfaction, except to the *candid* among the different denominations of Christians. Selfish sectarianism, which exists more or less in every communion, makes its advocates blind to all the excellencies which do not shine among their own friends, and requires the entire omission of their commendation from the records of public in-

* Lectures on the Church Catechism, Lect. XIV.

struction. Sacred truth, however, demands that the Christian history should record the divine virtues, and the benevolent labours, of all who profess the faith and bear the image of God our Saviour.

The Author of this Volume has endeavoured to prosecute his work "as one that must give account," agreeably to his profession as a minister of Jesus Christ. His chief design in this labour has been to serve the interests of pure Scriptural Christianity among his countrymen: but while fidelity to truth required the record of some things which may offend the fastidious, and he is not unconscious of many imperfections, he is not aware of any of its statements or representations on which he cannot continue to implore the blessing of God.

Reflecting upon the encouraging manner in which the public have received his "Church History through all Ages," the Author offers his most grateful acknowledgements. And, laying the present volume at the feet of HIM, whose name is "IMMANUEL," the triumphs of whose gospel and grace, in the British Churches, it briefly records, he commends it to his respected Brethren in "the ministry of reconciliation," in the hope of it being, through the influence of the Holy Spirit, instrumental in promoting the edification of our inquisitive youth, and of advancing the saving doctrine of Protestant, Scriptural Christianity.

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BRITISH ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK I.

TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS, A. D. 449.

CHAP I.

THE IMPORTANCE OF BRITISH ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The Bible an Ecclesiastical History—History of England important—Of Christianity more important—Increase of Education in England requires an appropriate Ecclesiastical History—Principles of Church History.

ECCLESIASTICAL History is commended to the study of every man, by the infinite wisdom of God. This is the principal method in which the Holy Spirit has chosen to give permanent instruction to mankind. Divine revelation in the Bible consists chiefly of ecclesiastical records; for the inspired sages of the Hebrew nation, both under the Levitical and the Christian dispensation, were employed to make known the will of God, by successive details of church history. Treasures of eternal truth and grace are, in that manner, imparted to our race, strikingly evincing how God "hath abounded towards us in all wisdom and prudence," for the promotion of our salvation.

Historical details are means of communicating knowledge which is most generally interesting to mankind; and through every age, some of the wisest and best of men have devoted their time and talents to this department of learning, labouring to benefit their countrymen, especially the rising generation, in forming them to the love of liberty, patriotism, and virtue. Minds the most cultivated have been engaged in compiling valuable works on the History of England; suited, not only to the learned, and those having leisure for profound investigations, but also as *class-books* for the young,—and

B

further simplified so as to be adapted to the capacities of those yet training in the nursery.

Few, however, have employed their abilities in writing the Church History of England; and still fewer have exhibited that pre-eminent subject in an inviting form, accommodated to the plain reader, and suited to the capacities of the young. But if *general history* be a subject worthy of the noblest powers of the learned, why not *records of the Church of God* in Britain? Are the public less interested in this mode of representing the actions of their forefathers, than in the political, the commercial, the naval, and the military history of our country? Has "the noble army of martyrs" in Britain bled in vain? Are the present passing events of our nation of less moment *religiously* considered, than they are *politically*? Are the moral and Christian prospects of Great Britain unworthy of any person's contemplation? Surely no one who professes the name of Christ, believing the inspired predictions of the Word of God, will presume thus rashly to judge! Regarded in connection with the provisions of the gospel, no view of the condition of our country, from the period of the conversion of our Druid forefathers down to our "glorious days," can possibly be so interesting as the present; and the "signs of the times," in reference to future ages, embracing the *operations of our religious institutions, the condition of our immense colonies and foreign dependencies, and the influence of our commercial intercourse with all nations*;—no subject can be imagined more inviting to the study of the enlightened patriot, the benevolent philanthropist, and the devout Christian, with their rising youth, than British Ecclesiastical History.

Education is happily becoming universal. And besides the increasing academical establishments, and the multiplication of readers in the higher and middle classes of society, Sunday Schools are effecting an intellectual and moral transformation of the rising generation. For contemplating, inquisitive youth, peculiarly the hope of the Christian church in Britain, and especially that most useful body, the ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY THOUSAND *gratuitous* Sunday School teachers, the great benefactors of our age, with their ONE MILLION TWO

HUNDRED THOUSAND inquiring pupils, every intelligent pious parent and pastor will perceive the importance of a British Ecclesiastical History, adapted to enlighten and direct the understanding in the avoidance of error and the embracing of truth.

Entertaining a sacred reverence for those glorious doctrines of redemption by Christ, restored at the Reformation, and in defence of which Hamilton, Tindal, Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, laid down their lives, the author's standard of faith is that which was theirs—the blessed Word of God; and he confesses with the great Chillingworth, that *“the Bible,—the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants.”*

Pursuing the review of true Christianity in its progress through our country, he will endeavour to make the Holy Scriptures his rule of decision concerning principles, institutions, and men. According to his best judgment, that which he finds among all professing Christians in accordance with the Word of God, he will cordially recommend as having the Divine approbation; but all that may be discovered at variance with that infallible rule, will, with equal freedom, be censured or condemned as truly antichristian.

Archbishop Secker, in his Lectures on the “Church Catechism,” judiciously states—“The Catholic church is the universal church spread through the world; and the Catholic faith is the universal faith; that form of doctrine which the apostles delivered to the whole church, and it received. What that faith was we may learn from their writings, contained in the New Testament; and at so great a distance of time we can learn it with certainty nowhere else. Every church or society of Christians, that preserves this Catholic or universal faith, accompanied with true charity, is a part of the Catholic or universal church. And in this sense, churches that differ widely in several notions and customs, may, notwithstanding, each of them be truly Catholic churches.”

In perfect agreement with this judgment of the pious prelate, is the definition of a Christian church in the *nineteenth* Article of the Church of England: which says, “The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly

administered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same."

Upon the principles thus expressed, and which have his cordial approbation as divine, the author has compiled this **BRITISH ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.**

CHAP. II.

CONDITION OF BRITAIN BEFORE THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

Obscurity of ancient British annals—Commerce of ancient Britain—Invasion by Julius Cæsar—Success of Cæsar—Coins of Cunobelinus—Learning of the Britons—Their ancient temples.

BRITISH history, civil and ecclesiastical, previously to the invasion by Julius Cæsar, is involved in almost impenetrable obscurity. Still we are able to collect a few interesting particulars, which will assist us in our future inquiries concerning the origin of Christianity in our favoured country.

Britain, though so far remote from Asia, Africa, and the east of Europe, was yet visited by the Phœnicians of Tyre*, a thousand years before the Christian era; and afterwards by the flourishing Carthaginians, whose merchants carried on a lucrative commerce with Cornwall, especially in the article of Tin†. Notwithstanding their care to conceal the source of their profit, the Greeks discovered it: and entered into the trade about *one hundred and sixty years* before the invasion by Cæsar. From the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, whose horrid deity was Saturn, the Moloch of Scripture, it is believed that the ancient Britons derived a part at least of their shocking idolatry.

The Gauls carried on a considerable trade with Britain; and as Julius Cæsar administered the government of the Roman provinces in Germany and Gaul, his ambition was fired to bring this island under his dominion: hence his celebrated invasion. Cæsar's first attempt was in the year B. C. 55, with an army of two legions, or more than 12,000 men; but though he made good his landing, such was the

* See particularly Ezek. xxvii, 12.

† Henry's History of Great Britain, book i, chap. vi.

military power of the islanders, that after a stay of three weeks, he was compelled to return to Gaul.

Determined on accomplishing his purpose, Cæsar, next year, with a far greater army, at least 50,000 men, undertook a second expedition; and though he was opposed by many thousands of the Britons, united under Cassibelanus, their "war chariots" and bravery were not sufficient to stand against the disciplined imperial legions, and the chiefs were compelled to submission. Still Cæsar was not able to establish himself in Britain; and having made peace, receiving several hostages, he gladly withdrew with all his troops to the continent.

Cæsar magnified his own exploits, and his friends celebrated his fame at Rome; but while some declared that he passed twice through the island, Dio says that "Cæsar gained nothing either to himself or to the state, by his expeditions into Britain." Strabo states that "he did nothing great in Britain, nor penetrated far into the island." Q. Cicero was with Cæsar in his second expedition, and in a letter to his brother, says, "The British affairs afford no foundation for much fear or much joy*."

Peace being established between the Romans and the Britons, new channels were opened for commerce, letters, and religion. Strabo, who flourished under Augustus and Tiberius, says, "Britain produces corn, cattle, silver, iron; besides which, skins, slaves, and dogs, naturally excellent hunters, are exported from that island†." This testimony is confirmed by Tacitus, who says, "Britain produces gold, silver, and other metals to reward its conquerors‡." Pearls also were found on our coasts; and Cæsar, on his return from Britain, consecrated a breastplate of great value to Venus, in her temple at Rome; which he signified, by an inscription, was composed of British *Pearls*.

Britain was divided among numerous nations, or clans, forty-five of which are mentioned by name§. Of course

* Dr. Henry's History of England, book i, chap. i.

† Strabo, lib. iv, p. 199.

‡ Tacit. Vita Agric. c. xii.

§ Turner's Anglo Saxons, vol. i.

some of them were far more advanced than others in civilization; though many were sunk in ignorance and barbarity, almost to a savage state.

Cunobelinus, contemporary with Augustus and Tiberius, was the most illustrious successor of Cassibelanus. We have no fewer than *forty* coins of this prince alone, in gold, silver, and copper, which are all of different dies and stamps. This prince, therefore, must have made *forty* coinages at least, not to mention what had been coined by other British princes. Besides these numerous coins of Cunobelinus, there are many others engraved and described by Speed, Camden, &c. which are supposed to have been coined by the authority of Cassibelanus, Comius, Prosutagus, Boadicea, Catismandua, Venutius, Caractacus, and other ancient British princes. Even the coins of Cunobelinus afford a convincing proof of that friendship and familiar intercourse which Strabo tells us subsisted between the Romans and Britons in the reign of Augustus, and that the Roman arts, manners, and religion had even then gained some footing in this island. For on these coins we see almost all the Roman letters, and many of the Roman deities; which is a demonstration that some of the Britons at least could read these letters, and that they had some knowledge of, with some veneration for, these deities. Nay, the legend of one of these coins, CVNOBELINVS REX, being Latin, seems to intimate that the Britons were not then ignorant of that language*.

Perhaps a further evidence of the progress of the Britons in the arts, may be derived from the existence of Temples, erected to the several popular divinities of Greece and Rome. They are mentioned as standing in different parts of the country. Mercury had a temple in Cornwall; Minerva, one at Bangor; Victoria, or Andate, one at Malden; Apollo, one at Bath, and another on the site of Westminster Abbey; Janus, one at Leicester; Bellona, one at York; Diana, one on the site of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. But of the character and architectural style of these consecrated edifices, we are not possessed of information. From the whole, however, if it

* Henry's History of England, book i, chap vi.

shall still appear to any that the ancient Britons were sunk so low in savage barbarism as some writers seem pleased to represent them, it must be granted, "that at that time they were without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world*."

CHAPTER III.

RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

Druids—Their Rank and Titles—Their Learning—Druids' Eggs—Their Religious Principles—Ceremonies—Horrid Customs.

THE Ecclesiastical History of Britain would be incomplete without some account of its ancient religion. Druidism is known to have been practised by our superstitious ancestors: we present a few notices of it to our youthful readers, that they may be led to contrast it with the sublimity and holiness of Christianity, and bless our God that he has mercifully "delivered us from the power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son."

1. THE RANK AND TITLES OF THE DRUIDS. The *Druidæ*, or *Druides*, were the philosophers and priests of the ancient Gauls, Germans, and Britons. Their name is derived by some from the Hebrew word *Drussim*, which they translate *contemplores*, men devoted to meditation: while others say, they were so called from *Drus*, the Greek word for an *oak*, on account of their dwelling and offering sacrifices beneath that majestic tree: but others suppose they were so called from the old British word *Drus*, signifying a *magician*.

These venerated priests, the most distinguished order among the Gauls and Britons, were chosen out of the principal families; and the honours of their birth, considered in connection with their mysterious office, procured them the highest reverence among the people. They were dressed in long garments containing *six* different colours; while those of the nobility, the king excepted, whose robes had *seven*, were allowed to have only *four*, and their habits reached only to the

* Eph. ii, 12.

knees. They wore their hair short; but their beards were permitted to grow to an excessive length, the upper lip excepted. They carried in their hands a long white rod, called "the wand of divination;" an oval amulet, the "Druid's Egg," encased in gold, was suspended by a golden chain about their neck; and a white surplice thrown over their shoulders, especially when they officiated in sacred rites. Their arms and hands were decorated with bracelets. The supreme pontiff, called the "*Archdruid*," was elected by a plurality of voices: his power and wealth were very great, and his station was the most honourable.

The Druids were divided into classes—*Vacerri*, *Bardi*, *Eubages*, *Semnothii*, and *Saronidæ*: they were, however, considered chiefly under three ranks, Bards, or Poets; Vates, or Priests, and Naturalists; and the Druids, properly so called, who embraced the study of both nature and morals with their religion. The Druids have been represented as the same among the ancient Gauls and Britons, as the Chaldeans among the Assyrians, the Magi among the Persians, the Philosophers among the Greeks, and the Bramins among the Indians.

2. **LEARNING OF THE DRUIDS.** Cæsar, who was well acquainted with the Druids, not only by his invasion of Britain, but by a *nine* years' residence in Gaul, remarks concerning them in this respect: "The Druids are exempted from the duties of war, and from the payment of taxes; and they enjoy many immunities. For this reason many choose their profession, and are placed under their tuition by their parents. They are reported to have learnt a great number of verses*, and thus some continue in the course of study during a period of twenty years. They do not commit them to writing, though they are not ignorant of letters, for in almost all other matters they use (Greek) letters. They appear to observe this method for two reasons—that they may not deliver their learning to the vulgar, and that they may exercise more fully the memory of their pupils†."

Writers have said much by way of speculation concerning the arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, mechanic arts, and me-

* Some say 20,000.

† Cæsar. de Bell. Gal. lib. vi.

dical skill of the Druids: and if the remains of supposed Druid temples, especially Stonehenge, near Salisbury, were their work, they must have been acquainted in a surprising degree with some branches of mechanics.

3. DRUIDS' EGGS. Extravagant things have been reported concerning the miraculous eggs of the Druids. They were accustomed to be worn mounted in gold, as a *charm* against disease. This extraordinary egg was formed, as the priests pretended, by a great number of serpents interwoven and twined together. When formed, it was raised up in the air by their hissing, and was caught in a clean white cloth before it fell to the ground. The person who caught it, was said to be obliged to ride a swift horse with full speed across a river, which stopped the serpent, that pursued him with fury. The method of trying the genuineness of this egg was extraordinary. It was to be encased in gold and thrown into a river, and if genuine, it was pretended that it would swim against the stream. It was about the size of an apple, and was worn, Pliny testifies, as the "*insignia, or badge of distinction of the Druids.*" Some suppose with reason, that this contrivance of the *serpent's egg* was a mere fraud, invented by the Druids to impose on the ignorant and procure their admiration. Others imagine that it was only an emblematical representation of the creation of the world: the serpents denoting the Divine Wisdom forming the universe, and the egg representing the world formed by that Wisdom. The virtue ascribed to it, of giving those who possessed it superiority over others, and endearing them to great men, was intended to represent the natural effects of learning and philosophy.

4. RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES OF THE DRUIDS. Attempts have been made, but in vain, to collect the religious opinions of the Druids, and form them into a system. Some suppose that they acknowledged a Supreme Being as the Creator and Governor of the world, and that they worshipped the sun only as the emblem of the Deity. This, however, is denied by many, while all admit that they were polytheists, that is, worshipping many gods. Cæsar, who gives many particulars relating to them, says, that "their chief principle is, that souls do not die with the body, but that after death they pass

from one body to another, which doctrine they consider especially to inspire the people with courage and contempt of death: besides, they inculcate upon their youth many things concerning the stars and their motions, the magnitude of the world, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal gods."—"Mercury they worship as their chief god; of whom they have many images. They esteem him the inventor of all arts, and their guide in all their journeys and undertakings; they regard him as having particular influence over merchants and profits in trade. Next to him they esteem Apollo, then Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva, of whom they entertain the same notions as other nations. They think that Apollo can cure diseases; that Minerva first instructed men in arts and manufactures; that Jupiter is the ruler of heaven; and that Mars presides over war*."

As to the moral doctrines of the Druids, some are too shocking to be mentioned in this place: but I cannot refrain from inserting the following passage from Cæsar: "*The men have the power of life and death over their wives and children; and when any nobleman dies, his near relations assemble to investigate the occasion of his death; and if there arise any suspicion, they have the power to bring his widow to trial in the most servile manner, and if the guilt be discovered, to burn her alive. Their funerals are conducted in the most sumptuous and magnificent manner, according to their quality: every thing dear to the deceased while living, even his animals, being cast into the funeral fire: and formerly, their vassals and clients, who were most beloved, were obliged to submit to the sacrifice of burning within the same fire with their lords†.*"

5. RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES OF THE DRUIDS. Cæsar remarks concerning them, "To the Druids belong the direction of divine things, of the public and private sacrifices, and the interpretation of their religion. The whole country is much addicted to superstition." The Druids performed their sacred rites in groves, and esteemed the oak as peculiarly the residence of the divinities: chaplets of it were worn both by the

* De Bello Gal. lib. vi.

† Ibid.

priests and the people; and its leaves were strewed around their altars. Mistletoe, growing on the oak, was sought with diligence, as it was considered a sovereign remedy against evil spirits, and a preservative from ghosts and diseases. It was accounted sacrilege for any one to cut it besides a priest. On the discovery of the sacred plant, the Archdruid, dressed in white, assisted by his inferiors in the priesthood, ascended the tree and cut off the bush of it, with a consecrated golden knife; when two *white bulls*, which had been fastened by the horns to the tree, were sacrificed to the gods, to secure their effectual benediction upon the dedicated branch, as an antidote to diseases, and as a charm against the power of demons.

6. HORRID CUSTOMS OF THE DRUIDS. Human sacrifices were common among the Druids. Cæsar informs us, that "they who are dangerously ill, or daily conversant with the dangers of battle, either offer human sacrifices, or devote themselves to the altar. They have public offerings of this kind, which are committed to the care of the Druids, who have large hollow images, bound about with osiers, into which they put men alive, and setting fire to the case, suffocate them. Thieves, highway robbers, and other offenders, they believe are most grateful offerings to the gods: but when honesty has rendered these scarce, the innocent are forced to supply their place*."

Prisoners, taken in battle, were thus sacrificed in the most barbarous manner. The victims, being stripped naked, and their heads adorned with flowers, were tied to an oak, when the Archdruid, invoking the gods, plunged the fatal weapon into their bowels, while the people shouted their horrid approbation! Sometimes a hundred wretched captives at a time were enclosed in the dreadful wicker machine, which was set on fire by the archpriest, the shouts of the superstitious and deluded multitude drowning the shrieks of the miserable sufferers!

Druidism, thus briefly sketched from the most authentic sources, will be the means of leading every pious reader to

* De Bell. Gal. lib. vi.

adore that gracious Providence, by which our ancestors were "called out of darkness into the marvellous light" of the gospel of Christ. A thousand profitable reflections will naturally arise in the devout mind, while a contrast is made between the horrors of Druid-paganism and the benevolent, purifying, and saving doctrines of our divine Christianity.

CHAPTER IV.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO BRITAIN.

Who were the first Christian Preachers in Britain uncertain—Testimony of Gildas—Caractacus sent prisoner to Rome—British Intercourse with Rome—Christians at Rome—Plautius—His wife Pomponia, a Christian—Caractacus returns to Britain—Christian Missionaries accompany him—Claudia—Britain visited by the Apostle Paul.

BRITAIN received Christianity during the age of the Apostles. Of this there seems indubitable evidence, both from circumstances and testimonies; though there exists no little difference in the relations, and abundance of monkish extravagance in some of the traditions. Tertullian, an African presbyter, in his book against the Jews, written about A. D. 209, declares, that "those parts of Britain into which the Roman arms had never penetrated were become subject to Christ*."

Gildas, the most ancient of our historians, who flourished in the sixth century, declares that he "could find no British records of either the civil or ecclesiastical affairs of Britain, while it was subject to the Romans; and that if such records ever did exist, they had either been destroyed by their enemies, or carried into foreign countries by the exiled Britons." Yet this writer intimates the prevailing tradition, that Christianity had been published in our country before the great revolt and the defeat of Queen Boadicea, which happened A. D. 61;—for, referring to those calamitous events, he remarks, "In the mean time, Christ, the true sun, afforded his rays, that is the knowledge of his precepts, to this island, benumbed with extreme cold, having been at a great distance from the sun: I do not mean the sun in the firmament, but the Eternal Sun in heaven."

* Tertul. contra Judeos, cap. vii.

Caractacus, that patriotic but unfortunate prince, is believed to have been the chief means of furthering the diffusion of Christian knowledge among the Britons, if not of its introduction : and this will appear probable from several considerations. That bold chieftain was carried captive to Rome, A. D. 52, when he was liberated by the Emperor Claudius : but Caractacus was detained in the imperial city seven years, without a passport for his return home, which did not happen till A. D. 59. At this period, the conquerors had established the southern division of this island as a Roman province ; Camelodunum (Maldon in Essex) had been fortified as a Roman colony and military station ; and Verulam (St. Alban's) and London had become municipia, or free cities, flourishing, and crowded with Roman citizens ; of whom it is computed there could not be less than 100,000 ; since no less than 70 or 80,000 were massacred in the revolt under Boadicea, among whom some, it is thought, might be believers on the Lord Jesus Christ ; as the Christians at Rome were very numerous, and their " faith was spoken of throughout the whole world." Rom. i, 8. The Epistle of Paul to the Romans is believed to have been written A. D. 58, and the flourishing state of their church may be tolerably estimated by consulting that Epistle, in chapters i, 1—15 ; xv, 23 ; and xvi.

From the indispensable daily intercourse between the Imperial metropolis and Britain, Christianity must have been heard of by our countrymen ; especially when it is considered, that, besides those who had been carried prisoners to Rome, many would go to negotiate their affairs at the Imperial court ; and some who came to occupy civil or military posts in the island, or to transact mercantile business, would surely know and feel some interest in the Christian religion. Still more probable does this appear, when we recollect that Claudius, the emperor, had published a decree, commanding " all Jews " " to depart from Rome." Acts xviii, 2. This happened A. D. 53, the year before the death of Claudius. The Christian Jews were consequently dispersed among the Gentiles, as we see in the case of Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth ; and some would probably carry the Gospel to Britain.

Circumstances connected with Aulus Plautius, the first

Roman governor in Britain, seem to favour the opinion of the early introduction of Christianity into our country. That nobleman had for his wife, Pomponia Græcina, who is believed to have been a decided Christian. Tacitus, a Roman historian of that age, says, "Pomponia Græcina, an illustrious lady, married to Plautius, who was honoured with an ovation or lesser triumph for his victories in Britain, was accused of having a strange and foreign superstition; and her trial was committed to her husband. He, according to ancient custom, convened her whole family and relations; and having in their presence tried her for her life and fame, pronounced her innocent of any thing immoral. Pomponia lived many years after this trial, but always led a gloomy, melancholy kind of life*."

The exemplary innocence of Pomponia, and her abandoning the licentiousness and idolatries of the Imperial court, are characterized just as we might expect from a proud and philosophic pagan historian. But if this illustrious lady were a Christian, and accompanied her husband during his residence in Britain, from A.D. 43 to 47, she might be one of the first who introduced the Gospel, and prepared the means for some faithful preachers of Christ.

Several of the family of Caractacus are said to have embraced the Gospel at Rome; among whom, according to the Welch Triads, was Bran, his father, who had been carried with him into captivity. On this account, Bran was celebrated as "one of the three blessed sovereigns;" and his family as "one of the three blessed lineages of Britain."

Caractacus was accompanied, on his return to Britain, by several Christian preachers, of whom, Ildid is supposed to have been a Jewish believer; and two others are thought to have been Gentiles, whose names were Cyndav and Arwyatli. Great success is said to have attended their evangelical ministry; and many, as the fruit of their labours, in the southern parts of Britain, especially in Wales, became disciples of Jesus Christ.

Claudia, a Christian lady, enrolled in the inspired records

* Tacit. *Annal.* lib. xiii, cap. 32.

by the Apostle Paul, 2 Tim. iv, 21, is thought to have been a daughter of Caractacus, left behind at Rome; she having been married to a person of senatorial dignity. A learned antiquary thinks, that Claudia was born at Rome, and so named by her father, in honour of the Emperor Claudius. Martial, a Roman poet of that age, celebrated her as an accomplished British lady, married to Pudens, who is believed to have been the person whom the Apostle mentions by name with Claudia. Martial's lines have been thus translated.

“ From painted Britons, how was Claudia born!
The fair barbarian, how do arts adorn!
Of nations diverse, Nature joy'd to blend
A form, that Rome and Athens might contend!”

Writers are exceedingly anxious to prove, that Britain was honoured with the presence and labours of some of the Apostles of Christ. Traditions, the most extravagant and absurd, have been handed down to our times respecting the apostles James, Simon Zelotes, Peter, Andrew, and Joseph of Arimathea, having preached the Gospel in Britain. These do not claim particular notice in this place. Britain is, however, with some show of reason believed to have been honoured with a missionary visit from the great “Apostle of the Gentiles.” Ancient and respectable tradition exists, declaring that our island was visited by Paul; and when we consider that he was liberated from his confinement at Rome, in the spring of A. D. 63, between which, and the period of his death, A. D. 65, or according to some A. D. 67, he might take his long purposed “journey into Spain,” as he mentions, chap. xv, 24—28; while in the west, as there is much reason to believe he had made that journey, he might easily pass over the channel into Britain.

Dr. Henry remarks, in which we may fully concur, “In a word, though it would be rash and unwarrantable in a modern writer to affirm positively that the apostle Paul preached the Gospel in Britain, yet it is certainly no presumption to affirm, that if any of the apostles preached in this island, it was most probably the apostle Paul *.”

* History of Great Britain, book i.

Several more recent writers have presumed to pronounce their judgment in the affirmative; supposing the evidence satisfactory, that our island was visited by the great "Apostle of the Gentiles *." However this may be in fact, it will be wise and profitable for every reader to embrace cordially the divine instructions of that extraordinary teacher of salvation; and with him to "press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus †."

CHAPTER V.

CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN TO THE CONVERSION OF LUCIUS, A. D. 164.

Progress of Christianity in Britain—Extinction of Druidism — Tradition concerning King Lucius — The Story improved by Jeffrey of Monmouth — Probable account of Lucius — Account of the First Church, by Dr. Southey.

CHRISTIANITY, having been introduced into Britain during the apostolic age, continued to diffuse its saving light from one native tribe to another, until they were all in some degree enlightened. As the Roman arms made progress throughout the land, they became the undesigned means of furthering the Gospel. For, reducing all the nations of South Britain under their government, and establishing free intercourse throughout the country, they prepared the way for the advancement of the Gospel.

Suetonius Paulinus, commander in Britain during the reign of Nero, perceiving that the resentment of the native tribes was inflamed by the Druids, resolved on their extermination. Their strongest place of security was the isle of Anglesey, then called *Mona*, to which Paulinus led his terrible legions, and ravaged the consecrated island with fire and sword. Many of the infuriated Druids and Druidesses were taken captive, and sacrificed by the conquerors upon the altars which had been kindled for sacrificing the Roman prisoners, whose leaders the priests vainly hoped to overcome.

* Bishop Burgess on The Seven Epochs of the Ancient British Church, p. 7; Calmet's Dictionary, fragments DCVII, DCVIII.

† Phil. iii, 14.

Druidism being thus overthrown, if not quite exterminated, in Britain, one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of Christianity was removed; and we have reason to believe that its influence prevailed extensively, though we have no particular account of its divine triumphs. The most popular record we have is that of the conversion of King Lucius: but the relations respecting him are so contradictory and absurd, that his story is rejected by every judicious writer, as almost altogether a monkish fable. That our readers may form an idea of the extravagance of this tradition, we shall give it in a brief form.

Nennius, in the *seventh century*, the most ancient British historian by whom it is mentioned, says, "In the year 164 from the incarnation of our Lord, Lucius, monarch of Britain, with all the other petty kings of Britain, received baptism, from a deputation sent by the Roman emperors, and by the Roman pope Evaristus *." But to say that Lucius was monarch of Britain, with many petty kings dependent on him, while the Romans held most of the country, is absurd: much more so, that the Roman emperors, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and his successor Lucius Verus, who were pagans and persecutors, should send a deputation of Christian missionaries to convert and baptize the Britons.

This story became so embellished by the monkish fictions, that in the *twelfth century*, five hundred years after Nennius, Jeffrey, a Benedictine monk, of Monmouth, says, "Lucius imitated all the acts of goodness seen in his father Coilus, and above all, sent letters to Pope Eleutherius, desiring to be instructed in the Christian religion. That holy pope sent to him two religious doctors, Faganus and Duvanus, who, after having preached the incarnation of the Word of God, administered to him baptism, and made him a proselyte of the Christian faith. People from all countries assembling, followed the king's example, and being washed in the same holy laver, were made partakers of the kingdom of heaven. The holy doctors almost extinguished paganism in the whole land; dedicated the temples that had been founded in honour of

* Henry's History of Great Britain, book i, chap. ii.

many gods, to the one only God and his saints, and filled them with congregations of Christians. There were then in Britain *eight and twenty flamens* (head priests), as also *three archflamens*, to whose jurisdiction the other judges and enthusiasts were subject. These they delivered from idolatry, and where they were *flamens* made them *bishops*, where *archflamens* *archbishops*. The seats of the *archflamens* were at the three noblest cities, *viz.* York, London, and Caerleon upon Usk, in Glamorganshire. Under these three, now purged from superstition, were made subject *twenty-eight* bishops, with their dioceses." To complete this account Jeffrey adds, "The glorious king, rejoicing at the great progress the true religion had made in his kingdom, granted, that the possessions and territories formerly belonging to the temples of the gods, should now be converted to a better use, and appropriated to Christian churches. And because greater honour was due to them than to the others, he made large additions of lands and mansion houses, and all manner of privileges." He further adds, that "Lucius departed this life in the city of Gloucester, and was honourably buried in the cathedral church, in the 156th year after our Lord's incarnation."

Though this story is believed by Roman Catholics, and much of it by many Protestants, yet, as Dr. Henry, in his History of England, remarks, "Every one who knows any thing of the state of Britain at that time, must know that it contains as many falsehoods and impossibilities as sentences *."

Gildas, a zealous Christian monk of the *sixth century*, the most ancient of our historians, gives no hint concerning Lucius. The whole account is evidently the manufacture of adherents of the Papacy, to promote that usurpation. Archbishop Usher remarks, on this absurd tradition, "There are not wanting those who say, that this British Lucius was baptized by Timothy, the disciple of Paul †."

Twenty-three different dates are given for the conversion of Lucius; from which it is concluded, that as there are so

* Henry's History of Great Britain, book i, chap. ii.

† Antiquitates, chap. iii, p. 17.

many allusions to that affair, we cannot reject it altogether. It seems highly probable, that a petty prince, named Lucius, about the middle of the second century, was allowed by the Romans to retain a shadow of authority in his country: that this British chieftain embraced Christianity, and used his influence to bring others to yield to its gentle claims: that for this purpose he might possibly seek spiritual advice from Eleutherius, at that time bishop or pastor of the Christians at Rome, and place under his instruction some British converts, to be employed as Home Missionaries in their own country. No military or political agitation attending all this, the Romans might not interfere to prevent the accomplishment of the desires of Lucius; and Christianity, by this means, would make silent progress throughout the island. Many of all classes would be baptized, the rude pagan temples would be converted into Christian sanctuaries, and numerous congregations might be gathered, listening to the preachers of the gospel of salvation, and worshipping God by faith in Jesus Christ*.

Dr. Southey, who is generally inclined to magnify the clerical order, speaking of this period, and of the "doubtful legends" concerning Lucius, remarks, "It is said that the first church was erected at Glastonbury; and this tradition may seem to deserve credit, because it was not contradicted in those ages, when other churches would have found it profitable to advance a similar pretension. The building is described as a *rude structure of wicker-work, like the dwellings of the people in those days, and differing from them only in its dimensions, which were threescore feet in length, and twenty-six in breadth*. An abbey was afterwards erected there, one of the finest of those edifices, and one of the most remarkable for the many interesting circumstances connected with it†."

Upon the whole, although the popish legends concerning those times afford but little satisfaction as to the true number

* Taylor's Calmet, frag. DCVIII.

† Book of the Church, vol. i, chap. ii, p. 13; Stillingfleet's Origines Sæcæ, chap. i, p. 11.

and character of the British Christians, there seems reason to believe, that in the "churches of wattles," which, if any reader pleases, he may denominate cathedrals, there were many who "believed to the saving of their souls"—who were taught by the Spirit, as well as by the Word of God, and who lived to "adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things."

CHAPTER VI.

CONSTITUTION AND DOCTRINE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN BRITAIN.

Importance of the subject—Moshelm's testimony—Worship—Reading—Singing—
Preaching—Prayer—Baptism—The Lord's Supper.

BRITISH Ecclesiastical History will be thought to require more than a passing notice of the constitution of the primitive churches in this country, and of the mode of public worship observed in them. This is rendered necessary for the information of the young reader; not only by the consideration of the statements of ancient monkish historians, and of some in our times; but especially by the differences which exist between the Catholics and Protestants, and between the *two national churches* of England and of Scotland, and the numerous Dissenters in Britain.

"It is natural to inquire," says Dr. Henry, "in what manner the clergy were maintained, churches built, and the other expenses of religion defrayed, in the ancient British church, as well as in other primitive churches, in the first centuries, when they received no favour, protection, or support from the state. The apostles, their fellow-labourers, and perhaps some of their immediate successors, were supported partly by the work of their own hands, and partly by the grateful contributions of the faithful. In these primitive times, when a competent number of persons were converted to the Christian religion in any place, sufficient to constitute a decent congregation, they formed themselves into a church, or religious society; and every member of this

society contributed, according to his abilities, to the maintenance of those who ministered in holy things, to the support of the poor, and to all other necessary charges. The contributions for these purposes were commonly made in their religious assemblies on the first day of the week, according to the apostolic direction. Many of the primitive Christians, full of the most ardent zeal for their religion, did not content themselves with giving their share to these stated contributions for those pious uses, but bestowed houses, gardens, and even lands upon the church, or left them to it by their last will. It appears, however, that the Christians of Britain, in this early period (the *third* century), were either not very liberal to their clergy, or, which is more probable, not very rich*.”

Dr. Mosheim’s testimony concerning the ecclesiastical system among the Christians of the first and second centuries, will be found in accordance with those statements of Dr. Henry, and with the intimations of the New Testament. That learned historian says, “In those early times, every Christian church consisted of the people, their leaders, and the deacons. It was the assembly of the people which chose their own rulers and teachers, or received them by a free and authoritative consent, when recommended by others. Every Christian assembly was a little state governed by its own laws, which were either enacted, or at least approved, by the society. Whoever acknowledged Christ as the Saviour of mankind, and made a solemn profession of his confidence in him, was immediately baptized, and received into the church. One bishop presided over each Christian assembly, to which he was elected by the voice of the whole people.—There reigned among the members of the Christian church, however distinguished they were by worldly rank and title, not only an amiable harmony, but also a perfect equality†.”

“Let none, however, confound the bishops of this primitive and golden period of the church with those of whom we read in the following ages.—A bishop, during the first and

* History of Great Britain, book i, chap. ii.

† Ecclesiastical History, vol. i, p. 99, 100.

second century, was a person who had the care of one Christian assembly, which, at that time, was, generally speaking, small enough to be contained in a private house.—The churches in those early times were entirely independent; none of them subject to any foreign jurisdiction, but each one governed by its own rulers and its own laws*.”

PUBLIC WORSHIP was conducted among the primitive Christians with great simplicity. When not prevented by persecution, they held their principal religious meeting on the Lord's day. Reading the Scriptures formed a chief part of the service: and one of the lessons was generally expounded by the bishop, who applied the doctrines of it to the condition of the people, exhorting them to the exercise of faith in Christ and hope of glory, and to a continuance in the practice of every virtue. The service was generally closed with the Lord's Supper.

Tertullian, describing the mode of public worship among the Christians of the second century, says, “In our public assemblies, the Scriptures are read, psalms are sung, sermons are preached, and prayers are presented†.” Their sermons were generally an hour long. Sometimes laymen preached; “wheresoever any were found that were fit among the brethren, the holy bishops of their own accord asked them to preach unto the people‡.” Prayer, embracing the interests of all the churches and of mankind, was offered, after the sermon to the congregation was ended. “They all rose up and offered their prayers to God,” standing being the usual posture of prayer, especially on the Lord's day. Tertullian writes on this point, “We esteem fasting unlawful, or to worship kneeling on the Lord's day, in which privilege we rejoice even at the Passover, and to Pentecost§.” Their reason for this judgment was, the complete redemption by Jesus Christ, requiring them to rejoice in God as their covenant Father. They usually turned towards the east in prayer, assigning for a reason, “As the sun that arises in the east penetrates through the world with its warm and

* Eccl. Hist. vol. i, p. 105, 106.

† Eusebius, book vi, cap. 19.

‡ De Anima, c. iii, 530.

§ De Corona Militis, p. 340.

illuminating rays, so Christ the sun of righteousness would arise with more warmth of light, and pierce farther than the material sun, even into the depth of men's hearts and minds."

Every reader will naturally wish to know the manner of public prayer among the early Christians; because of the diversity of mode now practised in Britain: *reading forms of prayer* prepared for daily use, being the custom of the church of England, while the church of Scotland and the Dissenters use *free prayer*, according to circumstances. Lord King remarks on this subject, "They had no fixed form of prayer besides the Lord's Prayer—the words or expressions of their prayers were not imposed or prescribed, but every one that officiated, delivered himself in such terms as best pleased him, and varied his petitions according to the present circumstances or emergencies: or, if it be more intelligible, that the primitive Christians had no stinted liturgies, or imposed forms of prayer*." Liturgies originated after the patronage of Christianity by Constantine the Great, when many entered the ministry who were incompetent to pray in the churches; forms of prayer, therefore, were necessary for them to read. Hence Bingham, a learned ecclesiastical antiquary of the church of England, acknowledges, that, "in the persecution under Dioclesian and his associates, though a strict inquiry was made after the books of Scripture, and other things belonging to the church, which were delivered up by the *Traditores*, to be burnt, yet we never read of any *Ritual* book of divine service delivered up among them; which is an argument that their forms of worship and administration of the sacrament, were not then generally committed to writing†."

BAPTISM was administered to adult believers on their profession of faith in Christ, and to their infant children, when they had any. This rite was performed in various ways, by immersion, by pouring, and by sprinkling. That infants were baptized universally, is admitted by the unanimous decision of *sixty-six* bishops, in a synod held at Carthage, A. D.

* Constitution of the Primitive Church, part ii, chap. ii.

† Antiquities, book xiii, chap. v, sec. iii.

254. The question was not whether infants should be baptized, but whether it was more proper before they were eight days old. No doubt appears to have existed in the mind of any one present, as to the propriety or the universality of the custom; and considering the age of many of these pastors, and their vicinity to Judea, they could not have been ignorant of the practice of the apostles, and of their immediate successors.

THE LORD'S SUPPER was administered after the usual service on the Lord's Day. Those only who were persons of approved piety were admitted to the communion. This part of divine worship was observed generally in the morning; but in some churches in the evening. Cyprian remarks, "In the early sacrifices when we come to the supper, we offer the mingled cup. Christ administered it in the evening, that he might signify the evening and end of the world; but we celebrate the resurrection of the Lord early in the morning*."

Justin Martyr, describing the commemoration of the death of Christ in the Lord's Supper after the sermon, says, "Bread and wine of the brethren, and a cup of water mingled is presented to the minister, who offers prayers and thanksgivings, to which the people say, Amen. The elements then having been distributed by the deacons, a collection was made according to the ability of every one, and which being committed to the care of the bishop, from this fund he relieved orphans, widows, the sick and distressed, prisoners, travellers, and needy strangers†."

Such is the most authentic exhibition of the Christian churches, of the first and second, and part of the third century; and, with inconsiderable variations, we may reasonably conclude that such was the form of Christianity in Britain. As to the doctrines held by those early professors of the gospel, having no standard besides the Scriptures, just in proportion as they were understood, would be their purity and soundness in the faith; and we have reason to believe that, generally, the doctrines for which the Protestant martyrs shed their blood were held by the British Christians.

* Epist. 63, sect. xii, p. 117.

† Apol. ii.

CHAPTER VII.

CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN TO THE CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, A. D. 313.

Christianity triumphs in Britain — St. Alban, the first British martyr for Christ — Amphibalus — Aaron, Julius, and Augustus, martyrs — Death of Constantius — Constantine — His conversion — Christian profession honoured.

CHRISTIANITY, doubtless, made some glorious triumphs in Britain, after its partial revival in the time of Lucius, A. D. 164. For Tertullian in Africa, about A. D. 200, had heard of its progress; and he speaks of it as having extended beyond the limits of the Roman province, into those parts of Britain which had not submitted to the arms of that victorious people. This was probably accomplished by the ministry of some of the provincial Britons; who, having embraced the gospel, and being animated with the grace of Christ, laboured for the propagation of their divine religion, and communicated the knowledge of the truth to those tribes of the Britons who used their own language. The fact is believed, though we are unable to ascertain how far the light of the gospel penetrated into the wilds of Caledonia.

We have no authentic information respecting the particular advancement of Christianity in Britain, until the close of the third century, when the *tenth* general persecution of the Christians arose under the emperor Dioclesian. Many were the martyrs of Christ, in that season of trial, though we cannot gain a perfect knowledge of the facts, separated from the disfigured monkish legends in which they are recorded.

ALBAN, canonized by the superstitious papists with the title of "Saint," from whom his native town Verulamium, now St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, has been called, is mentioned as the first British martyr for Christ; a few brief notices, therefore, must be given of him. In his youth, Alban is said to have undertaken a journey to Rome, in company with Amphibalus, a monk of Caerleon. By means of his instructions, example, and prayers, Alban renounced the delusions of Paganism, in which he had been educated, and embraced Christianity. He served seven years as a

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soldier, in the army of Dioclesian, the emperor: but returning to settle in his native place, he entertained Amphibalus, when driven there by persecution. His enemies, having traced the object of their pursuit, gave information to a magistrate, who sent to apprehend the Christian preacher. Alban generously put on the hairy cassock of his guest, and delivered himself to the officers, who led him to the tribunal, at the time of the superstitious governor offering sacrifice to the demons, by whose altar he was standing*. Then being asked his name, he said, "My parents named me Alban: and I worship the only true and living God, who created all things." Refusing to betray his pious guest, whom he regarded as his father in the gospel, or to offer sacrifice to the Roman gods, he was sentenced to be beheaded. Alban was first scourged, and then led out to execution, as is said, on the spot where the Abbey now stands, erected to his memory by Offa, king of Mercia, and called after the name of this proto-martyr of the Britons. Tradition also says, that the soldier, who had been appointed to put him to death, was so affected by the pious resignation and holy magnanimity of the virtuous Alban, that he chose rather to die with him than to be his executioner.

Amphibalus, however, was soon discovered, and made to glorify his divine Lord, by the shedding of his blood for the gospel, being first embowelled and then stoned. The precise year in which these things occurred cannot now be ascertained. Dioclesian ascended the throne of the Cæsars, A. D. 284, and laid aside the imperial purple A. D. 305. Some think that the persecution under him raged but the last two years in Britain, though it continued nine years in most other parts of the empire; yet Bede, and most of our old historians, place the martyrdom of St. Alban, A. D. 286.

Wales seems to have contained some flourishing Christian churches; for Aaron and Julius, two substantial citizens of Caerleon, besides Angulius of London, and many others, both men and women, suffered at the same period for the sake of Christ; but most of their names have perished from the re-

* Bede, book i, chap. vii.

cords in our old chronicles. Dr. Fuller, a church historian, has beautifully remarked concerning them, "It was superstition in the Athenians to build an altar to the unknown God; but it would be piety in us to erect a monument in memorial of those unknown martyrs, whose names are lost. The best is, God's calendar is more complete than man's best martyrologies: and their names are written in the book of life, who on earth are wholly forgotten*."

Divine providence, in mercy, soon put a period to these bloody persecutions, and the church enjoyed a large measure of tranquillity. Christianity in Britain henceforward received imperial protection. Constantine the Great, the first Roman emperor who professed Christianity, is, by Dr. Anderson, in his "*Royal Genealogies*," made, not only a native of Britain, but the son of a British princess, as he calls Helena! Gibbon supposes that he was born A.D. 274, at Naissus, in Dacia†; yet it is certain that his father, Constantius Chlorus, was at York, when, upon the abdication of Dioclesian, A.D. 305, he shared the Roman empire with Galerius Maximus; and that he died at York, A.D. 306, having first caused his son Constantine to be acknowledged and proclaimed emperor, both by the army and by the Britons‡.

That humane and intelligent prince expressed, in his last moments, his desire that his son Constantine should succeed him in his imperial dignity, especially as his filial affection for his mother Helena had been most exemplary. Constantius himself had steadily opposed the persecuting spirit of the times; and in reply to some courtiers, who urged him to dismiss from his service those who would not abandon their profession of Christianity, he nobly declared, that, "it could not be expected of those who had forsaken their God, that they would prove faithful to their prince." Constantius is said to have commended the Christians to the protection of his son Constantine with his expiring breath. It cannot be wondered at, therefore, that he should embrace Christianity;

* Fuller's Church History, book i, page 20.

† Decline and Fall, vol. ii, page 52.

‡ Henry of Huntingdon speaks of Helena as the daughter of Coel, king of Colchester.—Collier's Church History, book i, page 25.

especially if it be correct, as tradition states, that its principles and temper were recommended by his pious mother Helena!

Constantine appears to have hesitated at this period, whether he should or not avow his belief in the Christian religion; but in marching with his army into Italy he became decided, and made his profession public. It is said, that seeing the Christians increase among all ranks, and knowing their excellent principles from their virtuous conduct, he retired to a place of solitude; and revolving in his mind the consequences of the expected battle with his rival Maxentius, he implored the protection of the God whom the Christians worshipped, when he beheld in the heavens the vision of a cross, with this inscription in Greek—"BY THIS CONQUER." His pagan priests interpreted it as an ill omen; but the Christians were encouraged on hearing of the apparition, and some of them suggested the propriety of having a standard made with that significant inscription. Constantine saw the seasonable policy of the measure, and acted upon the suggestion: a splendid banner was prepared, and emblazoned with that motto: he marched against Maxentius, defeated his superior army, and entered imperial Rome as its sole and absolute master.

Constantine, at his triumph, rejected the homage and applause of the multitude; pointing them to his new military standard, as representing that invisible power, by which his victory had been gained. And when his own statue was afterwards erected in the Capitol, he caused an emblematical representation of the Cross to be introduced, having upon it this inscription:—"BY THIS VICTORIOUS CROSS, CONSTANTINE HAS DELIVERED ROME FROM TYRANNY, AND RESTORED TO THE SENATE AND PEOPLE THEIR ANCIENT GLORY."

Whether Constantine ever became a sincere servant of God, has been doubted by the most judicious divines. But he continued a zealous professor of Christianity; so that the profession of the Gospel was not only made safe by effectual imperial protection, but universally honoured; and its forms of public worship were distinguished, especially in the larger cities, with all possible dignity and splendour. Helena, the mother of Constantine, became surprisingly lavish in her

contributions to honour the name of Christ; and though we have no particular account of her acts of liberality towards Britain, supposed by many to be the land of her nativity, she is celebrated as having taken a journey to the Holy Land; where she is said to have discovered the true cross of Christ, and to have built a sumptuous edifice over the supposed site of the sepulchre of Jesus at Jerusalem.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN, FROM THE CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE,
A. D. 313, TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS, A. D. 449.

Constantine patronizes Christianity in Britain — Hierarchy — Its various Ministers — New Ceremonies in this age — Pilgrims from Britain — Corruption of Doctrine — Pelagianism — Germanus and Lupus oppose it — Labours of Germanus — St. Patrick — Invasion of the Saxons.

CONSTANTINE the Great publicly professing Christianity, A. D. 313, multitudes were induced to follow the imperial example. The ministers of the Gospel became more zealously active in prosecuting their labours, and numbers, especially among the Britons, are said to have been led to embrace the faith of Christ. Dr. Fuller remarks, "Whereas formerly Christians, for the peace they possessed, were only tenants at will to the present emperor's goodness, this Constantine passed as a peaceable estate to the Christians and their heirs, or rather to the immortal corporation of God's church, making their happiness hereditary by those good laws which he enacted*." Even before Constantine left Britain, he gave proof of his kindness to the Christians, and showed them more favour than his father had done, though he had been tolerant. Encouraged by the favourable dispositions of the new emperor, the British Christians came out of their lurking-places, and built their sacred edifices which had been demolished, and observed their holy solemnities with joyful hearts.

Imperial favour shining upon the ministers of Christ, wealth and honours were largely heaped upon them. A profession

* Church History, book i, p. 21.

of Christianity being now the principal path to preferment, persons of rank sought its dignities and emoluments; and a hierarchy was framed, corresponding with the civil government, and consisting of many orders of ministers unknown to the former ages of the church. Thus the divine institutions of the New Testament were perverted. How far these new forms were established in Britain, it is found impossible to ascertain. A similarity, if not an exact uniformity, would naturally be attempted; especially as those who had attained the greatest authority in the churches declined from an adherence to the Scriptures, and from spirituality of mind, becoming ambitious of distinction by great names. The unsettled state of the country, and the comparative poverty of the British churches, would necessarily prevent the establishment among them of the same ecclesiastical ranks and orders: yet we find at the synod or council of Arles, in Gaul, A. D. 314, three bishops, from the three provinces in Britain—Eborius of York, Restitus of London, and Adelfius of Lincoln; besides Sacerdos, a presbyter, and Arminius, a deacon*.

This synod consisted of thirty-three bishops, and a smaller number of presbyters and deacons; but its twenty-two canons contain no resolution relating to the instruction of the people in the doctrine of Christ, or the peculiarities of evangelical truth; but solely to clerical dignities and rights, and the observance of certain ceremonies†.

Concerning the advancing state of Christianity generally, especially in relation to wealth and ceremonies, Dr. Henry remarks,—“While the churches of Christ were obnoxious to the civil power, and every moment in danger of persecution, they performed the rites of their religious worship with much privacy and little pomp. This was most agreeable to the pure and spiritual nature of the Christian worship, and most conducive to real piety. But after they came to enjoy security, wealth, and royal favour, they began to embellish their worship with many new-invented ceremonies, and even adopted some of the Pagan rites and practices with little alteration.

* Spelman, p. 42.

† Ibid. Collier, vol. i, p. 27.

Great numbers of magnificent churches were built, and adorned with the pictures of saints and martyrs, in imitation of the Heathen temples : the Christian clergy officiated in a variety of habits, not much unlike those of the Pagan priests ; fasts, festivals, and holidays, were multiplied ; and, in one word, an ostentatious and mechanical worship, hardly to be distinguished in its outward appearance from that of their Heathen neighbours, was introduced in the place of pure and rational devotion. The Christian clergy were betrayed into this criminal and fatal imitation of their Pagan predecessors, partly by their vanity and love of pomp, and partly by their hopes of thereby facilitating the conversion of the heathens. There was, indeed, an almost infinite variety in the forms of religious worship in the Christian church at this time, and almost every particular church had something peculiar in its way of worship. The British churches differed considerably from those of Gaul, and still more from those of Italy, in their public service, and had not as yet departed so far from the genuine simplicity of the Gospel. The British Christians, however, of this age did not want their share of superstition, of which it will be sufficient to give one example. About this time it began to be imagined that there was much sanctity in some particular places, and much merit in visiting them. The places which were esteemed most sacred, and were most visited, were those about Jerusalem, which had been the scenes of our Saviour's actions and sufferings. To these holy places prodigious numbers of pilgrims crowded from all parts of the Christian world, and particularly from Britain. ' Though the Britons,' says Jerome, ' are separated from our world by the intervening ocean, yet such of them as have made any great progress in religion, leaving the distant regions of the West, visit those sacred places at Jerusalem, which are known to them only by fame, and the relations of Holy Scripture.' Nay, some of these deluded and superstitious vagabonds, who had more strength or more zeal than others, went as far as Syria to see the famous self-tormentor, Simeon Stylites, who lived fifty-six years on the top of a high pillar. ' Many people came to see him,' says Theodoret, his historian, ' from

the most remote corners of the West, particularly from Spain, Gaul, and Britain *.”

Corruption in every form, both of doctrine and worship, increased among the Christians from the period of their ecclesiastical union with the state under Constantine. Ceremonies superseded the Scriptures in the public services of the sanctuary; and men of speculative or worldly minds were promoted as ministers of Christ. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, at this time began to deny the divinity of the Son of God; asserting, that he was only a creature in his pre-existent glory. His opinions spread, with a worse than pestilential influence, through a great part of Christendom; and, as Bede† affirms, the British churches were infected with the Arian heresy. Some suppose that bishops from Britain were present at the council of Nice, in Asia Minor, A. D. 325, in which that system of doctrine was considered and condemned. However this may be, Pelagianism prevailed in Britain. Pelagius, the Latin form of his native name Morgan, was born November 13, 354, on the same day as his great antagonist, St. Augustine; having been educated at the celebrated monastery at Bangor, near Chester, to the government of which he was promoted in 404. His fame reached St. Jerome and St. Augustine, by whom he was greatly esteemed, as a teacher of great worth and usefulness in the church, until they discovered his departure from the Gospel. The most important peculiarities of his doctrinal theology were, 1. That man might be saved without the special grace of God, by his own merits and free will. 2. That infants are born without any taint of original sin, and are as Adam was before his disobedience. 3. That they are baptized, not to be free from sin, but thereby to be adopted into the kingdom of God. 4. That Adam died, not by reason of his sin, but by the constitution of nature; and that he would have died, although he had not sinned. These notions, truly soothing to the native pride of fallen man, were disseminated in Britain by Agricola, whose

* Henry's History of Great Britain, book i.

† Bede, book i, chap. viii.

father, Severianus, was a bishop ; while Pelagius himself, and his coadjutors, Celestus a Scotsman, and Julianus a Campanian, were employed in the same work at Rome, about A. D. 430. Agricola was zealous in Britain ; and, according to Fuller, “ the infection spread by his preaching, advantaged no doubt by the ignorance and laziness of the British bishops in those days *.”

Grieved at the prevalence of these novel and injurious opinions, the orthodox bishops sent to their brethren in France, to render them assistance in rooting out the pernicious infection. The French bishops, touched with sympathy for their brethren, assembled in council, and appointed Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troyes, to proceed on a mission to Britain. These zealous pastors are said to have preached through the country, not only in the churches, but in the highways and fields ; and so filled the whole island with the fame of their virtues, learning, and eloquence. Most extravagant accounts are given of the miracles which they wrought. At St. Alban's, they held a conference with the Pelagian leaders. “ First of all, Germanus and Lupus gave their adversaries leave to speak, which vainly occupied both the time and the ears of the people with naked words : but after the reverend bishops poured out their flowing words, confirmed with scriptures out of the Gospels and Apostles, they joined with their words the word of God ; and after they had said their own mind, they read other men's minds upon the same. Thus the vanity of heretics is convicted †.”

Germanus had “ brought with him a very large and valuable cargo of relics of all the apostles, and of many martyrs, which he deposited in the tomb of St. Alban ;” and the dust of that saint he is said to have carried to Rome ‡. After the departure of these famous teachers, the sentiments of Pelagius revived ; which, being reported in France, aged Germanus undertook a second voyage into Britain, accompanied by Severus, bishop of Troyes : but despairing to convince the

* Church History, book i, p. 28.

† Ibid. p. 29.

‡ Fuller, p. 31. Henry's History of Great Britain.

Pelagians by the power of argument, he caused them to be banished, under the edict of Valentinian III.

Before he left Britain, Germanus is said to have founded several public schools, which afterwards produced many bishops famous for their learning and piety. But the country being ravaged by the Caledonians, called *Scots* and *Picts*, and the Saxons, the natives implored the assistance of Germanus and his colleagues in a new contest. He listened to their entreaty, and instructed them in the doctrines of Christianity. Many of them, embracing his doctrine, desired baptism; and a great part of the army is said to have received that ordinance at Easter, in a church which the soldiers made of the boughs of trees twisted together. The festival being over, they marched against the enemy, with Germanus at their head; and he, having been a military commander in early life, posted his men advantageously in a valley through which the enemies were to pass, surprised and defeated them; after which they returned to the continent, to prosecute their labours among their own people.

Monkish superstition has largely embellished the traditions of these early proceedings of the Christians in our country; but charity would lead us to hope, that the Spirit of God was shed forth upon the ministrations of the Gospel, though less faithfully preached than in the days of the apostles; and that many were added to the true church of Christ. We are unable to discover the names of many of the British pastors of this period, probably on account of the ravages of the Saxons, who persecuted the Christians, and destroyed their records.

St. Keby is mentioned as a great champion against Arianism. He was the son of Solomon duke of Gloucester, and pupil of St. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers in France, with whom he lived *fifty years*. He returned to St. David's, in Wales; afterwards he travelled in Ireland, and at last fixed his abode in the isle of Anglesey: from his sanctity, Holyhead was so named. David, uncle to King Arthur, is said to have privately studied the Scriptures for ten years, before he would presume to preach the Gospel to the people; and it is mentioned to his praise, that he always carried the Gospel about

with him. He removed the archiepiscopal seat from Caerleon to Menevia, now called St. David's : he died at the age of one hundred and forty-six.

St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, deserves notice in this place, as he was born, A. D. 373, at Kirk-Patrick in Scotland, and became one of the most famous ecclesiastics of his time. His British name, given at his baptism, was *Suceath*, that is, *valiant in war*. By some pirates he was taken prisoner, and carried into Ireland ; where he was sold as a slave to a person named Milicho, in whose service he continued *six* years, and acquired the Irish language. Escaping from slavery, after *two* years he formed the benevolent purpose of converting the Irish ; and spent *thirty-five* years in preparatory studies on the continent, under the direction of his mother's uncle, St. Martin of Tours, who ordained him deacon, and St. Germanus, who ordained him priest. Pope Celestine consecrated him Bishop of Ireland, and gave him the name of Patricius, expressive of his honourable family, and to give weight to his commission. Patrick arrived in Ireland A. D. 441, the year after Palladius had made some unsuccessful attempts ; and his first convert was Sinell, the eighth king in descent from the renowned Cormac of Leinster. He proceeded to Dublin, and into Ulster, where a remarkable barn was fitted up for a church, which afterwards became the famous abbey of Saul. After seven years he returned to Britain, which he is said to have delivered from the heresy of Pelagius ; and, with several assistants in the ministry, he completed the conversion of all the people of Ireland. Patrick then visited Rome, to give an account of his success ; and, having returned, spent the remainder of his life between the monasteries at Armagh and Saul, enforcing the doctrines he had preached. Several schools are said to have been established by Patrick, who died March 17, 493, aged one hundred and twenty years.

Different and most extravagant accounts are given of the life, ministry, and miracles of St. Patrick ; with which, however, we cannot trouble our readers. Besides St. Patrick, called the "Great," and "Apostle of Ireland," there are two others of this name mentioned, Patrick the Elder, who died

in 449, and Patrick the Younger, nephew to the *Saint*, who survived him several years.

What was the measure of scriptural knowledge possessed by these distinguished ecclesiastics — how far they preached the pure Gospel of Christ — and in what degree the people who enjoyed their ministry were truly evangelized and brought to God — we have but scanty means of ascertaining. Truth requires us to remark, that all the accounts which we possess relating to those times, abound with most ridiculous fables; besides notices of the most superstitious and puerile rites and ceremonies, and incredible stories of miracles, while very little reference is made to the blessed Word of God. Still we may hope that some were born of the Spirit, who will appear with exceeding joy in the great day of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Scarcely any thing further can be known concerning religion in Britain, before the arrival of the Saxons: but the barbarous Scots and Picts frequently ravaging the northern parts of the country, out of enmity to the Britons and their new religion, demolished many of their places of worship. By this means, shocking corruption of manners arose among the clergy, who had long declined from the purity of scriptural truth. Gildas and Bede, however, state, that the peace which had been made with these marauders, and the consequent plenty, occasioned dreadful depravity among the people; and that gluttony, drunkenness, avarice, and luxury, reigned among the ecclesiastics; so that they no longer preached the Gospel to their flocks, nor regarded the claims of their professed religion. Certain it is, that Britain became an easy prey to the barbarous Saxons.

BOOK II.

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS IN BRITAIN, A. D. 449,
TO THEIR CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY, ABOUT A. D. 700.

CHAP I.

THE SAXON CONQUEST OF BRITAIN.

Miseries of Britain — Disorders of the Roman Empire — Rome taken by Alaric — The Romans retire from Britain — Its Invasion by the Scots and Picts — Aid of the Saxons solicited — They settle in Britain — The Natives expelled — The Britons take shelter in Wales — The Saxons destroy the Christian Temples.

CALAMITIES of the most grievous kinds befel the Christian church in Britain, through the conquest of it by the barbarous pagan Saxons. Some brief notices of this portion of its annals are therefore indispensable, to prepare our readers for surveying the continued progress of the church of God in this island.

Rome declined from imperial glory after Constantine the Great had established Constantinople as his eastern metropolis. His feeble sons, dividing the empire between them, increased its weakness; and ambitious leaders contending for the imperial throne, brought new evils in their train. Britain was affected by all the disorders which prevailed at Rome.

Maximus, with the flower of the British youth, sailed for the continent, A.D. 383, to assert his claim; and, in 408, Constantine made a similar attempt, joined by most of the wealthy Romans in Britain. These adventurers failed: but difficulties increasing, Honorius the emperor, A.D. 411, formally released the Britons from the Roman jurisdiction. In that memorable year, Alaric, king of the Visigoths, took and plundered the ETERNAL CITY. During the progress of that fierce barbarian, the Roman legions had been recalled from Britain; and with these troops most of the native youths were

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induced to leave their country, and enter the ranks among the imperial soldiers.

Britain was thus left in a defenceless condition, of which the Scots and Picts being soon aware, made dreadful ravages on the northern borders. By repeated invasions, they succeeded in depopulating those parts, and threatened to establish themselves in the country. The Britons, unable to withstand their enemies, applied in the first place for succours to Ætius, prefect of Gaul; it is said, in these humiliating terms:—"To Ætius, thrice consul, the groans of the Britons!—The barbarians drive us to the sea—the sea throws us back on the swords of the barbarians—so that we have nothing left us but the wretched choice of being either drowned or butchered *!"

Ætius could not spare troops for their relief; and Vortigern, king of the Silures, the most powerful prince of the country, being chosen military chief, timidly suggested that (an application should be made to the Saxons. These people, who, under different leaders, had made repeated incursions upon the British coast, were equally terrible with the northern invaders. Tradition has preserved the alleged terms on which they were invited by the Britons; and which, if correct, were acted upon, and even enlarged, by the Saxons. Hengist and his brother Horsa commanded the first expedition; consisting of *fifteen hundred* chosen warriors, of the Jutes and Angles, tribes of Saxons, known by Cæsar's writings as the ancient *Suevi*. They landed, A. D. 449, in the isle of Thanet, which was ceded to them for their place of residence, and as the reward of their anticipated services.

Reports having been extensively circulated of the fertility of Britain, and the effeminacy of its people, brought over numerous adventurers. Among these were Octa and Edessa, the son and nephew of Hengist, who appointed them to occupy the coast of Northumberland. Vortigern, being captivated by Rowena, the beautiful niece of Hengist, became blind to the interests of his countrymen; who chose Vorti-

* Henry's History of Great Britain, book i, chap. i.

mer, his eldest son, for their commander, and attempted to repel the intruders. Much blood was shed on both sides, and Horsa was slain; but the victory over the Britons being complete, left Hengist in possession of Kent, of which he assumed the title of King, A. D. 457. Vortimer is believed to have fallen, A. D. 474, by poison, administered by the fair but treacherous Rowena. Various success attended these parties in their continued conflicts, until the Britons were expelled the whole of that part of the island since called England, and found shelter among the mountains of Cambria.

Many, however, submitted to the Saxon yoke; others fled into the province of Armorica, in France; while others found a refuge in Cornwall, as the rest had in Wales, which provinces had not been entered by the Saxons. Several fruitless attempts to regain their country were made by the British patriots, under their martial leaders, the princes Ambrosius and Arthur; the former of whom fell in battle, A. D. 508. Arthur continued the struggle during many years, especially against Cerdic, who had assumed the title of King of the West Saxons: but though he could not prevail so as to extend his territories, he secured for his countrymen a permanent settlement in Wales, and thus became at least a shield to the remnant of the church of Christ in Britain.

Different chiefs introduced numerous swarms of these Germans to join their countrymen, till by degrees they had subjugated the whole of England; dividing it among the several leaders, who formed *seven* petty kingdoms, which are celebrated in history as the Saxon Heptarchy.

With savage fierceness the Saxon idolaters maintained themselves in Britain; and not satisfied with having seized the lands of the original proprietors, inflamed by superstition, they trampled upon the forms of Christianity, and cruelly persecuted its professors. Gildas (a monk of Bangor, horn A. D. 511) says, "From the east to the west, nothing was to be seen but churches burnt and destroyed to their very foundations. The inhabitants were extirpated by the sword, and buried under the ruins of their houses. The altars were daily profaned by the blood of the slain thereon *."

* De Excidio Britannicæ, sec. 24.

Bede confirms this account; though, being a Saxon, his prejudices led him to charge the ruin upon the wickedness of the Britons, rather than on the ferocity of the Pagan conquerors, his ancestors. He says, "By the hands of the Saxons a fire was kindled in Britain, that served to execute the vengeance of God upon the wicked Britons, as he had formerly burnt Jerusalem by the Chaldeans. The island was so ravaged by the conquerors, or rather by the hand of God making use of them as instruments, that there seemed to be a continued flame from sea to sea, which burnt up the cities, and covered the surface of the whole. Public buildings fell in one common ruin. The priests were murdered on the altars; the bishop with his flock perished by fire and sword without distinction, no one daring to give an honourable burial to their scattered bodies *."

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION OF THE SAXONS.

Idol of the Sun — Idol of the Moon — Tuisco — Wodin — Thor — Friga — Seater —
Remarks of Dr. Southey.

"BRITISH ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY," requires some account of the religion of the Saxons. Our young readers cannot but feel interested in this subject, which will, we trust, be the means of exciting their gratitude to God for the blessings of the Holy Scriptures.

1. THE IDOL OF THE SUN, from which *Sunday* is derived, *dies solis*, was placed in a temple by the Saxons. Sacrifices were offered to it, because they believed that the sun co-operated with this image. It was represented like a half-naked man, with his face resembling the sun, holding on his breast with both hands a burning wheel, signifying Sol's course round the world; its fiery gleams denoting the light and heat with which he warms and nourishes all things.

2. THE IDOL OF THE MOON, from which comes our *Monday*, *dies lunæ*, anciently *Moon-day*. This idol appears singularly

* Bede, book i, c. 15.

strange, being habited in a short coat like a man. Holding a *moon* is a sufficient distinction; but the reason of wearing a short coat, and a long-eared cap, is lost in oblivion.

3. **TWISCO**, the most ancient and peculiar deity of the Germans, is thought to have been the grandson of Japhet, the son of Noah, and to have peopled the north of Europe. He is represented in his garment of skin, according to the ancient manner of clothing by that people. After the sun and moon, the Saxons paid their adoration especially to this idol, and dedicated the next day to him, from which *Tuesday* is derived, anciently *Twis-day*. The Romans called this day *dies Martis*. But this idol is very unlike Mars.

4. **WODEN**, or **ODIN**, was the supreme divinity of the Saxons settled in Britain. His marvellous exploits formed the greatest part of their mythological creed. He is supposed to have migrated from the east. He is represented as the god of battles, and celebrated as having slaughtered thousands at a blow. His image was prayed to, for victory over enemies; and to it prisoners taken in battle were usually sacrificed. His palace in the invisible world is called Valhal, situated in the city Midcard, where, according to fable, the souls of heroes, who had bravely fallen in battle, enjoyed supreme felicity, feasting on the choicest dainties, and drinking *mead* out of the skulls of their victims in the days of their flesh. Our *Wednesday* is derived from *Woden's-day*. Northern historians make him the father of Thor.

5. **THOR** is reckoned the eldest and the bravest of the sons of Woden, and his wife Frea, or Friga. He was represented as sitting in a large hall, on a bed canopied, with a crown of gold on his head, and twelve stars above it, holding a sceptre in his right hand. The Saxons and Danes believed that Thor reigned over all the aerial regions, which composed an immense palace, consisting of 540 halls; and that, as he pleased, he launched the thunder, pointed the lightnings, and directed the meteors, winds, and storms; that he sent plagues or health, fair and seasonable weather, causing fertility. To him the fifth day of the week, *Thursday*, was consecrated. Among the Romans this day was called *dies Jovis*, as this idol may be thought substituted for Jupiter the *thunderer*.

6. FRIGA, or FREA, the Venus of the Saxons, represented both sexes, holding a drawn sword in the right hand, and a bow in the left; denoting, that women as well as men should fight in time of need. She was generally taken for a goddess, and was reputed the giver of peace and plenty, the author of love and friendship. Her day of worship was called by the Saxons *Fri-deug*, now *Friday*: by the Romans *dies Veneris*: but the habit and weapons of this figure resembled Diana rather than Venus.

7. SEATER, or CRODO, is represented standing on the prickly back of a fish, having his visage, hair, and beard, long — bare-headed and bare-footed — carrying in his right hand a pail of water, in which are fruits and flowers, and in his left holding up a wheel, his coat being tied with a long girdle. His standing on a fish signified to the Saxons, that by worshipping him they should pass through all dangers unhurt: his girdle flying both ways represented the Saxons' freedom; and the pail with fruit and flowers denoted his care to nourish the earth. From him, or from the Roman divinity *Saturn*, we have *Saturday*.

Learned men have remarked a striking resemblance between these Saxon deities and the seven principal gods of the Romans, after whom their days were also named — Apollo, Diana, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn.

Dr. Southey has some valuable remarks on the religion of the Saxons, with the influence of their conquest in Britain, and upon the state of Christianity as it was professed by many of the Britons. He says, "The Saxons, Angles, and other kindred tribes, to whom we are indebted for the basis and character of our fine language, and of our invaluable civil institutions, were at the time of their establishment here a ferocious people, but not without noble qualities; apt for instruction, and willing to be instructed. The heathenism which they introduced bears no affinity, either to that of the Britons, or of the Romans. It is less known than either; because while it subsisted as a living form of belief, the few writers who arose in those illiterate ages were incurious concerning such things: but it has left familiar traces in our daily speech, and in many of those popular customs which in

various parts of the country still partially maintain their ground. They had idols wrought in wood, stone, and metals of different kinds, even in gold: this fact implies considerable proficiency in art, beyond that to which the ancient Britons had attained. One of these idols was designed as standing upon a fish; others as having many heads, a gross but intelligible mode of representing to the senses of a rude people, that the gods whom they worshipped beheld the actions which were done on all sides. The latter images may be thought to imply by their fashion a Tartaric origin; the former may not improbably be referred through the same channel to India, and perhaps to the corrupted tradition of the Deluge, which seems to have been preserved wherever ancient traditions are found. They had temples, a ritual worship, and a regular priesthood. The rites were bloody. The Saxons on the continent are known to have decimated their prisoners for sacrifice. But there is some reason to infer, that the priests, when they accompanied the conquerors hither, had attained to that stage of intellectual advancement, wherein it became their wish so to direct their influence as to mitigate, rather than increase the evils to which their fellow-creatures were liable in an age of violence and incessant war. From the Saxons it is that we derive the holy name of God; its literal meaning was, *the good*; and we must acknowledge the propriety of that reverential feeling which induced them thus to express goodness and divinity by the same word. The enclosures of their temples were held to be profaned if a lance were thrown into them: and the priests were not permitted to bear arms; nor to ride like warriors on horseback, — only upon mares. When the image of their goddess Hertha, or mother earth, was borne abroad in a covered carriage, so long as it continued without the consecrated precincts, all hostilities were suspended, and nothing was thought of but festivity and joy. At the expiration of this festival, which otherwise might seem to have been instituted in favour of humanity, the vehicle, the garment which covered it, and the idol itself, were washed by slaves in a lake which none but the servants of the goddess were allowed to approach, and after this ceremony the slaves were sacrificed by drowning. They worshipped the

Sun and Moon, the Thunderer, and Odin, the favourite god of those who settled in this island, because he was a deified warrior, from whom the kings of the Heptarchy traced their descent. Of the other objects of their mistaken worship, little more than a few names can now be ascertained. That of the goddess Eostre, or Eastre, which may probably be traced to the Astarte of the Phœnicians, is retained among us in the word Easter, her annual festival having been superseded by that *sacred* day.

“The change produced in Britain by the Saxon conquest was greater than that which took place in any other part of the western empire, when it was broken up, and divided among the Gothic conquerors. Everywhere else they soon conformed to the religion, and intermingled with the inhabitants of the conquered provinces, so that a mixed speech presently grew up, retaining more traces of Roman than of its Barbaric origin. But the Roman tongue, and the Roman religion, the unfashionable and unpatronized rites of its perishing Paganism, as well as the flourishing forms of its corrupted Christianity, were at once swept away from that largest and finest portion of Britain in which the conquerors fixed themselves; and the Saxons established their heathen superstition and their language, without any compromise or commixture. The Britons themselves were divided into an unknown number of petty kingdoms, and their princes were animated with as much hostility against each other as against the invaders. But they were too high-minded to brook that forced and ignominious incorporation to which the Gauls, and Spaniards, and Italians, had submitted; and gradually retiring to the western peninsula, to the land of Lakes, and to the Highlands of Scotland, their language ceased to be spoken in that great division of the island which now obtained the name of England, from its Anglian conquerors. The priests and monks withdrew with them, as well as the less placable votaries of the old Druidical faith; and Christianity, as a public establishment, disappeared from the kingdoms of the Heptarchy for about a hundred and fifty years*.”

* Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 17, 21.

CHAPTER III.

CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS TO THE MISSION OF AUGUSTIN, A. D. 597.

Seminaries in Britain — Ravages of the Saxons — Religion in Wales — Brittany — Origin of Monachism — Bangor — Dubricius — Iltatus — David — St. Malo — Cardoc — Asaph — Gildas — Sampson — Patern — Petroc — Review.

CHRISTIANITY has generally been favoured by the advancement of learning; and doubtless it was in a measure promoted, in Britain, by means of those seminaries which were established under the influence of the French bishop, Germanus. From these colleges arose many eminent men, who are represented as famous in their generation, as lights in the British churches: but whether the interests of religion were better preserved or furthered by the alteration in the forms of public worship, in conformity with the rites and ceremonies observed in Gaul, we have no evidence. The scanty records of our country do not give us the information which we desire, concerning that period of British history. Ecclesiastics, who were the only writers of that age, seem to have had but little ability or inclination to compose annals of their times; or, if they did record the passing events in the church of God, those memorials perished in the national calamities arising from the Saxon conquest.

Exposed to the murderous sword of the Saxons, those who escaped fled to the more remote parts of the country. We have not had even the names of the British pastors preserved, except those of Theon and Thadiock, who are dignified with the title of archbishops of London and York; and these were obliged to flee for refuge into Wales. Our records of British Christianity, therefore, relate only to a few pastors in Wales, Scotland, and the sister island.

Modern writers have censured the Britons for allowing their conquerors to remain in the darkness of heathen idolatry for a century and a half, not seeking to diffuse among them the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ. Probably they were criminal in their neglect, allowing opportunities to pass unimproved for promoting their spiritual interests: but some apology may be made for the Britons. Surely none will

imagine that all possessed vital godliness; and only those who feel its divine influence are capable of estimating the importance of the gospel of salvation. Still, in a great degree, "the reproach is unjust and groundless. Could the natives, oppressed with all imaginable cruelties from the Saxons, have been fit instruments to instruct or convert their persecutors? Had they undertaken a work of that kind, what success could have been expected? But what were their opportunities, and how were they to engage the attention of men who drove them like sheep to the slaughter, or into the woods and mountains? *

Cornwall, and especially Wales, appear to have been more highly distinguished for genuine godliness than any other parts of the country. According to Fuller, "the entire body of the church was at this time in Wales; where Bancher on the north, and Caerleon on Usk, in Monmouthshire, in the south, were the two eyes thereof for learning and religion. The latter had in it the court of King Arthur, the see of an archbishop, a college of *two hundred* philosophers who therein studied astronomy, and was a populous place of great extent †." Bangor, near Chester, was probably of equal eminence with Caerleon for men of learning and piety; and its celebrated monastery included many zealous men, who were devoted to their studies preparatory to the work of the Christian ministry. Armorica, a province in France, which had long been a flourishing colony, with its own bishops ‡, became an asylum for the persecuted British Christians; and hence it was called Brittany, and Bretagne. With them the faith of the gospel was preserved; and several of their pastors, men of note, are mentioned in connection with our country.

"The monks of Bangor" being famous in British history, their origin and form of policy require to be noticed in this place. Monachism is no part of Christianity: this system originated in Egypt, in the third century, from "Paul the

* Warner's Ecclesiastical History of England, book ii, p. 39.

† Church History, book i, p. 140.

‡ Stillingfleet, Origines Brit. p. 232.

Hermit." This man was driven into the desert by the baseness of his covetous sister, who, with her husband, threatened to inform against him as a Christian, and thus obtained possession of his estates in the time of the Decian persecution. He remained in his solitude for *ninety* years, and died at the age of *one hundred and thirteen*, having acquired extraordinary reputation for piety, and engaging many to follow his example.

Anthony, at the close of the *fourth* century, is, however, regarded as the father of Monachism: he formed the solitaries into a regular society, and prescribed rules for the direction of their conduct. His disciples, St. Pachomius and Hilarion, promoted similar fraternities in Palestine and Syria; and Aones or Eugenius, aided by Gaddanas and Azyzas in the same age, established such in the east of Europe, through many parts of which they spread, generally superseding scriptural religion by various forms of superstition. Monachism being famous in all the east, was soon introduced into Britain, and accounts the most extravagant are told concerning the "Monastery of Bangor." *Two thousand one hundred monks* are said to have constituted this fraternity, divided into seven courses, each consisting of *three hundred*.

Much exaggeration doubtless marks these traditions; but still there is abundant reason to believe that there existed at Bangor a flourishing community of Christian professors. Sloth and luxury distinguished the monks of the middle ages, when they were ignorant and superstitious to a proverb, while nobles and kings, by mistaken charity, loaded them with wealth. But this could not have been the case with the Welsh monks of the fifth century: they seem to have supported themselves in a frugal manner by the labour of their own hands, while certain of them, in regular rotation, were performing the appointed offices of religion.

Dubricius is mentioned as a devoted pastor at Llandaff, and afterwards at Caerleon; of which he was honoured in after-ages with the title of Archbishop, that city being the metropolis of Wales. Two schools are said to have been established by this zealous minister, one at Hensland, the other at Mock-

rost, and himself laboured as the teacher of his pupils. At Hensland he is said to have had a thousand pupils*.

Dubricius held a synod at Brevi, in Cardiganshire, on the subject of the doctrines of Pelagius: they were condemned as erroneous; from which we would hope, that the assembled ministers gave due honour to the testimony of the Scriptures.

Itutus was a colleague of Dubricius, famed as the teacher of many of the British clergy and nobles: he was appointed by his superior, the archbishop, to a station called Llan-tuit, near Boverton in Glamorganshire.

David, the successor of Dubricius, was son of a British prince, and famed for pious austerity. He held a synod at Vittoria, in which the orthodox decisions of Brevi were ratified. David is honoured with the title of *Saint*, and from him Menevia is now called St. David's. Various miracles are attributed to this David, who died A. D. 529, aged, it is said, one hundred and forty-six years.

St. Malo was a Briton, educated at an Irish monastery, and an ecclesiastic of eminent sanctity. Being chosen bishop of Gui-Castel, and the people wishing to compel him to accept that dignity, he withdrew to Brittany, peopled chiefly by Britons, and placed himself under the direction of Aaron, a holy anchoret, near Aletha. He was chosen bishop of that city A. D. 541, and died A. D. 565; and from him St. Malo derives its name.

Cardoc died A. D. 570, leaving a great fame as the abbot of Lancarvan, and as having expended his whole income in the support of three hundred priests. May we not hope that some of these were useful in bringing souls to Christ?

Asaph presided over a monastery in Wales. This establishment of monks had been founded by Kentigern, abbot of Glasgow, who had been a missionary into this country. Asaph wrote the life of his patron, and died A. D. 590, leaving his name to the Welsh city of St. Asaph.

Gildas of Badon, or Bath, surnamed the Wise, was a monk

* Collier, vol. i, p. 48.

of Bangor. He was born at Dumbarton, and is believed to have preached the pure gospel of Christ in Scotland and in Ireland. He has left two discourses on "The Ruin of Britain;" and from him chiefly we learn the condition of the Britons in his time, being the only British author of the sixth century. From the discourses of Gildas, we conclude that he was an awakening preacher, and have reason to hope his ministry was useful to the souls of men. He died about A. D. 570.

Sampson is the name of two ecclesiastics who were greatly famed in their day. Sampson the *Elder* is said to have withdrawn from Wales into Brittany, whence he was sent for by Ambrosius, and made archbishop of York. Sampson the *Younger*, of royal extraction, is said to have been made archbishop, and sent from Brittany in search of an archiepiscopal see; but, unable to establish himself among the Saxons, he returned home, and became archbishop of Dol. Several memoirs, carried by him from England, but now lost, are said to have contained valuable records of the British churches. He died about A. D. 565.

Patern, the son of a nobleman in Brittany, after twenty years' study in Ireland, came as a minister of peace among the Welsh princes. He settled at Cardigan, but died in his native country, venerated for exemplary holiness of life.

Petroc of Cornwall was famed for piety: from him the town of Padstow, or Petroc-atow, is named. He is said to have died at Bodmin.

From a review of the British churches, and the character of the most famous ecclesiastics of this period, we are led to hope, that there was a considerable measure of evangelical truth disseminated among the people. Still Christianity was then but imperfectly understood: the Scriptures were scarcely known to the mass of those who professed the name of Christ; and the ministers were less devoted to the study of the word of God, than to the ceremonies of monastic institutions. Besides, it is manifest from historic records of that period, which are filled with fabulous statements, that even in Britain the ambition of the ecclesiastics strongly indicated the advancing progress of the spirit of popery.

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CHAP. IV.

CHRISTIANITY IN SCOTLAND TO THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Scotland receives the Gospel under Donald I. — Flourishes under Crathalithus — Sodor and Man — Scots in Ireland — Pelagianism — Palladius introduces Episcopacy to Scotland — St. Ninian — St. Kentigern — St. Columba — He settles in Iona — His Missionary successes — Culdees.

SCOTLAND is believed to have received Christianity soon after the apostolic age. Some traditions affirm, that the doctrines of the Gospel were published in this northern region by the persecuted disciples of the apostle John, who fled thither about A. D. 96, to avoid the fury of the Emperor Domitian. This seems not altogether improbable, as the Scottish Christians were zealously attached to the keeping of Easter according to the custom in Asia Minor. Christianity had made some progress among the people; and, about A. D. 206, King Donald I, and his queen, with several Scottish nobles, professed the faith of Christ, and were baptized.

Donald was zealous against idolatry; but his plans were disturbed by the invasion of the Emperor Severus, and for nearly a century Christianity gained but little over paganism. Druidism was at length subverted by King Crathalithus about A. D. 277, or 282, who expelled the priests, and obliterated every memorial of their superstition. Crathalithus died A. D. 304, promoting the cause of Christ, and receiving those who were driven from the south by persecution under the Emperor Dioclesian. He gave the preachers a residence in the Isle of Man, and erected a church in the small island of Iona. This building was dedicated to our blessed Saviour—in Greek Soter, corrupted to Sodor—and hence originated the modern title of “Sodor and Man,” given to one of the British prelates.

Christianity continued to prevail in the west of Scotland, notwithstanding the disorders of the times. Maximus, the Roman governor in Britain, aided by the Picts, occupying the east, vanquished the Scots, and drove many of them to the opposite coast of Ireland, where they carried the Gospel and settled, retaining the title of Scots. Tranquillity being in a measure restored at the close of the fourth century, Pela-

gianism gained some partizans in Scotland. Palladius, having been deputed by Pope Celestine to visit Britain, to assist the orthodox in suppressing that doctrine, was invited into Scotland for the same purpose, A. D. 431, by King Eugenius II. Palladius obtained licence from the pope, and succeeded in his commission both to confute Pelagianism, and new model the church, on a plan similar to the system then observed in the Roman church. Previously to this period, the Christians in Scotland had no connection with the Roman pontiff, nor had they any church officers who claimed pre-eminence above their brethren. Bede, therefore, truly says, that "unto the Scots, who believed in Christ, Palladius was sent by the pope as their first bishop*." Fordun, in his Chronicle, tells us, that, "before the coming of Palladius, the Scots, following the customs of the primitive church, had for teachers of the faith, and ministers of the sacraments, only presbyters, or monks†." Collier, in his zeal for diocesan episcopacy, is not satisfied with even the first rank of prelacy for Palladius, but says, "This seeming difficulty of *Primus Episcopus*, Archbishop Usher disentangles, by interpreting it *Primæ Sedis Episcopus*; so that though the Scots in Ireland had bishops amongst them before, yet Palladius was their first archbishop‡."

St. Nician, or Nicias, was a Briton of noble birth and excellent genius. After having received a superior education in his own country, he spent several years at Rome to complete his studies. He returned home, when he went on a mission to Valentia in Ireland, where his ministry was successful in converting many to Christ. Buchanan says, that Palladius sent Nician into Scotland to suppress Pelagianism, about A. D. 452. He built a church in a style superior to any in Britain at that time, and dedicated it to St. Martin. He also founded the monastery of Whitehorn in Galloway. Some ascribe to Ninian the honour of first converting the southern Scots and Picts to Christianity; and from the many traditions

* Bede, book iii, c. 3, 4. Usher, Antiquit. c. 15.

† History of Scotland, vol. i.

‡ Ecclesiastical History, vol. i, p. 50.

concerning him, it seems that he was eminent for piety, zeal, and self-denying labours in the cause of Christ.

St. Kentigern, son of a princess of the Picts, converted the Strathclyde Britons, and became abbot of Glasgow, in the middle of the sixth century. He was famous for his abstemiousness and various austerities, and enjoyed the patronage of the Scottish king Rhydderic. After having travelled into Wales, where he founded a religious society, he returned to his monastery, and died about A. D. 560. To Kentigern was dedicated the cathedral of Glasgow, under the appellation of Mungo, or the *courteous*.

St. Columba, above all others, is said to have been the most successful labourer in promoting Christianity among the Scots and Picts; and this missionary is believed to have had clearer and more scriptural views of the gospel than any of his contemporaries. Columba descended from a noble family in Ireland, and at an early age devoted himself to the service of religion. Having founded several monasteries in his native country, especially one called Dearthack, or the *Field of Oaks*, because situated in a forest, he came into Britain at the age of forty-two, about A. D. 563, being weary of the warlike feuds of a restless people. Twelve disciples accompanied him from Ireland in a wicker boat covered with hides. His cousin Congal II, king of the Caledonians, granted him the isle of Iona, where he settled, himself and his followers labouring with their own hands in the erection of buildings for their habitation and for a place of worship. His arrival in Scotland is thus related by Bede,—“In the year of our Lord’s incarnation, 565, there came a presbyter and abbot, a monk in life and habit, out of Ireland into Scotland, very famous, by name Columba, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts*.”

Iona, or Hy, after the name of this missionary, was called Columb-cylle, and Icolumb-kill, now Colchil. From this place, as a missionary station, Columba sent his disciples to different parts of Scotland; and under the patronage of

* Bede, book iii.

Congal and his son Conal, and Bridius, king of the Picts, Christianity made considerable progress. By Columba and his monks, above three hundred churches are said to have been planted, and supplied with able pastors from his seminary at Iona; besides those who were sent to the churches and monasteries of neighbouring nations. Columba was a man of extraordinary piety and industry; and he continued to his death studying and transcribing copies of the Holy Scriptures. This devoted man died A. D. 598, aged 77 years.

The monastery of Iona continued famous during several centuries, furnishing most of the preachers and bishops of the churches in Scotland and the north of England. Dr. Johnson speaks of this island as "once the seminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion."

With the Columbans originated the discipline and manners of the Culdees, or *dwellers in cells*, as the Gaelic word signifies; or, as some say, *separated to God*: though others derive it from *Cultores Dei*, *worshippers of God*. As each saint had his cell, it became distinguished by his name; and when chapels were erected on their sites, they were dedicated to the saints with peculiar veneration. Hence the names of many places in Scotland indicate the names of the Christian Culdees. Many of those recluses were greatly devoted to the study of the Scriptures; and their doctrines were remarkable for their retaining much of their primitive purity. All the missionaries were peculiarly denominated Culdees, especially after the building of the monastery of St. Andrews, A. D. 800.

How far sinners were converted to God, and edified in the knowledge of Christ, by the labours of the various ministers in Scotland, eternity will disclose. It seems to be manifest, that the Spirit of God rested upon his truth, extensively diffused, though not without superstitious ceremonies, and doubtless multitudes were "made meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light."

CHAPTER V.

CONVERSION OF THE SAXONS TO CHRISTIANITY.

Truth sacrificed to a Name — Sharon Turner's inaccurate Statement — Honour due to Pope Gregory, and Augustin — Christians in Wales, Scotland, and Brittany — Piety of Queen Bertha.

SACRED truth and the honours of pure Christianity have frequently been sacrificed under the shadow of a name. Such has been the case in attributing the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the labours of *Saint* Augustin, who was sent as a missionary by Pope Gregory to Britain. Popular tradition has led even Sharon Turner to give Augustin and Gregory the honour of bringing the inestimable treasures of the gospel to our country. That interesting writer says, "These great blessings of human life were *introduced into the island*, with that form of Christianity which the benevolent feelings and religious enthusiasm of Pope Gregory, deservedly with all his imperfections surnamed the Great, conveyed into England by his missionary Augustin *."

A measure of honour may certainly be considered as due to Pope Gregory, and to Augustin: but their fame has been blazoned chiefly by favourers of popery, through the prevalence of their political system of ecclesiastical government, rather than from the blessings of evangelical religion derived by Britain from their exertions.

Christianity is not a withering plant, whose beauty and life perish in the evening: it is the produce of "incorruptible seed by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever." Such it continued in the breasts of many of the British peasantry; who, though subjected to the idolatrous Saxons, cherished their own imperishable principles of faith and hope, and sighed for the re-establishment of divine ordinances in their country.

Without considering further the numerous Christians in Cornwall, Wales, and Scotland, Ireland and Brittany, already mentioned, whose influence could not be altogether unfelt by

* History of the Anglo Saxons, vol. i, p. 325.

their neighbours, it is manifest that the wishes of many to enjoy Christian worship were known in France, and had reached even to Rome: for Gregory, in his letters to Theodorick, king of Austrasia in Gaul, and to Theodobert his brother, desiring them to assist Augustin in his undertaking, complains of the French. "We are informed," says he, "that, through the mercy of God, the English nation is desirous to turn Christian; but the clergy of your nation, notwithstanding their neighbourhood, refuse to assist them in their good motions, and encourage their piety*."—In his letter to Queen Brunichild also, on the same occasion, he makes a similar statement, with the same complaint against the clergy. Such a disposition, thus extensively published, must have arisen from the information derived principally from the British Christians.

Besides, Bertha, the queen of Ethelbert, king of Kent, is acknowledged to have been a Christian of superior attainments; and her influence had been employed in promoting the honour of her Lord and Saviour. Bertha was the daughter of Cherebert, king of Paris; and Ethelbert, after her father's death, had obtained her in marriage, A.D. 570, from her uncle Chilperic, on condition of being permitted to enjoy her religious privileges with her chosen instructors. Ethelbert, to secure the amity of the French, readily agreed to this proposition; and Luidhard, bishop of Soissons, with several other ecclesiastics, accompanied Bertha to England, as her chaplain: and a neglected church at Canterbury, dedicated to St. Martin in the time of the Romans, was fitted up immediately as the Queen's Chapel. Chilperic hoped, that as the queen was thoroughly grounded in the truth of her divine religion, she would be so far from turning idolater herself, that she would contribute greatly to the conversion of the English monarch. And in this expectation he was not disappointed; for, "as soon as they came together, she spared no pains to gain his love and esteem by her affable and condescending behaviour. Ethelbert, charmed with the good qualities of his spouse, had all the value and affection for her she

* Gregory's *Epistles*, book v, chap. 58.

could desire. In this agreeable situation, Bertha justly hoped to bring the king at length to have favourable thoughts of the Christian religion; and therefore took all occasions to display the gospel truths in the most affecting manner*." Bertha reported her success to the French, from whom she could obtain no assistance; and afterwards to the Pope, probably by means of her chaplain Luidhard.

Such were the circumstances of the Anglo-Saxons in Kent, when Augustin came on his celebrated mission from Pope Gregory. It must be remarked, also, that the labours of Augustin and his colleagues extended no farther than the kingdom of Kent, except by some fruitless efforts of Miletus, who for a short time was acknowledged by the king of Essex as bishop of London.

CHAPTER VI.

CHARACTER OF POPE GREGORY.

Ecclesiastical System of Gregory in England — Grandson of Felix II. — His early Life — Elected Pope — His Litanies — Milner's Testimony — Much of the Common Prayer from him — His Ambition — Universal Bishop — His Flattery of the Monster Phocas — Appeal of Bower — Fry's Observations — Dr. Haweis — Fox.

POPE GREGORY was an extraordinary character. This it will be necessary for us to review, since many writers ascribe to his ministry the blessings of Christianity, as bestowed upon England; and especially since his ecclesiastical system is the basis on which church government has been constructed in this country, even to our times.

Gregory was a native of Rome, of a noble family, and great grandson to Pope Felix II. He had been educated agreeably to his rank; and his abilities as a senator recommended him to the Emperor Justinian II, by whom he was appointed prefect of Rome. This high office he filled with singular fidelity, justice, and prudence, at a difficult period. His religious impressions received in early life reviving, he determined, on

* Rapin's History of England, book iii, p. 65.

the death of his father, to retire from the world, and devote his great property agreeably to the superstitions of the times.

He founded seven monasteries; six in Sicily, and one at Rome, and withdrew to one of those religious asylums. But his talents being known, he was drawn from his seclusion, ordained deacon, and sent by Pope Pelagius II, as nuncio, to transact ecclesiastical affairs at Constantinople. On his return, he was chosen abbot; and an epidemic carrying off Pelagius, Gregory was elected pope. This dignity he appears anxious to have declined, declaring himself unworthy of the honour, and writing to the Emperor Mauricius to withhold his assent. Gregory made a powerful appeal to the alarmed people, calling them to repentance during the plague, and concluding his discourse by appointing a *litany* to be performed at day-break in seven companies; the *first* consisting of the clergy, the *second* of the abbots and monks, the *third* of the abbesses and nuns, the *fourth* of children, the *fifth* of laymen, the *sixth* of widows, and the *seventh* of married men. Gregory concealed himself for three days, being conveyed out of the city in a wicker basket; but being discovered, he was obliged to enter upon his bishopric, A. D. 590.

Mr. Milner, far more than any other Protestant historian, praises Pope Gregory. That excellent writer remarks, "In different periods of his life he moved in opposite extremes. He was one while dormant, in the quietism of solitude; another while, involved in the multiplicity of episcopal cares at Rome. If his lot had been cast in the earlier and purer days of Christianity, he would neither have been a monk, nor a bishop charged with such extensive secular concerns, and so would have avoided the evils of which he complains. The great sees in those times—that of Rome in particular—through the increasing growth of spiritual domination, and the load of worldly business very improperly connected with it—worldly though in some sense ecclesiastical—were agreeable enough to minds like that of Vigilius, earthly and ambitious, but were fatiguing beyond measure to men like Gregory, who unfeignedly loved heavenly things *."

* Church History, vol. iii, p. 32.

Gregory seems indeed to have displayed a spirit of piety ; and some of his letters even breathe a pure, elevated, and scriptural devotion. " He particularly excelled in devotional compositions," says Milner. " Litanies," he adds, " had been used in the West before his time in calamitous seasons, as during plague and famine. These were collected, and the choicest parts selected from them, and compiled, through the care of Gregory, in one large litany, not much different from that used by the church of England at this day. But the church of England is not only indebted to Gregory for the Litany. In his Sacramentary he embodied the collects of the ancient church, and improved old or made new ones. Gelasius, before him, had appointed public prayers, composed by himself or others. These were all placed in the offices by Gregory : and by a comparison of our Book of Common Prayer with his Sacramentary, it is evident that almost all the collects for Sundays, and the principal festivals in the church of England, were taken out of the latter *."

Gregory died in the year 604, after having possessed his bishopric thirteen years and six months—a period which forms a remarkable epoch in the popedom.

Mr. Milner labours to clear Gregory from the imputation of being a pope ; and says, that " the inordinate amplitude of authority and of extensive jurisdiction to which superstition had already advanced the Roman see, with the government of Italy and Sicily, and a prevailing notion of a superintendence over all the churches, derived from St. Peter, excited in him no pleasing sensations of dominion †." Yet he acknowledges, " Gregory no doubt had himself too high views of the dignity of his own see ; and its supposed relation to St. Peter blinded his judgment ‡ ;" and that " superstition and ecclesiastical power, in the excess, adhered indeed to the conduct of the Roman prelate, as the fault of the age, not of his temper §."

Bower says, " Gregory inviolably adhered to the principle common to all popes, from the earliest times to the latest ; viz. never to part with any power which his predecessors had

* Church History, vol. iii, p. 87, 88.

† Ibid. p. 38.

‡ Ibid. p. 54.

§ Ibid. p. 70.

acquired, by what means soever it had been gained*." Agreeably to this policy, Gregory strained every nerve to prevent the patriarch of Constantinople from assuming the title of *Universal Bishop*, denouncing it as a mark of Antichrist. On this occasion Gregory assumed to himself the title of affected humility, ever since retained by the popes, *Servant of the Servants of God*. That lofty title which he had condemned in his dignified brother John, he ardently sought for himself; as is evident from his adulatory letters to those monsters in wickedness, Phocas and his wife Leontia.

Phocas had opened a passage to the imperial throne by the murder of Mauricius and his six sons; and afterwards, most barbarously, of the Empress Constantia and her three daughters, dragged from their refuge in one of the churches of Constantinople. Mauricius is generally commended as a prince of many virtues, and of but few vices: and Gregory in his letters to him declares, that his "tongue could not express the good he had received of the Almighty, and his Lord the emperor; that he thought himself bound in gratitude to pray incessantly for the life of his most pious and most Christian Lord; and that, in return for the goodness of his most religious Lord to him, he could do no less than love the very ground on which he trod†." Yet Gregory, courtier like, congratulated Phocas on his being proclaimed Emperor, saying, "Let the heavens rejoice! let the earth leap for joy! let the whole people return thanks for so happy a change!" In the same strain he wrote, in reply to the first letter of Phocas: and to Leontia, the empress, he says, "What tongue can utter, what mind can conceive, the thanks we owe to God, who has placed you on the throne, to ease us of the yoke with which we have been hitherto so cruelly galled? Let the angels give glory to God in heaven! let men return thanks to God upon earth! for the republic is relieved, and our sorrows are banished‡!"

"Who would have expected such letters from a Christian bishop to a usurper! a tyrant! a murderer! a regicide! Who

* History of the Popes, vol. ii.

† Bower's Lives of the Popes, vol. ii, p. 536.

‡ Ibid. p. 534.

would not have thought Gregory, of all men, the least capable of becoming his panegyrist, of applauding him in his usurpation, murders, and tyranny?—Gregory, I say, whose manners and whole conduct have hitherto appeared irreproachable! But what virtue can be proof in a pope against the jealousy of a rival? What virtue can restrain a pope from employing even the most criminal methods to defeat all attempts, that seem to have the least tendency towards lessening the honour and dignity of his see * ? ”

Speaking of the superstitious criminality of Gregory, a judicious clergyman remarks, “ If the piety of an individual could have redeemed the character of the Roman see, we may perhaps admit, that, in better times, that of the first Gregory might have done so; but at the period at which he was placed at the head of the Roman church, influenced as he was by the delusive spirit of the day, what there was of real worth in his private character only added weight to the preponderating evil, and procured credit to the ‘mystery of iniquity’ which had long been working secretly, but was now openly prevailing. Nothing but the acknowledgment that this celebrated bishop was a deluded victim of a most blind and abject superstition, can redeem his character from the charge of imposture, and of ‘speaking lies in hypocrisy, having his conscience scared.’ ”

Gregory was far from being behind his contemporaries in recommending the efficacy of superstitious practices for the procurement of salvation, in advancing the credit of lying miracles. The admission of pictures and images into the churches, as books for the unlearned, was, in the circumstances of the times, but the introduction of idolatry; and when he himself could send presents, or sell at a considerable price the oil from the lamps that burned at the tombs of the apostles, as being possessed of miraculous powers, it sufficiently shows how “strong” the “delusion” was in his own mind.

“ If Gregory was indeed a sincere Christian, he believed this lie. But then what an instrument must he have been in

* Bower's Lives of the Popes, vol. ii, p. 535.

the hands of the great deceiver, to carry on these delusions in a most ignorant and superstitious age, when the blind led the blind, and the ears of the people were turned away from the truth to listen unto fables; and when the apostacy long predicted, and long advancing in its progress, was soon to become total and universal * ! ”

Dr. Haweis says, “ The canon of the Mass now produced by the great Gregory, with all its pomp and fooleries, became universally celebrated. The very names of new saints, festivals, and litanies, with the forms of consecration, would fill a folio, instead of meriting to blot a page. And what is ridiculous enough, the Lupercalia, or Feast of Pan, with all its impurities, received a new title, as the Festival of the Virgin’s Purification, with all the heathen rites continued. Temple upon temple, bearing the names of saints new and old, added to their honours, and procured especial patrons for builders, who became associated in a share of their merits. Shame and indignation blot the catalogue † ! ”

Gregory died A. D. 604, of whom Fox remarks, it was said, “ that of the number of all the first bishops before him in the primitive time, he was the basest; of all them that came after him, he was the best ‡ . ”

CHAPTER VII.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE POPEDOM.

Popery the Mystery of Iniquity — Apostolic Ministers, Bishops, and Deacons — Papists deny this — Scott’s Comment — Dr. Hammond’s — Ambition of Diotrephes — Three Orders created — Epistles of Ignatius — Pope Victor excommunicates the Asiatics — Hierarchy framed corresponding with the Roman government — Ambition of the Presbyters — Martin of Tours — Creation of Titles — Pope acknowledged Universal Bishop — and God upon Earth !

BRITAIN, in common with the other nations of Europe in which Christian churches were early planted, has suffered grievously from the corruption of the Divine institutions by

* Church History, by the Rev. John Fry, B. A., Rector of Desford, p. 175, 176.

† Impartial Church History, vol. ii, p. 40, 41.

‡ Acts and Monuments, vol. i, p. 154.

popery. Evils of every kind abounded in that blasphemous system of priestly arrogance; and therefore it is that the pen of inspiration denounced it by anticipation as "THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY"—"THE MAN OF SIN"—"THE SON OF PERDITION"—"THE MOTHER OF ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH." 2 Thess. ii, 3, 7; Rev. xvii, 5. Without a brief review of the rise and progress of Popery, our youthful readers will not be prepared to form a correct judgment concerning several matters which must necessarily be mentioned in British church history; particularly in that portion of it subsequently to the establishment of an antisciptural hierarchy by Augustin.

Nothing could be more simple, rational, and worthy of the Divine wisdom and goodness, than the form of Christianity ordained by the apostles. Their *office* was extraordinary; and in that they could have no successors: but they appointed simply two sorts of ministers, to be permanent officers in the churches. The first were *Bishops*, who are called Elders or Presbyters on account of their age and gravity, and Pastors and Teachers on account of their various duties relating to the spiritual interests of the people. Acts xx, 17, 28; Phil. i, 1; 1 Tim. iii, 1, 7; Tit. i, 5, 7; Eph. iv, 11, 12. The second sort were *Deacons*: their ministry related to the temporal affairs of the churches, especially the care of the poor and widows. Preaching was no part of the deacon's office; though their superior gifts and piety qualified them sometimes to officiate in the spiritual duties of the pastor; and many of the bishops were chosen by the people from among their deacons. Acts vi, 1, 8; viii, 12, 14, 26, 40; Phil. i, 1; 1 Tim. iii, 8, 13.

Adherents of Popery, and even some Protestants, deny this representation; and talents of the highest character have been employed to maintain, that *three orders* of Christian ministers were appointed by the apostles: the *first* Bishops, and under them *Priests* and *Deacons*. In support of this it has been a favourite argument, that, from the age after the apostles, *bishops* of this superior order have existed; and therefore that it ought to be presumed they were of apostolical ordination. We have only to say, that no such fact being contained in the

New Testament, the superior order must be a usurpation. As to the order called Priests, our readers will find that *Christianity admits of no priest* besides our blessed Lord himself; and therefore we need only remind them, that the *title* is never once used in the New Testament, as designating any of his ministers, except that as all believers in Christ are "*a holy priesthood* to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." 1 Pet. ii, 5.

Probably no authority will be regarded generally more worthy of confidence, in explaining the Word of God, than the late commentator the Rev. Thomas Scott; and we give his testimony, as necessary to the fidelity of this part of church history, that there were only *two classes of ministers* appointed by the apostles. On Acts xx, 17, Mr. Scott says, "The same persons are in this chapter called 'elders' or *presbyters*, and 'overseers' or *bishops* (28 Gr.): it must therefore be allowed, that these were not distinct orders of ministers in the church at that time." — "It seems indubitable that they (the deacons) were appointed solely to take off the temporal concerns of the church; and not, as deacons, to preach or administer sacred ordinances, except by assisting the elders, presbyters, or bishops, as some think they did, in distributing the bread and wine at the Lord's Supper *." — "The same is also proved, by the silence of the apostles concerning any other order than bishops and deacons †." — "The pastors of the church were distinguished from the deacons, who managed the secular matters and charities of the church. Much labour and learning have indeed been employed, to set aside this conclusion; but with little success, even by the allowance of decided episcopalians ‡."

Dr. Hammond states, "It is evident, that, by the immediate impulse of the Spirit of God, bishops were constituted; deacons only joined with them in every church, and so at Corinth and the rest of Achaia. And that by the command of the same divine prophecy or revelation, successors were assigned to them after their departure." — "Indeed, mention is found only of bishops and deacons constituted in each city,

* Scott on Acts vi, 2, 6. † Ibid. 1 Tim. iii, 1. ‡ Ibid. Phil. i, 1.

sometimes under the title of Bishops, sometimes of Presbyters; there being no token or footstep at all appearing of such as we now call presbyters *."

Such being the divine constitution of Christian ministers, as acknowledged by episcopalian clergymen, our readers will inquire how it came to be altered? A satisfactory solution of this query may be found, in the state of the church in the apostles' days. Paul declares, so early as A. D. 54, "The mystery of iniquity doth already work." 2 Thess. ii, 7. And John complains of the same evil in the ambition of Diotrophes, A. D. 90. On his case Scott judiciously remarks, "It seems that he [John] had written to the church, to induce them to help on their journey and assist in a manner becoming their profession the persons before mentioned—ver. 5, 8—but Diotrophes (probably a pastor of the church, whose circumstances, or abilities, or eloquence, concurring with ambition of pre-eminence, had acquired for him an undue influence over his brethren) would not own his authority, or pay any regard to his counsel. He refused to entertain or countenance those evangelists or missionaries whom the apostle had recommended, and even forbade others to do it; and when they regarded the apostle's authority more than his prohibitions, he proceeded to excommunicate them for so doing †."

Early in the second century this ambitious principle was extensively developed. The people naturally yielded honour, which in some instances was extravagant, to their worthy pastors, and to their elders in the churches, especially to such as occasionally led their devotions at their prayer-meetings. By a seemingly innocent allusion to the Jewish mode of speaking, the bishops began to be called *chief priests*, the active gifted elders were spoken of as *priests*, and the deacons as *Levites*. But in a little time these titles were claimed and seriously abused. "The Christian doctors had the good fortune to persuade the people, that the ministers of the Christian church succeeded to the character, rights, and privileges,

* Dissertation, Diss. v, c. vii, sect. 9; and c. viii, sect. 9.

† Commentary on 3 John, ver. 9, 12.

of the Jewish priesthood; and this persuasion was a new source of honour and profit to the sacerdotal order. This notion was propagated with industry some time after the second destruction of Jerusalem * had extinguished all hopes of seeing their government restored to its former lustre, and their country arising from its ruins. And accordingly the *bishops* considered themselves invested with a rank and character similar to those of the *high priests* among the Jews, while the *presbyters* represented the priests, and the *deacons* the *Levites* †."

Ignatius, the famous martyr — if the Epistles attributed to him are genuine — was infected with this pernicious notion. On these Epistles, which Milner acknowledges are characterized by "the disadvantages of a style bloated with Asiatic tumour, and still more perhaps of a text very corrupt ‡," Dr. Haweis remarks, "The Epistle to the Magnensians, if not spurious or interpolated, is full of self-exalting episcopal exhortations, and still something heightened."—"Be subject to the bishop, as Jesus Christ to the Father; and the apostles to Christ, and the Father, and the Holy Ghost:"—though a softening salvo is added, and "to one another." The title given in the address to the bishop — *To the Most Dignified*—savours not of apostolical humility. To the Trallians he says, "Reverence the bishop as the representative of God the Father, and the presbyters as God's sanhedrim." On a review of these Epistles, Dr. Haweis remarks, among other things, "Episcopal pretensions, such as had never before appeared. Clement's Epistle suggests not a tittle like it §."

"Towards the conclusion of this century, Victor, bishop of Rome, took it into his head to force the Asiatic Christians, by the pretended authority of his laws and decrees ||, to observe the custom of Rome in keeping Easter. They refused compliance; and "Victor, with much arrogance, as if he had felt the very soul of the future papacy formed in himself, in-

* A. D. 135. † Mosheim, vol. i, p. 179, 180.

‡ Church History, vol. i, p. 169.

§ Imp. Church History, vol. i, p. 155.

|| Mosheim, vol. i, p. 209.

veighed against the Asiatic churches, and pronounced their excommunication *."

In the third century, the bishops in the larger cities—Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage—continued to aspire "to higher degrees of power and authority than they had formerly possessed; and not only violated the rights of the people, but also made gradual encroachments upon the privileges of the presbyters.—The bishops assumed, in many places, a princely authority. They appropriated to their evangelical function the splendid ensigns of temporal majesty. A throne, surrounded with ministers, exalted above his equals the servant of the meek and humble Jesus; and sumptuous garments dazzled the eyes and the minds of the multitude into an ignorant veneration for their arrogated authority. The example of the bishops was ambitiously imitated by the presbyters.—The deacons, beholding the presbyters deserting thus their functions, boldly usurped their rights and privileges; and the effects of a corrupt ambition were spread through every rank of the sacred order †."

Constantine the Great, having become the patron of Christianity early in the fourth century, loaded the bishops with wealth and honours. The bishop of Rome was first in rank, and was distinguished by a sort of pre-eminence over all other prelates, on account of his superior wealth and influence in the imperial city. And under the Christian emperor, "the prelatical government became modelled, after the imperial, into great prefectures, of which Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, claimed superiority; whilst a sort of feudality was established, descending from *patriarchs* to *metropolitans*, *archbishops*, *bishops*, some with greater, and others with less extensive spheres of dominion ‡."

"This pernicious example was soon followed by the several ecclesiastical orders. The presbyters, in many places, assumed an equality with the bishops, in point of rank and

* Milner, vol. i, part ii, chap. ix.

† Mosheim, vol. i, p. 265, 266.

‡ Hæwæis, vol. i, p. 294.

authority. Those more particularly of the presbyters and deacons, who filled the first stations of these orders, carried their pretensions to an extravagant length, and were offended at the notion of being placed upon an equal footing with their colleagues. For this reason they assumed the titles of *arch-presbyters* and *archdeacons* *."

"The office of a presbyter was looked upon of such a high and eminent nature, that Martin, bishop of Tours, was so audacious as to maintain, at a public entertainment, that the emperor was inferior in dignity to one of that order †."

These newly-created dignities required a corresponding style of address; and this was soon determined. Here, however, it may be proper to notice, that no example of flattering titles is given in the New Testament; all Christians being described as *saints*, or holy persons: but they are never addressed, not even the apostles, as *Saint John*, or *Saint Peter*. These titles are the invention of popery. Lord Chancellor King remarks, "It is very seldom, if ever, that the ancients give the title of Saints to those holy persons; but singly style them Peter, Paul, John, &c.; not *Saint Peter*, *Saint Paul*, *Saint John* ‡." Priestly dignities having been created, new titles were framed; and hence originated the addresses of "Reverend" — "Very Reverend" — "Right Reverend" — "Most Reverend" — "Your Grace" — "Your Holiness."

Hence, "instead of the people choosing their own bishops and presbyters, they were no more consulted. The presbyters wholly depended on bishops and patrons: the bishops were the creatures of patriarchs and metropolitans; or, if the see was important, appointed by the emperor. So 'church and state' formed the first inauspicious alliance; and the corruption which had been plentifully sown before, now ripened by court intrigues for political bishops of imperial appointment, or at the suggestion of the prime minister §." "The monarchical form of government was then set up in the churches of the Western empire, under the bishop of

* Mosheim, vol. i, p. 357.

† Ibid. vol. ii, p. 30.

‡ Primitive Church, part ii, p. 145.

§ Hæweis, vol. i, p. 340.

Rome, by means of the imperial decree of Gratian, and the appeals and decretal epistles founded thereon *."

Thus, agreeably to the prediction of the apostle, "he that letteth," the *heathen Roman government*, was "taken out of the way," and "*the man of sin,*" "*the son of perdition*"—a new spiritual power—was revealed. By various distractions, invasions, and revolutions, "the decline and fall of the Roman empire" was precipitated: but at every descending step of the imperial greatness, the pontiff of Rome gained a higher elevation, until this "*mystery of iniquity*" established his ordinary address as "Your Holiness." His decisions were regarded as infallible; and he claimed the titles of "Universal Bishop," and "The Vicar of Christ," requiring the homage of all mankind, under pretence of having all kingdoms at his disposal, as *God upon earth*! He even received the blasphemous style of address of "OUR LORD GOD THE POPE †!"

The Emperor Justinian, in his Epistle A. D. 533, writes to the pope, "We hasten to *SUBJECT and to unite to your holiness all the priests of the whole East.*—Nor do we suffer any thing which belongs to the state of the church, however manifest and undoubted, that is agitated, to pass without the knowledge of your holiness, who was the head of all the holy churches ‡." This dignity was for a time disputed by the *patriarch* of Constantinople: but, A. D. 606, it was renewed and confirmed by the Emperor Phocas, a monster in wickedness, to Pope Boniface.

How far Christianity has been dishonoured and mankind afflicted by this iniquitous papal usurpation, human language fails to describe. Inspiration, however, aids us, declaring it "*the MOTHER OF ABOMINATIONS!—drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus!*"—Rev. xvii, 5, 6.

* A. D. 379.

† Bishop Newton on the Prophecies, Diss. xxii.

‡ Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on the Prophecies, p. 107.

CHAPTER VIII.

MISSION OF AUGUSTIN.

Tradition concerning Gregory—He is made Pope—Augustin sent with Forty Monks—His Reception by the King of Kent—Settles at Canterbury—His Procession—The King and Nobles converted—Augustin is consecrated Archbishop—His Messengers to the Pope—Gregory's Answer—Ecclesiastical System—The Pope's Letters to the King and Queen.

BEDÉ, a learned monk of Durham, born sixty-seven years after the death of Augustin, is our chief authority for the particulars of this Romish mission. His interesting account is debased with various legendary fictions, which craft had invented before his time to exalt the dignity of the pope.

Gregory is said, while archdeacon of Rome, about A. D. 587, to have projected a mission to Britain through the following circumstance. Walking one day through the market-place at Rome, his attention was caught by some beautiful youths, offered for sale as slaves. This horrid traffic in human beings was carried on to some extent in that metropolis of Christendom, and by individuals from among the Saxons. Gregory learnt that they were pagans, and that their countrymen were called Angli, the Latin word for the Angles. "Alas!" he exclaimed, "that the prince of darkness should possess countenances so luminous, and that faces so fair should carry minds destitute of eternal grace." On being told that they were natives of *Deira*, the province of Northumberland, "These people," said he, "should be delivered *de Dei ira*" [from the wrath of God]. On being informed that their king was named Ella, "Alleluia to God," said he, still playing upon the sounds, "should be sung in those regions *."

Gregory felt, or affected to feel, a desire to declare the gospel to so interesting a people, and offered himself to undertake a mission for that purpose. Permission having been obtained of Pope Pelagius, he set out on his journey; but the people and clergy of Rome were so much attached to

* Bede, book ii, chap. 1.

Gregory, that at their request he was recalled. Seven years after this he was elevated to the dignity of pope; when application being made, as appears, by Bertha, who had been more than twenty years married to Ethelbert, diffusing in some good measure the knowledge of Christianity by her religious example and by her ministers, a mission was determined on by Gregory. His pupil Augustin, then abbot of St. Gregory's monastery at Rome, with forty monks, was appointed to this work. Christian simplicity, faith, and zeal, the fruits of the Spirit, and of love to their Saviour, were, however, not among the chief qualities possessed by these missionaries. Hearing in France representations of the difficulties and dangers awaiting them in Britain, their hearts failed them, and Augustin returned to Rome, soliciting to be discharged from the arduous service. The pope, however, prevailed on him, and wrote to encourage his companions to proceed in their enterprize. He gave Augustin letters also to the French king, and to Etherius, bishop of Arles, to obtain their assistance; and thus encouraged, and furnished with interpreters, the party proceeded, and arrived in Britain, A. D. 597.

Augustin, on landing in the isle of Thanet, sent to inform King Ethelbert of his arrival with other missionaries, and to declare the object of their mission. The king appointed an early day to visit them, and an interview was granted in an open field, as Bede says, lest any power of evil spirits should be employed by them against him*. Augustin, far from apostolical simplicity, arranged his followers in the order of a procession; raised aloft a silver cross, and displayed a banner, on which was a painting of the Saviour; and thus with affected pomp, and chanting litanies, they moved towards the royal presence. Ethelbert listened to their propositions, which Augustin made by means of interpreters; and though we have no part of the discourse of the missionary, doubtless he offered to the king, eternal life and salvation in the kingdom of God, through the mediation of Jesus Christ: for the king is said to have replied to this effect:—"Your proposals

* Bede, book i, chap. 23, 24.

are noble, and your promises inviting : but I cannot abandon the religion of my ancestors. However, since you have come so far on purpose to impart what you deem most valuable, you shall have satisfaction. I will take care for your protection, and supply you with all things necessary for your support. And if any of my subjects are willing to embrace your religion, I shall offer no objection."

Ethelbert granted permission for Augustin and his companions to settle at Canterbury, ordering suitable accommodations to be provided. "But whether these favours were the effect of God's blessing upon the discourse and design of Augustin, whether they were the effect of the persuasions of the queen and the Gallican king, the relation and ally of Ethelbert, or whether they were owing to the desire and disposition of the English themselves to receive the gospel, it is impossible for us, at this distance of time, and would be invidious, to determine *."

Augustin had recourse again to parade in entering the royal city, to make an impression on the minds of the pagans. "Carrying before them," says Bede, "as was their custom, the holy cross, and image of the Great King, our Lord Jesus Christ, they sang in concert this litany, 'We beseech thee, O Lord, in all thy mercy, that thy wrath and indignation may be taken away from this city, and from this thy holy house, for we have sinned. Alleluia †.'" Having taken possession of the mansion granted them, "they began," says Bede, "to imitate the apostolical life of the primitive church, exercising themselves in constant prayers, watchings, and fastings, preaching the word of God to whom they were able, despising all things of this world, as not belonging to them, and receiving all necessary things according to the doctrines which they taught, being prepared to suffer, or even to die for that truth which they had preached. The consequence was, some believed and were baptized, admiring the simplicity of their innocent life, and the sweetness of their doctrine ‡."

Miracles, if Bede's account is to be believed, confirmed

* Warner's Ecclesiastical History, book ii, p. 42.

† Bede, book i, chap. 25.

‡ Ibid. chap. 26.

the preaching of Augustin; and the king, observing these things, and what he deemed the innocent lives of the missionaries, delighted with the precious promises of the gospel, professed his faith in Christ, renounced his idols, and was baptized. The queen's chapel was no longer sufficient to contain the increasing number of the converts; a heathen temple was therefore consecrated to their use, and dedicated, it is said, to St. Pancras. Ethelbert declared that he would compel no man to become a Christian; but on making known his purpose to show favour to those who embraced Christianity, many followed the example of the king. Ten thousand converts are said to have been baptized in one day at a small river, near the mouth of the Medway.

Most readers will probably doubt concerning the spiritual and intelligent character of Augustin's converts, especially since the principal instruction afforded to the ignorant Saxons was through interpreters, and accompanied with superstitious ceremonies and services in Latin. Fuller remarks, in words that imply much, "This conversion was done without persecution, yea or any considerable opposition, costing some pains, no torture, some sweat, no blood; not even a martyr being made in the whole managing thereof *."

Gregory had consecrated Augustin bishop of Kent, before he left Rome. But seeing the fruit of his mission so abundant, to secure his authority, Augustin hastened to France, and procured from the archbishop of Arles, consecration, as archbishop of England. In this procedure the ambition of Augustin is manifest, and the difference between his policy and the conduct of the apostles of Christ. His new dignity, he was aware, would increase his priestly influence; and, according to his expectations, Ethelbert immediately loaded the archbishop with every mark of royal favour, making Canterbury the metropolitan see.

Augustin now dispatched Laurentius, a presbyter, and Peter, a monk, with two others, to inform Pope Gregory of his successes, his miracles, and his consecration; and to solicit answers to several questions relating to his future policy in

* History of the Church, p. 53.

the forming an ecclesiastical system for England. Some of the queries give us but a mean idea of Augustin's attainments in scriptural knowledge: while others show the prevalence of his superstition, vanity, and ambition. Gregory's answers, also, are some of them too trifling, and others besides, too indelicate to be presented to our readers. Still the letter from the pope is interesting, so far as it proves, that though Gregory was lofty in his pretensions as the occupier of the supposed chair of St. Peter, he had not assumed that exorbitant and blasphemous authority claimed by his pontifical successors.

The *first* question of Augustin was, "How are bishops to behave with respect to their clergy?—Into how many portions are the offerings at the altar divided?—And how ought a bishop to act in the church? For satisfaction in the *first* point, the Pope refers him to St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy. To the second, he answers, that it was the custom of the church to divide the offerings into four parts—one for the bishop; *another* for the support of the clergy; the *third* for the poor; and the *fourth* for the repairs of the churches. As to the last article, Gregory observes, that Austin, being a monk, ought not to live apart from the rest of the clergy: but if any were not ordained, and wished to marry, they might receive their stipends at their own houses. Augustin's second question related to the rites and ceremonies which he should establish in England, as he found those observed in Gaul differed from those used at Rome. Gregory, with much moderation, answered, that as he had known the church of Rome from his youth, whether in that or any French church he might see any thing apparently more fit for the service of God, that might be chosen. "For," as Fox translates it, "things are not to be beloved for the place sake, but the place is to be beloved for the things that be good: wherefore such things as be good, godly, and religious, those choose out of all churches, and introduce to your people, that they may take root in the minds of Englishmen*."

In the seventh question, Augustin asks how he ought to

* Acts and Monuments, vol. i, p. 151.

manage with the bishops of France; to which the pope replies, that he allows him no manner of jurisdiction over them, because he did not design to deprive the archbishop of Arles of that authority which he already possessed *. The letter of Augustin, and the verbal reports of his messengers, inspired Gregory with lofty notions concerning the progress of this mission; and he sent back Mellitus, Paulinus, and other new missionaries, to strengthen his hands. By these the pope sent to Augustin a *pall*, an entire and magnificent habit, contrived to adorn a metropolitan, and without which no archbishop is recognized by the Romish church, or allowed to consecrate a bishop. Anticipating increasing success, Gregory gave directions to Augustin to ordain twelve bishops, and an archbishop of York, with twelve suffragans under him. An archbishop was to be consecrated for London; but Augustin's authority was to be supreme; as Gregory says —“ You shall be endued with authority, not only over those bishops that you constitute, and over those constituted by the bishop of York, but also you shall have all other priests of whole Britain subject unto our Lord Jesus Christ.” In this, Gregory acted in the true spirit of antichrist, who had now nearly reached the summit of his pernicious claims, and it suited the domineering temper of Augustin.

Miracles were reported to have been wrought by Augustin, whom Gregory admonished not to be elated by such marks of the Divine favour; but, as the Saviour admonished his disciples, rather to rejoice that his “ name was written in heaven.”

Gregory wrote also to King Ethelbert, congratulating him on his conversion to the faith of Christ; commending Augustin as eminently qualified for his station, and remarkable for his knowledge of the Scriptures, and exhorting him to attend to Augustin's instructions, co-operating with him in converting the idolaters. To excite his attention more effectually, Gregory informed the king that the world was nearly at an end, and that the reign of the saints was soon about to commence, of which he would be assured by various signs.

* Bede, book i, chap. 29.

He addressed a letter at the same time to Queen Bertha, to quicken her zeal in confirming the king in the belief of Christianity, and in urging him forward in promoting the objects of the mission. That these endeavours were effectual is abundantly evident in the honours heaped upon Augustin, and the influence exerted in his favour.

CHAPTER IX.

AUGUSTIN'S MINISTRY AND SUCCESSORS.

Gregory and the Pagan Festivals — English Wakes — British Churches — Augustin calls the Bishops to a Synod — His ambitious Proposals — A second Synod — Conduct of the British — His indignant Threat — The Monks murdered — Augustin culpable — Laurentius succeeds him — His Policy — Saxons return to idolatry — His Successors.

CONFIRMED in his dignity by the authoritative grant of the pope, and in favour with the king, Augustin adopted various plans for the promotion of his ambition. Gregory had charged the king to destroy the idols and demolish their temples; but he afterwards sent instructions by Mellitus to pursue a different course, a policy adopted universally in that age. He directs Augustin to convert the idol temples into churches, "consecrating them by sprinkling holy water, and placing under their altars some sacred relics of saints," of which he sent an abundant supply from Rome. As to the idolatrous festivals, he gives him these directions. "Whereas they were accustomed to kill many oxen in their sacrifices to devils, you may persuade them to make this change in that solemnity, that on the anniversary day of the dedication of their churches in honour of the saints whose names they bear, or whose relics are deposited in them, they may raise tents or booths about the same, and celebrate the solemnity with merry feasting; at which time they must not sacrifice their beasts to the devil, but kill them for meat to be eaten to the praise of God, their giver. By this means, while we allow them a continuance of their former jollities, their minds will more easily be brought to relish spiritual joys! For it will

not be possible at once to draw such rude, untractable minds from all their former customs; they will not be brought to perfection by sudden leaps, but leisurely by steps and degrees*.”

Augustin acted according to the criminal policy of Gregory in relation to the Saxon heathen festivals; and hence arose those shocking and immoral customs, of *wakes, revels, and fairs*, which are still held at the anniversaries of the dedication of churches in many parts of England. How far this mode of proceeding differs from the practice of the apostles, may be judged from the direction of Paul to the Corinthians, “What concord hath Christ with Belial, and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing.” 2 Cor. vi.

“Meantime the poor Christian Britons, living peaceably at home, there enjoyed God, the gospel, and their mountains; little skilful in, and less caring for the ceremonies *a la mode*, brought over by Augustin: and indeed their poverty could not go to the cost of Augustin’s silver cross, which made them worship the God of their fathers after their own homely, but hearty fashion; not willing to disturb Augustin and his followers in their new rites, but that he had a mind to disquiet them in their old service, as in the sequel of the History will appear †.”

Augustin being thus confirmed by the pope in his new dignity as primate of all England, claimed jurisdiction over the ancient British Churches. These were considered schismatics: because, as Bede states, they did not keep the feast of the Passover on the same day with the Romans, “but observed many other things contrary to the unity of the church.” By the assistance of King Ethelbert, Augustin summoned the British bishops to meet him in a synod, on the borders of the West Saxons, as is supposed on the boundaries of Herefordshire and Worcestershire. Augustin informed them of his archiepiscopal authority, constituted by Pope Gregory, and made four propositions for their acceptance: *First, To*

* Bede, book i, chap. 30.

† Fuller, p. 57, 58.

observe the Roman time of the Passover. *Second*, To adopt the Roman baptism and ceremonies. *Third*, To co-operate with him as the primate, and with the Roman clergy, in converting the Saxons. *Fourth*, To acknowledge the jurisdiction of the pope.

Much time was vainly spent in arguing: for the British were unwilling to believe that their religious customs were improper, or that the pope had any authority over them. Bede seems to intimate that the latter point was most strenuously urged: but they could not be moved, either by threats or promises. Augustin is said, therefore, to have proposed that the dispute should be decided by a miracle. A blind Saxon was introduced to the assembly; and when the Britons tried in vain to cure him, Augustin restored his sight by his prayers*. "But whether the miracle admitted of some dispute, because the blind man was a Saxon; or Bede, who lived long after the fact, was wrongly informed, the Britons stood out against this evidence†." All that Augustin could obtain on this occasion was a promise that they would meet again, and determine the matter in a more numerous assembly.

This second synod having been appointed, seven British bishops attended, from Hereford, Llandaff, St. Paterns, Bangor, Glwyd, Worcester, and Morgan, with Dinot, abbot of Bangor, and several monks. Previously to the meeting they consulted an aged hermit, famed for wisdom and sanctity, how they should determine in this affair. He expressed his opinion, that it was unreasonable to make alterations in divine service merely at the request of a stranger: but as the essence of religion consisted in union of heart, in charity, it would not be wrong in some degree to comply with Augustin, if he were a holy man, and really a messenger from God. The bishops desired to be informed how this could be ascertained: he replied, that they might know this by the most certain mark of a true Christian—humility; reminding them of the words of Jesus, "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart." They would see, he

* Bede, book ii, chap. 2.

† Rapin, vol. i, book 3.

added, whether Augustin was endued with this virtue, by his respectfully rising to salute them on their entrance into the place of meeting; for if he should not show them such courtesy, it would be a certain proof of pride and irreligion. Agreeably to this counsel, they contrived to enter after Augustin was seated; when he allowed them to come in without any expression of civility, and thus their prejudices were confirmed.

In the synod, no arguments or entreaties could prevail on the British bishops to comply with the wishes of Augustin, either to adopt the Romish rites, or to receive him for their archbishop. Mortified pride appears to have urged the ambitious prelate to press his claims with increasing warmth, and to insist upon their submission to the pope; when Dinoth replied to this effect: "Be it known unto you, that we all are, and every one of us, obedient and subject to the church of God, to the pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity, and to help every one of them, by word and deed, to be the children of God: and other obedience than this I do not know due to him whom you name to be Pope, nor to be Father of the Fathers, to be claimed and to be demanded. And this obedience we are ready to give, and to pay to him, and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are under the government of the bishop of Caerlion upon Uske, who is to oversee us, to cause us to keep the way spiritual*."

Augustin, it is said, despairing to overcome their firmness, terminated the long dispute by an indignant threatening: "Since you refuse peace with your brethren, you shall have war with your enemies; and since you will not unite with us in preaching the word of eternal life to your neighbours, you shall have death at their hands."

Dinoth's reply has been charged with undue warmth, and a spirit of obstinacy; and perhaps it does not display all the meekness and gentleness of Christ: but what shall be said of Augustin? It seems clearly manifest that Augustin gave serious provocation by his whole behaviour, and exhibited

* Fuller, book ii, p. 60, 61.

the vindictive haughtiness of the papal antichrist. Writers of the greatest judgment have been divided in opinion respecting the prophecy of Augustin, and to what degree he was concerned in its dreadful fulfilment as regards the monastery of Bangor: for Bede remarks, "Events came to pass as Augustin had predicted." The fact is, that shortly afterwards Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, invaded North Wales with a great army; when the ecclesiastics sought protection from their king Brochmail. The Northumbrians had advanced to Chester, where they cut off the little army of the Welsh prince, who fell with his soldiers. Ethelfrid, provoked by hearing that a company of the monks of Bangor had assembled to pray for the success of their countrymen, threatened them as equally his enemies, endeavouring to engage their God against him. They retreated to their monastery, and Dinoth sent two hundred to Ethelfrid, entreating him to spare their establishment, and allow them in peace to serve and praise God, at the same time offering him all their property. But having heard their proposition, the savage pagan ordered the defenceless messengers to be immediately massacred; and advancing to Bangor, he reduced the monastery to a heap of ruins, and appointed above a thousand more to be put to death, very few of its pious inmates escaping his murderous sword.

British writers charge that ambitious prelate with having persuaded Ethelbert to procure, or at least to promote, that invasion, out of enmity to the principles of that learned establishment; while others assert that the massacre was not perpetrated till after his decease. Others again assert, that Augustin was personally engaged in encouraging this enormous cruelty. But even if he were dead before this bloody affair, yet the invasion, with its consequent calamities, might have originated with his recommendation. Bishop Jewell, however, considers the evidence against Augustin as conclusive; and having referred to many ancient writers on the subject, he says, "Hereby it appeareth, that this Augustin not only enkindled this cruel war, but also was alive and present in the army *."

* Defence of Apology, part v, p. 493.

To what lengths of vindictiveness prelatie ambition may lead, we find illustrated in the whole history of the papal wars; and had this affair of Augustin been faithfully reported to Pope Gregory, it would still seem doubtful whether he would have censured him, while we recollect his own unprincipled conduct towards that usurper and murderer, the emperor Phocas!

Augustin died, according to Bede, A. D. 604, having appointed Laurentius to succeed him. "He trode in the steps of his predecessor," Milner remarks, "and laboured to promote the best interests of the English, by frequent preaching of the word, and by a diligent and useful example. I doubt not the sincerity of this prelate; though, seduced by the charms of a nominal unity, he laboured, as the first missionary had done, to bring the British churches to a conformity with the church of Rome. He was actuated by the same spirit of selfish ambition, of which even the best of men in all ages have not been void *."

Charity would lead us to hope some good both of Augustin and of Laurentius; but Mr. Milner gives no evidence of this prelate's "frequent preaching of the word;" and as the services of religion were almost entirely the reading of Latin forms, and the performance of certain ceremonies, we have reason to doubt the good effects of his ministry in the bringing of souls to Christ. Of the "selfish ambition" of Laurentius, we have abundant proof. Pope Boniface being, A. D. 606, declared Universal Bishop by the emperor Phocas, Laurentius was more determined in his policy, and wrote pressing letters to prevail on the "Scots who inhabited Ireland," to conform to the English church. He bitterly complained of Dagham, a Scotch bishop, who, passing through Canterbury, refused to eat with him, on account of their difference in ceremonies. But his letters were fruitless. The British churches remained in Bede's time still distinguished from the English.

Ethelbert died A. D. 612, when his son Edbald abandoned the profession of Christianity; and Sebert, king of Essex, dying A. D. 616, his sons having relapsed to idolatry, forbade

* Vol. iii, p. 96, 97.

the return of Mellitus, bishop of London, who had been long absent at Rome, receiving counsel from Pope Boniface. Laurentius, however, received him at Canterbury, and also Justus, bishop of Rochester, as the ill-instructed people of Essex and Kent had given up their profession of Christianity. After consultation, these three prelates resolved on leaving the reprobate Saxons, and retiring to France: Laurentius remaining behind, contrived to impose upon the king, by pretending that St. Peter had appeared to him in the night, and had severely whipped him for purposing to desert his station. The vision itself may justly be doubted: but Laurentius showed wounds on his body to Edbald. The king, touched with those appeals, returned to the profession of his former faith, and recalled Justus and Mellitus. The Londoners, however, refusing to allow Mellitus again to reside among them, he returned to Canterbury, and, A.D. 624, succeeded Laurentius as archbishop. On his death, about A.D. 634, this dignity was sustained by Justus. Honorius and Deusdedit are mentioned as successively archbishops of Canterbury, but we know nothing of their labours to evangelize the people, or to diffuse the pure doctrines of salvation by Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER X.

CONVERSION OF THE NORTHERN SAXONS.

Christianity in Essex — Idolatry restored — Edwin, King of Northumberland, marries Ethelburga — Embraces Christianity — Colfi, the Idol Priest — Paulinus converts the Northumbrians — Edwin falls in Battle — His People return to Idolatry — Ethelburga and Paulinus flee — Oswald ascends the Throne — Restores Christianity — Aldan — Birinus converts the West Saxons — Oswy — Sigebert restores Christianity in Essex — The East Angles converted — Nunnery — Lady Hilda.

SEBERT, king of Essex, was nephew to Ethelbert, king of Kent. Influenced by his uncle, therefore, he allowed a missionary to settle in his dominions; and Augustin appointed Mellitus to that field of labour, as bishop of London, the capital. The king soon became a convert to the name of Christ; and Sebert with his uncle are said to have commenced the erection of churches, where St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey

now stand. Mellitus appears to have continued at his post but a short time; for on the death of Augustin, A. D. 606, he made a visit to Pope Boniface, and delayed so, that he was never suffered to resume his episcopal dignity. Mellitus had probably been more solicitous to establish his priestly authority, than to preach among the people the gospel of Christ.

Edwin, after many difficulties, succeeded as king of Northumberland; and desiring Ethelburga, sister of Edbald king of Kent, in marriage, was unable to obtain that Christian lady, except on condition of allowing her the free exercise of her religion. To these terms Edwin gladly consented, that he might gain such a prize, and secure so desirable an alliance; and Ethelburga, after the example of her excellent mother Bertha, was prevailed on to be married, A. D. 625. Paulinus was appointed to accompany the bride as her chaplain; and Justus, at that time archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated him to be archbishop of York.

Paulinus passed a year at the Northumbrian court without making many converts. But an attempt being made to assassinate King Edwin, by a wretch whom Quicelm a prince of Wessex had hired, and Ethelburga giving birth to a daughter at the same time, Paulinus offered solemn thanks for both deliverances, and Edwin gave the infant to be baptized. The young princess was called Anfleda, and twelve others of the court were baptized with her at York, on Whit Monday, A. D. 626.

Edwin was soon avenged on the perfidious Quicelm; and after the victory, his queen and the archbishop solicited him to embrace Christianity, agreeably to his promise before the battle. The king hesitated, desiring first to prevail on his influential barons. Coifi, the chief of the idol priests, perceiving the inclination of the king, was soon found willing to relinquish his superstitions. In an assembly of the nobles, like a courtly priest, he acknowledged that he had long served the gods in vain, for they had given him no preferment; and appealed to the king, whether there were any man in his court who was not better promoted. An aged nobleman was then emboldened to declare, that they "knew no more of the previous or future state of the soul, than of the

wandering sparrow which had just at that moment flitted through the council-room; and that as Paulinus pretended to superior knowledge, they ought to hear his instructions," Paulinus, as the king required, explained to him the nature of his religion; and Coifi, with whom gain seemed to be godliness, professed himself convinced of the truth of Christianity. The king called a parliament, by which it was resolved that the faith of Christ should be received; and asking the priest who would commence profaning the idolatrous places, Coifi is said to have replied, "I, who worshipped them in folly, will give an example in destroying them by the wisdom given to me by the true God." At the head of a company of priests, Coifi mounted the horse which he borrowed of the king, and hastened to the temple, and was the first to strike the idol with a javelin. The monstrous deity was immediately broken—the temple burnt to ashes—and the same day the king and his niece, the celebrated Lady Hilda, were baptized. Offrid and Eadfrid, his two sons by a former wife, with several nobles, submitted to that holy ordinance a few days afterwards; and multitudes followed the royal example: so that, according to Bede, "Paulinus spent thirty-three days from morning to evening baptizing the crowds *!"

Camden says, that "the archbishop, after he had consecrated the river Swale, commanded, by the crier and principal men, that they should with faith go in two by two, and in the name of the Holy Trinity baptize each other †."

A church of timber was immediately erected at York, and one of stone commenced. Pope Honorius, hearing of the success of Paulinus, sent him a pall as archbishop of York, with a letter of congratulation to King Edwin. Thus encouraged, Paulinus continued in his dignified station seven years, preaching the name of Christ.

Earpwald, king of the East Angles, greatly dependent on Edwin, embraced Christianity A. D. 624: but we know of no progress that the gospel made in his reign, as Bede says that he suffered the true God and the Pagan idols to be wor-

* Bede, book ii, c. 14,

† Camd. Intro. cxlvi.

shipped in the same temple. He was assassinated A.D. 633, and his brother Sigebert, whom he had banished, succeeded him A.D. 636; and he, having been converted to the faith of Christ while an exile in France, became zealous for the gospel. Sigebert brought Felix, a Burgundian, who was ordained bishop by Honorius archbishop of Canterbury, and he laboured with the king in establishing schools. In this work of instruction Felix was aided by Furseus, an Irish monk, until Sigebert, to escape the miseries of those martial times, resigned his crown, and retired to a monastery in France, A.D. 644. Furseus, whose character is highly extolled by Bede, returned to his own country; but Felix continued his spiritual labours seventeen years, dying A.D. 653.

Edwin was killed in battle with Penda, king of Mercia, A.D. 633: his son Offrid fell with him; and Edfrid, his younger son, was murdered by the savage conqueror. The Northumbrians returned to idolatry; and Ethelburga, with Paulinus, fled by sea to her brother, king of Kent. From him she obtained a grant of land to found a monastery, in which she spent the remainder of her days; and Paulinus was made bishop of Rochester.

Oswald, nephew of Edwin, by arms obtained the throne of his uncle; and having been instructed in Christianity by the Culdees, while an exile in Scotland, he became esteemed the most intelligent, pious, and virtuous prince of that age. He therefore laboured to restore the profession of Christ in Northumberland. Oswald entertained an aversion to the papal missionaries, on account of their different ceremonies; and for this reason he applied to the monastery of Columba, at Iona, for some Christian ministers. Aidan was commissioned for the work, and ordained bishop. This missionary appears to have been a true disciple of Christ; and, until he knew the language of the people, King Oswald frequently acted as his interpreter in preaching. To further the work of God, Aidan invited a number of his brethren to come and assist him in giving instruction to the people. He settled at Lindisfarn, now called Holy Island, four miles from Berwick, where he built a church and founded a monastery. There

Aidan acted as bishop, abbot, and teacher of divinity; and from his seminary many preachers were sent forth as missionaries into several of the neighbouring provinces. Aidan died A. D. 652, having exercised his ministry seventeen years in Northumberland. Finan succeeded Aidan as bishop for ten years, exhibiting much of the excellent spirit of his worthy predecessor, and entering into all his labours for the salvation of souls.

"Aidan himself," says Milner, "was a shining example of godliness. He laboured to convert infidels and to strengthen the faithful. He gave to the poor whatever presents he received from the great; and employed himself with his associates in the Scriptures continually. He strictly avoided every thing luxurious, and every appearance of secular avarice or ambition. He redeemed captives with the money which was given him by the rich: he instructed them afterwards, and fitted them for the ministry." — "The character of this missionary would have done honour to the purest times. We may more confidently depend on the account given of him, because he belonged not to the Roman communion, to which Bede was superstitiously devoted, but was a *schismatic* in the observance of Easter, as all the Christians in the British isles were, except the Saxons. To him Bede applies the expression, that "he had a zeal for God, though not *fully* according to knowledge." Oswald, whom early education had rather prejudiced in favour of the same *schism*, gave him an episcopal see in the isle of Lindisfarn. But there was a great difficulty which attended his ministry — Aidan spoke English very imperfectly. Oswald himself therefore, who thoroughly understood Irish, acted as his interpreter. The zeal of this monarch was indeed extraordinary, to induce him to take such pains. Encouraged by his protection, more Irish ministers came into the North of England; and churches were erected, the gospel was preached, and Northumberland, by the zeal and piety of the new missionaries, recovered the ground which it had lost by the expulsion of Paulinus. Even to the year 716, the principles of evangelical piety flourished in the Irish school; at which time

this people were reduced to the Roman communion *,” “and Roman superstitions †.”

“In all respects this northern missionary presented a pleasing contrast to Augustin and his companions. The king was not inferior to the prelate in his endeavours to promote godliness. Uncorrupt and humble in the midst of prosperity, he showed himself the benefactor of the poor and needy ; and cheerfully encouraged every attempt to spread the knowledge and practice of godliness among men ‡.” Oswald, notwithstanding—such are the unsearchable ways of Providence—fell in battle, at Masserfield in Shropshire, A. D. 642, with Penda, the barbarous king of Mercia ; and Oswy, his brother, succeeded him in that part of the kingdom called Bernicia.

About this period Birinus, a priest of Rome, by the advice of Pope Honorius, undertook a mission to Britain, to convert the nations yet remaining in Pagan darkness. He was consecrated bishop, and landed on the western coast, where he instructed the West Saxons, and baptized Cinigisil their king, and his brother Quicelm. Birinus was greatly indebted for his success to the arrival of Oswald the Northumbrian, at the court of Cinigisil, A. D. 635, to marry that prince’s daughter : for not only the king, but by Oswald’s persuasion, many of his subjects, embraced the Christian faith. Multitudes followed the royal example ; and Birinus continued fourteen years, edifying his converts by his wise discourses, until he died at Dorchester, near Oxford, where he had built a church, and fixed his episcopal see. There is reason to fear that this division of the heptarchy enjoyed but a small degree of evangelical light, though several bishops are mentioned by name as eminent in their office. Agilbert and his nephew Eleutherius were amongst the most famous ; but being Frenchmen, they were but imperfectly acquainted with the language of the English, and consequently little qualified to promote their spiritual edification. Forthere, bishop of Sherborne, is commended by Bede as familiar with the Scriptures : from

* Church History, vol. iii, p. 106, 107.

† Ibid. Tract Society’s edition, vol. iii, p. 76.

‡ Ibid. p. 77.

him therefore we may hope, that the people were taught the essential truths of the gospel, along with the accustomed and superstitious ceremonies of religion.

Divine Providence was preparing the way for the propagation of Christianity through the whole heptarchy. Penda, king of Mercia, was a haughty and cruel tyrant; but his son, whom he had appointed king of Leicester, desiring in marriage Al-fleda, daughter of Oswy, brother and successor to Oswald, the condition proposed was his reception of Christianity. The young prince, we are informed, having heard the doctrines of a heavenly kingdom—the resurrection—and a future immortality—declared that he would become a Christian, even if they denied him the princess. Young Penda and all his attendants were baptized; and he married the princess two years before the death of his father. He promoted Christianity in the province of Leicester, which was committed to his government; and, having brought from Northumberland four preachers, Cedda, Adda, Beti, and Diuma, he was delighted in witnessing their evangelical successes. But *old* Penda renewed hostilities against Oswy, by whom he was slain in a battle near Leeds. Oswy thus becoming master of Mercia and Northumberland, applied himself to advance Christianity among his new subjects*.

Sigebert the *Good*, king of Essex, frequently visited Oswy, through whose influence and instructions he patronized the ministry of the gospel among his people; and thus the East Saxons, who had revolted from the profession of Christ for fifty years, again embraced his religion. Cedd was eminently devoted to his ministry, as bishop of London, and abbot of Lestingham. He was raised to the episcopal dignity A.D. 653, and died A.D. 664. Jaruman and Erkenwald are mentioned as his most worthy successors: but Wina, who had been driven from his bishopric of Winchester, is infamous, as being guilty of simony, purchasing the see of London from King Wulpher†.

Monasteries, in which single men lived in seclusion, pro-

* Bede, book ii, c. 22, 23.

† Rapin, vol. i, p. 76.

feasting a life of piety and study, had long been common throughout all countries professing Christianity; and now, in the latter part of the seventh century, similar establishments for women became numerous. Bega, an Irish virgin, famous as St. Bega, is esteemed the first founder of a nunnery in Britain. Her establishment was situated at the mouth of the river Wear, in Durham. Lady Hilda, niece of King Edwin, was still more celebrated. She was baptized with her uncle, at York, when she was only thirteen years of age; and her conversion to Christianity appears to have been sincere. Aidan became her religious instructor; and at the age of thirty-three, A. D. 660, she took the veil, with his entire approbation. Under his direction, she established a nunnery in the vicinity of South Shields; where a church still stands, dedicated to St. Hilda. She afterwards removed to the nunnery of Hega, supposed to be the first British female who assumed the veil.

Lady Hilda was greatly supported in her character of abbess, by the unwarranted zeal of King Oswy; for, when his province was invaded by Penda the elder, with an army thirty times superior to his own, he made a vow, like Jephtha, to devote his daughter as a holy virgin to the Lord, if he should bless him with victory. Providence favoured him, as we have related; and Elfleda, his infant daughter, was committed to the care of the lady abbess. With this princess, many others of noble birth were entrusted to her charge; and she became the founder of the most celebrated nunnery in Britain, situated at Whitby, in Yorkshire. Bede gives an extraordinary account of this famous abbess*; and from all that appears, she was a person of eminent piety. Of the rules of her establishment, we have but little information: still there is reason for believing, that she possessed a considerable measure of scriptural knowledge.

* Ecclesiastical History, book iv, c. 23.

CHAPTER XI.

ESTABLISHMENT OF ROMAN UNIFORMITY IN THE ENGLISH CHURCHES.

Synod concerning Easter — State of the Controversy — Debates at Whitby — Roman Uniformity determined — Colman and the Scots Clergy retire to their Country — Oswy sends Wighart for Consecration at Rome — Theodore sent by Pope Vitalian — The Archbishop brings the English Churches to Conformity — Councils — Theodore promotes learning — Wilfrid, Archbishop of York — His haughtiness — He is banished — He converts the South Saxons — Death of Theodore.

KING OSWY summoned a memorable synod, A.D. 664, at the abbey of Whitby, to settle an ecclesiastical controversy. This dispute had been renewed by Wilfrid, the tutor of Prince Alfred, and it was supported by the queen. Here it should be observed, that the Christians of Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, observed the religious customs which they had received from their first instructors, and during a period of about two hundred years they had little intercourse with the continent, principally on account of the Saxon wars. In the mean time the bishop of Rome had made extraordinary advances in authority and greatness, and had established the observance of a multitude of new rites and ceremonies, unknown to the British churches.

The Romish missionaries, and their churches among the Saxons, kept Easter on the first Sunday after the fourteenth, and before the twenty-second day of the first moon after the vernal equinox; and those churches planted by the Scottish missionaries kept that festival on the first Sunday after the thirteenth, and before the twenty-first day of the same moon. Therefore, when the fourteenth day of that moon happened to be on a Sunday, those of the Scottish communion celebrated the Easter festival on that day, whereas those of the Romish, did not observe theirs till the following Sunday. The Italian clergy, animated with that haughty intolerance which always distinguished their church, not content with observing their own customs in peace, laboured to impose them upon the Britons, Scots, Picts, and northern English, whom they denounced as schismatics, but who were equally tenacious of their own customs. As long as Aidan and Finan lived, the Romanists, according to Bede, on account of the veneration

all men had for these two holy bishops, bore with patience this diversity of opinion *. But when Colman, another Scottish monk, succeeded Finan, in the reign of Oswy, the dispute was renewed with more warmth than ever. The Romanists, desirous of bringing over their adversaries to their opinion at any rate, never ceased till they had prevailed on Oswy to call a synod to decide this affair. The Romans were exceedingly active in preparing for the synod, representing to the people, that the essence of religion was at stake. Bede says, "It was not without reason that this question disturbed the minds of a great number of Christians, who were apprehensive, lest, after they had begun the race of salvation, they should be found to have run in vain†." They had managed so that Agilbert, bishop of Paris, formerly bishop of the West Saxons, came to the synod on some pretence, with Agathon, one of his priests, besides whom, for the Romanists, were, Anflæda, Oswy's queen, his natural son Alfred king of Deira, Wilfrid his tutor, Ronan a Scotch priest, James a deacon, and many who had been disciples of the Italian priests and monks, with abbess Hilda. On the part of the Scots were King Oswy, Colman bishop of the Northumbrians, and the rest of the Scotch priests and monks, and those who had received ordination from them. Cedd, the venerable bishop of Essex, presided; when Oswy opened the business of the synod, by remarking, that "they who serve one God, should hold one rule of life; and they who expect the same heavenly kingdom, ought not to differ in observing the divine sacraments. Let us inquire, then, which is the true tradition, and let us all agree to follow it." Colman and the Scots maintained, that their practice was prescribed by St. John, the beloved disciple; when Wilfrid, in the name of the Romanists, affirmed with equal confidence, and many expressions of contempt for the other party, that theirs was instituted by St. Peter, calling him "The Prince of the Apostles," to whom our Lord had said, "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and

* Eccles. Hist. book iii, chap. 23.

† Ibid. book iii, chap. 25.

whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Colman acknowledged to the king, before the synod, that these words were spoken to Peter, and, as is said, that he kept the keys of the kingdom of heaven: Oswy, therefore, being deeply impressed with the latter consideration, closed the debate by declaring, "I tell you, that as Peter is the door-keeper, I will not oppose him on any account, but to the utmost of my knowledge and ability, I will obey all his statutes; lest, when I come to the gates of heaven, I find them shut against me by him who is allowed to keep the keys." Thus by a perversion of a passage of Scripture, and a statement of falsehood concerning Peter's appointment of Easter as a festival, the Romish party gained a triumph. It was immediately resolved to discontinue the British customs, and adopt those of the Roman church. This decision under the influence of King Oswy, has been denominated "The first Act of Uniformity."

Wilfrid laboured also to obtain uniformity in *St. Peter's tonsure*, a particular fashion of cutting the hair of the ecclesiastics, which superstition had prescribed: but this for the present was of little moment, as he had gained the chief point.

Bede commends the wisdom of King Oswy; but while he censures Colman and his friends, as holding most dangerous heresies, he extols their piety; and undesignedly bears the noblest testimony to their soundness in the Christian faith. "They were ignorant," he says, "of the decrees of councils, and diligently observed no other works of piety and purity than what they could find in the writings of the prophets, the gospels, and the apostolical epistles*." Happy for the world if no other authority had ever been introduced among Christians: in that case the dispute concerning Easter, not prescribed for their observance, would have been unknown.

The churches in Northumberland were not, however, perfectly free from superstition; but though they observed Lent,

* Eccles. Hist. book iii, chap. 4.

Easter, Whitsunday, and Christmas, they had but few of that list of unmeaning ceremonies, which crowded the Roman calendar. Precious relics were not used by them in consecrating their churches; neither were their places of worship dedicated to any saints. But the Romans, making rapid advances in power in the north of England, all these superadditions to Christianity soon became common. Colman was grievously annoyed by these new customs; and falling into a degree of contempt among the adherents of the popish party, whose ambitious haughtiness continued to increase, considering his usefulness here at an end, he relinquished his station at Lindisfarn, gave up his bishopric, and with all the Scots, and about thirty English monks, proceeded to Scotland, preaching the doctrines of Christ, and occupying two monasteries. Tuda became the successor of Colman in Holy Island; and "though he received his consecration from the Scots, had now deserted their custom of keeping Easter*."

A plague raging in the country, several ecclesiastics of reputation for piety were taken off by the epidemic; among whom were Tuda, and Cedd, the abbot of Leasingham and bishop of Essex. Ceadda, commonly called St. Chad, succeeded his brother Cedd as abbot: he was consecrated bishop of Mercia, and afterwards archbishop of York. This venerable man, a worthy disciple of Aidan, retained his simplicity of manners in his ecclesiastical elevation, residing chiefly at Lichfield, and travelling on foot to the most distant parts of his diocese, preaching the gospel with apostolic zeal. St. Chad lived a most exemplary life, and died a happy death, after various difficulties, which were occasioned by the assumptions of the Romish ecclesiastics. But his piety was so celebrated, that Bede relates extraordinary things concerning him, and even attributes to him the performance of several miracles.

Conformity with the Romish customs now became a serious affair, and measures were taken to secure it. Oswy, king of Northumberland, having relinquished the Scottish observances, and the priests insisting on canonical ordination according to the Roman rules, conferred with Egbert, king of

* Collier, vol. i, p. 98.

Kent, on this business. To secure what was deemed a perfect ministry, they sent Wighart, elect of Canterbury, to the pope, to be consecrated archbishop according to the Roman ritual. Wighart was carried off by the plague on his arriving at Rome; and Pope Vitalian seized the favourable opportunity of promoting his authority in England by consecrating Theodore, a Greek, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, to occupy that dignified station. This prelate is represented as a man of great talents and extensive learning; but as being of an imperious temper, and, on account of his ecclesiastical ambition, worthy of that elevation in the popish communion. On his arrival in England, A.D. 669, Theodore called a council, and immediately "made a visitation through all the English part of the island, settled the Catholic way of keeping Easter, and brought the people to a thorough conformity, as is most likely, with the customs of Rome."

Theodore divided the large bishoprics, erected new ones, and consecrated bishops where they seemed wanted; and advanced the system of popery by this policy, that "those who were ordained by the Scottish or British bishops, who dissent from the Catholic church in the *tonsure*, and keeping Easter, were to have their character confirmed by receiving imposition of hands from a Catholic bishop*." Hence arose some of the troubles which disturbed the venerable Chad, who was deposed by this haughty foreigner from his dignity as archbishop of York. Collier remarks, "Theodore objected against the canonicalness of Chad's consecration. The holy prelate made this reply, That if he questioned the manner of his promotion, he was willing to lay down his authority; for that he always thought himself unworthy of the episcopal character, and took it only in obedience to his superior†." "St. Chad submitted with so much temper, Theodore dissuaded him from laying down his episcopal function. And to take off all pretences of any defects, brought him to pass through the catholic forms, as Bede calls them; that is, to receive imposition of hands: and upon the death of Jaruman, bishop of Lichfield, he was, by the interest of Theodore, recommended to that see‡."

* Collier, vol. i, p. 100.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

On the death of Chad, Winfrid was promoted to the see of Lichfield; but being inclined to dissent from Theodore's policy, and expostulating with him for assuming supreme authority, he was deposed. Bede, nevertheless, gives him an excellent character.

The council met at Hertford, A.D. 673, consisting of Putta, bishop of Rochester; Wilfrid, archbishop of York, by proxy; Bisi, bishop of the East Angles; Lutherius, bishop of the West Saxons; Winfrid, bishop of the Mercians; and many other ecclesiastics, with Theodore as president. Nine canons submitted by Theodore, and embraced by the council, established uniformity among the English with the church of Rome. Another council was called by Theodore, at the request of the pope, A.D. 680, on the subject of the Monothelites. They were accused of confounding the two natures in the person of Christ; and of affirming, that, though the manhood of Christ suffered hunger, thirst, and all kinds of pain, all these were to be ascribed unto the WORD, as the cause. A confession of the faith held by the clergy in England was drawn up by this council, and transmitted to Rome, from which it appears that they were free from the Monothelite error.

Wilfrid was archbishop of York, whom Milner styles, "a very suspicious character, who fomented turbulence and contention in Britain*." During nearly half a century, this proud ecclesiastic exemplified the growing ambition of the anti-christian prelates. This archbishop, with the immense revenues arising from monasteries and other church property in the north, lavished upon him by the court, exceeded the king in display and magnificence. He appeared in public with a numerous retinue, mounted and armed, and banquetted on a service of gold. His bishopric was divided into two by Theodore and the council at Hertford: but Wilfrid repaired to the court, demanding the reason, and declaring his appeal to the pope. To Rome he repaired, where he was well received; the pope acquitted him from all charges, "certain and uncertain," and decreed his restoration; on

* Church History, vol. iii, p. 98.

which he returned and presented the papal decree to the king. Egfrid called a council of his clergy and nobles, by whose advice Wilfrid was imprisoned; but after a year he was released from confinement at the intercession of Ebba, aunt of the king, and abbess of Coldingham. Egfrid, again provoked by the insolence of Wilfrid, banished him from his kingdom, A.D. 680. Some suppose the difference was aggravated by Wilfrid supporting the queen Adelfleda, in her determination to quit the court, and retire to the nunnery of which Ebba was the abbess.

Wilfrid found shelter with Adelwalch, king of Sussex, and introduced Christianity into that kingdom. Adelwalch and his queen were favourably disposed to the faith of the gospel; and they had built a monastery, in which Dicul, a Scotchman, and five or six monks, lived; but their attempts had failed to convert the South Saxons. Wilfrid arrived at a time of grievous distress, arising from a three years' drought. He taught the ignorant people the art of fishing in the sea; by which their necessities were relieved; and thus he gained their confidence. Seasonable showers descending, plenty was restored; yet Wilfrid appeared an extraordinary person, and many of the nobles were prevailed on to embrace Christianity. The king granted him a large tract of land in the peninsula of Selsey, with all the cattle and slaves upon it, that he might build a monastery. Wilfrid visited the Isle of Wight, of whose inhabitants also he and his nephew effected the "conversion, if," as Rapin adds, "the bare declaration of people threatened with death in case of refusal, may be called by that name *." "In this manner," remarks Dr. Henry, "was the last of the seven Saxon states in England brought into the Christian church, about ninety years after the arrival of Augustin, and a little before the end of the seventh century."

Theodore, hearing of the success of Wilfrid, and touched with remorse for what he had done to him, as he drew near his end, became reconciled to him; and Egfrid falling in

* History of England, vol. i, p. 61.

battle, A. D. 685, was succeeded by his brother Alfred, who was prevailed on to restore his old tutor to his dignity at York. Wilfrid returned; but his intolerable haughtiness led to his deposition again, and banishment from the kingdom, though countenanced by the pope.

Theodore maintained his archiepiscopal authority at Canterbury during a period of twenty-one years, governing the bishops as primate of all England. He died, A. D. 690, aged eighty-nine, and his death was considered a serious loss to the English; for though he was attached to the pope, he was an able defender of what were considered the rights of the church in England, against the increasing power of the Roman usurpations. Fox remarks, "Theodore set up here, in England, Latin service, masses, ceremonies, litanies, with such other Romish ware, &c. This Theodore, being made archbishop and metropolitan of Canterbury, began to play the Rxx, placing and displacing the bishops at his pleasure*." Some of his services, however, were truly beneficial: for he laboured to promote learning among the clergy; and for this purpose he established a seminary at Creekdale, in Wiltshire, where himself, assisted by Adrian, taught Latin, Greek, and divinity; and gave lectures on church-music, astronomy, and arithmetic. Bede declares, that several of the students of this college were living in his time, who could express themselves in Greek and Latin as readily as in their own language.

How far the labours of Theodore and his colleagues were the means of diffusing the saving doctrines of Christ among the people, and of leading them in the way everlasting, eternity only will reveal. Being mostly Italians, or other foreigners, they were but indifferently qualified to give popular instruction; but still we may hope, that many were led to seek salvation and eternal glory in the name of the Divine Redeemer.

* Acts and Monuments, vol. i, p. 161,

BOOK III.

FROM THE CONVERSION OF THE SAXONS, A. D. 700, TO THE
DEATH OF BRADWARDINE, A. D. 1349.

CHAPTER I.

REVIEW OF THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE CONVERSION OF THE
SAXONS.

Italian and Protestant Missions compared — Missionaries to Britain superior Men — Some of Integrity and Piety — The example of Kings followed — Christianity beneficial to the lowest classes — Missionaries introduce Letters and favour the Arts — Latin the professional Language of the Clergy — Monastic Institutions — Popery in England.

FOREIGN missionaries from Italy, and home missionaries from Scotland and Ireland, succeeded, as we have seen, in establishing Christianity in all the Anglo-Saxon states. Our reflecting readers will naturally review their labours, and inquire the cause of their success; especially as missionaries are now being sent from Britain to every quarter of the globe, to promulgate the doctrines of our holy religion. Ours, however, have not been attended with the same success in their efforts in converting the heathen. But are the cases equal? Are the same means adopted? Are we to attribute the success contemplated to divine or human agency? A brief review cannot fail to be profitable, and it will aid us in comprehending various events in the subsequent history of the church in England.

The Paganism of our Saxon ancestors was not rooted in their history, nor intimately connected with their institutions and manners: it had no hold upon the reason, the imagination, or the natural feelings of the people. It appealed to no records, it recognized no inspired founders: in its form it was poor and unimpressive; there was nothing useful or consolatory in its tenets; and the strength derived from its local

superstitions was lost by transplantation: for the conquerors, settling in Britain, were cut off from those sacred places in their native land which had been regarded with hereditary reverence. Such a religion, without pomp and rational pretensions, had nothing plausible to oppose against Christianity. On the contrary, the Christian missionaries urged the loftiest claims, with no mean display of worldly dignity. They appeared, not as unprotected and indigent adventurers, relying upon the compassion of those whom they offered to instruct, but as members of that body exclusively possessing arts and learning—a body enjoying the highest consideration and influence through every Christian kingdom: they came as accredited messengers from that city, which, though no longer the seat of empire, was still the heart of the European world. For Rome was already a more sacred name in every nation professing the Christian religion, than while in the height of its imperial power.

The missionaries, therefore, appeared with a character of superiority, their claim to which was not disputed. They appealed to their sacred books for the history of the religion which they taught; and for the truth of its doctrines, they appealed to the evidence which the heart of man bears in the inward sense of its own frailties, infirmities, and wants. They offered a universal, instead of a local religion; a clear and coherent system, instead of a mass of unconnected fancies; an assured and unquestionable faith, for contemptible notions, which had no foundation in reason. The errors and fables with which the Romish Christianity was debased, in no degree impeded its effects. Gross as they were, it is even probable that they rendered it more acceptable to that ignorant and superstitious people. Besides, the missionaries were some of the prime spirits of the age, trained in the most perfect school of discipline, steady in purpose, politic in contrivance, little scrupulous concerning the measures which they employed, because they were persuaded that any means were justifiable, if they conduced to accomplish the good end which was proposed. This shocking principle led to abominable consequences among their successors; bringing most

enormous evils upon the whole country, with which it was afflicted for many generations *.

Doubtless some of the missionaries were men of the loftiest minds, and influenced by the purest and noblest motives—men, whose supreme object was to extend the kingdom of their Saviour, and increase the number of his willing subjects, by preaching the doctrines of salvation and eternal life, and diffusing the knowledge of the Scriptures. Elevated as they were above all worldly hopes and fears, they were ready to lay down their lives in the discharge of their duty; assured that even by such a sacrifice they should glorify their Redeemer, and through his atonement and intercession obtain crowns of righteousness in heaven. Divine influence would attend the ministry of such devoted men of God; and the Spirit of Christ was manifestly shed forth on the labours of Aidan, Finan, Colman, and Chad, and those of a kindred mind.

Popish policy evidently influenced in a great degree many of those professed servants of Christ. They commenced their work upon a well-concerted system, addressing themselves first to the king, who perceived not only the excellency of the new doctrines, but the advantages to be derived from their conversion to Christianity; as that would qualify them for the desired matrimonial alliances with the princes of France and Germany. The nobles readily followed the example of their kings, and felt themselves elevated by professing a religion which distinguished the civilized from the barbarous nations of Europe. The Christian teachers alone were seen to possess the means of ameliorating the condition of the people by knowledge and the arts; and therefore kings readily encouraged their labours, that their subjects might be improved, and their courts and capitals embellished. The humbler classes partook largely of the common blessings of Christianity, the warlike lords of the soil being made far more humane in the treatment of their dependents; and if slavery were not altogether abolished, its rigours were moderated, works of beneficence and mercy being esteemed meritorious of felicity in heaven.

* Southey's Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 51—54.

Letters, it is believed, were first introduced among the Anglo-Saxons by the missionaries; at least to them they were indebted for their first written laws. These were promulgated by Ethelbert, the first Christian king of Kent, with the consent of his nobles. On the Continent, the laws of every civilized kingdom were published in Latin, but those of Ethelbert were in the vernacular tongue, on the rational principle that they might be intelligible to the people; though Latin was the language of religion. None of the modern languages was reduced to rules at this period; and from a kind of necessity, the Roman, in which the clergy through Europe read the Scriptures, in which the Fathers of the Western church had composed their works, and the ecclesiastical councils had issued their decrees, was retained as the professional language of the clergy. They were therefore, comparatively, a learned body; and to them we are chiefly indebted for the whole history of the middle ages, and for the preservation of the valuable works of the ancients. They conversed and preached in the common speech of the country: but while the ceremonies and services of the church might impress the people with veneration and awe — Latin being unintelligible to them — their edification must have been but imperfectly promoted, and their minds would be filled with a degrading superstition.

Monasteries, or similar institutions, seem to have been necessary for the improvement of those barbarous ages. They were designed originally for the seats of the bishops and the clergy, who were accustomed to itinerate through the country adjacent, preaching the gospel and administering the ordinances of Christ; and in all places they were seminaries of learning for educating the youth. No vows of celibacy were at first required, though these unnatural customs were soon recommended and enjoined by successive popes and metropolitans. “Nor were the clergy the teachers of letters only: from them the ornamental and the useful arts were derived. Church music was introduced into Canterbury, and thence into the other kingdoms. Churches, which at first, like those at that time existing in Scotland, were constructed of timber, and thatched with reeds, were, in imitation of the continental

temples, built with stone, and covered with lead: glass for their windows was introduced; and church architecture, in the course of a few generations, attained a perfection and magnificence, which in ancient times have never been surpassed, and which modern ages with all their wealth cannot afford to vie with *."

These sacred seclusions however, in those ignorant ages, served to nourish superstition. Their revenues prodigiously increased; and in a few ages they became intolerable nuisances in every kingdom. Monasteries were esteemed inviolable. "Many kings, weary of the cares and dangers of royalty, or struck with remorse for the crimes by which they had acquired or abused their rank, abdicated their thrones, and retired into monasteries, to pass the remainder of their days in tranquillity or in penance. Widowed queens were thankful to find a like asylum. The daughters of royal or noble houses, preferring the hopes of a better world to the precarious enjoyments of this, found in the convents comforts and security, which in those turbulent ages were hardly to be obtained elsewhere; and youths of royal blood, whose enterprising tempers might otherwise have contributed to the misery of their own and of the neighbouring states, embraced a religious life, and went forth as missionaries to convert and civilize the barbarians of Germany and the North †."

Rapin, in his reflections upon the state of the English church during this period, expresses his astonishment at the progress of superstition and priestcraft, under the influence of the popish clergy. "In England alone," he remarks, "we find, in the space of two hundred years, an incredible number of *men and women* saints, who never knew what *persecution* meant. But what is more, a considerable number of these same *saints* were *kings, queens, princes, princesses*, or persons of the highest birth and station. In the period above mentioned, we have *seven* kings and *seven* queens, together with *eight* princes and *sixteen* princesses, distinguished with the title of Saints: besides *ten* kings and *eleven* queens, who resigned their crowns to turn monks; and who, according to

* Southey's Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 59, 60.

† Ibid. p. 61.

the notions of those days, might well be ranked in the number of the saints. If it be asked, whence is it that in the *seventh* and *eighth* centuries it was so easy for the great to procure a *sainthood*, I can allege no other reason, but that sanctity consisted then in enriching the churches and monasteries*.”

Ambition, in most of the English prelates, prevailed to elevate them even above the civil power. This policy concurred with that of the papal court, which encouraged ecclesiastical appeals from every country, pretending that its decisions were supreme, and even divine; and during the following period of eight hundred years, that usurpation in the church of Christ proved itself, as inspired prophecy had denounced it, “the mystery of iniquity,” by the evils it inflicted upon England in common with the other nations of Europe.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE TIME OF BEDE TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE HEPTARCHY,
A.D. 827.

Bishops in the time of Bede — Religion in England — Life of Bede — His Letter to Archbishop Egbert — Benedict — Willibrod — Winfred — Other Missionaries — Cuthbert — Councils — Offa's grant of Tithes — Peter-pence — Alcuin — Canons of Calcuith — England reduced to one Kingdom by Egbert.

BEDE brings down his history of the English church to A.D. 731, at which period it had sixteen bishops. Their stations were Canterbury, Rochester, Dunwich, Helmham, Winchester, Sherborn, Lichfield, Leicester, Hereford, Worcester, Sydnacaster, York, Landisfarne, Hexham, and Withern.

Concerning the prelates of that age, little is recorded except their exertions, in connection with the abbots, to exalt their own orders, and to bring down the nobles and princes under their spiritual domination. Pilgrimages to Rome, where the clergy were seen in all their glory, and retiring into monasteries, were encouraged as the most effectual means of obtaining heaven by the wealthy; and by this policy the church daily increased in riches. Religion was but very imperfectly understood, especially by the common people; as

* History of England, vol. i, p. 80, folio edition.

the public services of divine worship consisted principally in Latin prayers and lessons, with but very little instruction by exposition of the Scriptures in the language of the vulgar. These services were accompanied with various ceremonies, in which holy water, incense, and burning lamps, were used in imitation partly of the Jewish and partly of the heathen rites. The people, therefore, generally continued in their ignorance, equally superstitious with the idolaters, only their minds were directed to pictures of saints instead of the idols of Woden and Thor. Still we may hope there were individuals among the monks, who were sent forth in different directions from their monasteries, to preach to the people, by whom the great doctrines of reconciliation by Christ were made known, to the salvation of many souls.

Bede, called by his contemporaries "*The Wise Saxon*," and "*The Venerable*" by posterity, was by far the most eminent ecclesiastic of his time, as a scholar, a theologian, or a man of personal piety. Indeed, in all these respects, he is believed to have been without a superior in all Europe; and, as Dr. Henry remarks, "as long as great modesty, uncommon piety, and great learning, united in one character, are the objects of veneration amongst mankind, the memory of Bede must be revered." He was born, A.D. 673, at a village near Newcastle-upon-Tyne. His parents dying when he was seven years of age, Benedict, surnamed Bishop, a nobleman of piety and zeal, placed him in his monastery of St. Peter at Weremouth, for the rudiments of learning. After a few years he removed to Jarrow, where he continued observing the strictest discipline of the cloister till the day of his death. Dedicated to God from his infancy, and sheltered within the precincts of the sanctuary, he increased daily in knowledge and piety, and in favour with God and man. At the age of nineteen he was ordained deacon, and priest at the age of thirty, by John de Beverly, bishop of Hexham. With new vigour he prosecuted his studies, generally spending twenty hours every day in tuition, the exercises of devotion, and the composition of literary and religious works. Bede was acquainted with Greek and Hebrew, which were extraordinary acquirements in that age. His love of learning would not

allow him to seek any preferment in the church, and he wrote on all the branches of knowledge at that time cultivated in Europe. His writings were voluminous, having published, as he states in the close of his own life, *thirty-six* volumes, containing *seventy-eight* books. Though he lived in monastic seclusion, the fame of his learning spread over Europe; and Pope Sergius addressed a letter to Ceolfrid, his abbot, desiring him to send Bede to Rome, to assist in some important discussion. Sergius dying soon after, Bede never visited that seat of ecclesiastical usurpation, though he was superstitiously attached to the pretended successor of St. Peter, as having claims far superior to any other bishop.

A life so devoted to God might be expected to be closed with holy triumph; and Bede died in "the full assurance of hope." Cuthbert, in a letter to Cuthwin, a fellow-student, gives an account of the last hours of their tutor. From the first attack of sickness, Bede believed it would terminate in death; and being engaged in a translation of the Gospel according to John into the Saxon language, he was anxious to have it completed. On the day preceding his decease, he urged his pupils to write while he was able to dictate; saying, "Go on quickly; I know not how long I shall hold out, and whether my Master will soon take me away." They renewed their labours on the following morning, if possible to finish the great work; when in the afternoon one said, "Dear master, there is still one chapter wanting: will it be troublesome to ask any more questions?" The dying saint replied, "It is no trouble to me: take your pen and write speedily what yet remains unfinished." All the priests in the monastery were summoned to his apartment, when he exhorted them with dying seriousness to a faithful discharge of their ministerial office, directing them to keep in view the tribunal of God and the day of judgment. They were all affected to tears, as he took a final leave of them in this world, repeating a saying of St. Ambrose: "I have not lived so as to be ashamed among you; nor do I fear to die, because we have a good God;" adding, "I have served a kind Master, and now I long to be with Christ, that I may see him face to face in glory." In this strain of heavenly discourse he continued till

evening, when one of his disciples said, "Dear master, there is one sentence not yet written." "Then write it quickly," he replied. "The sentence is written," observed the young man; on which the departing believer exclaimed, "Truly, *It is finished!* Hold my head in thy hands; for it is a great satisfaction for me to sit facing the holy place in which I have been accustomed to pray: there let me call upon my Father." Being taken out of his bed, and placed upon the pavement of his cell, with his face towards the altar, and his head supported by his faithful attendant, he breathed out his spirit, singing, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit," after seven weeks' illness, A.D. 735.

Such was Bede, "a burning and a shining light" in a dark and corrupt age. Though secluded in the retirement of a monastery, he could not be altogether ignorant of the prevailing enormities, concerning which he wrote to Egbert, archbishop of York, the year before his decease. Monasteries, with all church possessions, claiming exemption from all martial and civil offices, several noblemen erected abbeys, appointing their own dependants for officers; and in these they freely indulged in all excesses. Bede, in his letter, complains of these abominations, as having been known to him for thirty years past, and that these houses were useless both to church and state, preserving neither piety nor decency. He complains also of the bishops; and to Egbert he says,— "Above all things avoid useless discourse, and apply yourself to the Holy Scriptures, especially the epistles to Timothy and Titus, to Gregory's Pastoral Care, and his Homilies on the Gospel. It is indecent for him, who is dedicated to the service of the church, to give way to actions or discourse unsuitable to his character. Have always those about you who may assist you in temptation: be not like some bishops, who delight to have those about them who love cheer, and divert them with trifling and facetious conversation.

"Your diocese is too large to allow you to go through the whole in one year; therefore appoint presbyters in each village, to instruct and administer the sacraments; and let them be studious, that every one of them may learn by heart the Creed and the Lord's Prayer; and that if they do not under-

stand Latin, they may repeat them in their own tongue. *I have translated them into English, for the benefit of ignorant presbyters.* I am told, that there are many villages in our nation, in the mountainous parts, the inhabitants of which have never seen a bishop or a pastor; and yet they are obliged to pay their dues to the bishop. The best means to reform our church is to increase the number of bishops. Who sees not how much more reasonable it is for numbers to share this burthen? Gregory, therefore, directed Augustin to appoint twelve bishops to be under the archbishop of York as their metropolitan: I wish you would fill up this number, with the assistance of the king of Northumberland."

From these passages the reader will form but a low estimate of religion in England in the time of Bede; and, indeed, though that great man was a luminary of an extraordinary kind, his superior light serves principally to show his own singular excellency, and to render the darkness around him the more visible. It would be easy to make many beautiful extracts from the writings of Bede, if our limits permitted, as they have been published in *three* folio volumes, and also in *five*, the most valuable of which, notwithstanding the *credulity* and *superstition* of the writer, is his "Ecclesiastical History of England," to the year A.D. 731. One passage however of those writings will exhibit further the soundness of his belief in the atonement of Christ. "Such was the efficacy of the blood of Christ, that the devil, who slew Christ, by a temporary death which was not due, cannot detain in eternal death any of those who are clothed with Christ, though that eternal death be due for their sins."

Contemporary with Bede were several eminent men in England, who devoted themselves to the service of God. Among these the first place is due to the name of his patron Benedict. At the age of *twenty-five* he renounced the world, and A.D. 653, went to Rome, to acquire a correct knowledge of church discipline, that he might establish the same in England. He founded the abbeys of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, and furnished them with books, paintings, and *relics of saints*, which he had collected in France, and brought from Rome in *five* journeys, at great expense. Several devoted themselves to

missionary labours among the pagans : among these Willibrod, about A. D. 690, crossed the channel to Holland, with *eleven* companions. One of them was put to death by the king of Friezeland, when they retired to Denmark, but returned soon after. Willibrod was made bishop of Utrecht by the pope; and he is said to have retained his episcopal seat in that city for fifty years, founding many churches and monasteries, and appointing bishops over the numerous pagans, who had been brought to embrace the name of Christ.

Winfred, born at Kirton in Devonshire, became the great luminary of Germany. At the age of *twenty-six* years, A. D. 716, he went with letters of recommendation to the pope, from the bishop of Winchester, and received ordination: "the pope had enjoined him to preach in the eastern parts of Germany, and he felt himself bound to perform his promise. It is not possible, indeed," Milner remarks, "to conceive such a man as Gregory to have had any other views than those of a secular ambition in exacting this promise from Winfred. But it seems also equally apparent, that the motives of the latter were holy and spiritual."

Visiting Rome after some time, to give an account of his mission, the pope consecrated him bishop of the new German churches, by the name of BONIFACE. In the year 732, he received the title of Archbishop of Mentz; and as he corresponded with his friends in England, especially Daniel bishop of Winchester, and Northere and Cuthbert archbishops of Canterbury, several Englishmen were induced to proceed to Germany under his patronage. "Excessively attached as he was, both to the Roman see and to monastic institutions," Boniface retained his zeal for the conversion of the pagans. "Though oppressed with age and infirmities, and greatly revered in the whole Christian world, he determined to return into Friezeland. Before his departure, he acted in all things as if he had a strong presentiment of what was to happen. He appointed Lullus, an Englishman, his successor, as archbishop of Mentz; and wrote to the abbot of St. Denys, desiring him to acquaint the king, Pepin, that he and his friends believed he had not long to live. He begged that the king would show kindness to the missionaries whom he should

leave behind him. 'Some of them,' said he, 'are priests dispersed into divers parts, for the good of the church; others are monks, settled in small monasteries, where they instruct the children. There are aged men with me, who have long assisted me in my labours. I fear, lest after my death, they should be dispersed, and the disciples, who are near the pagan frontiers, should lose the faith of Jesus Christ. I beg that my son Lullus may be confirmed in the episcopal office, and that he may teach the priests, the monks, and the people. I hope that he will perform these duties. That which most afflicts me is, that the priests, who are on the pagan frontiers, are very indigent. They can obtain bread, but no clothes, unless they be assisted, as they have been by me. Let me know your answer, that I may live or die with more cheerfulness.' "

Receiving a favourable answer, he went into Friezeland, where, assisted by Eoban, whom he had ordained bishop of Utrecht, after the death of Willibrod, he brought great numbers of the Pagans to the profession of Christianity. He appointed a day to confirm those whom he had baptized, and encamped with his followers on the banks of the river Bordue, to meet his friends on the plains of Dockum. "On the appointed day he beheld, in the morning, not the new converts whom he expected, but a troop of angry Pagans, armed with shields and lances. The servants went out to resist; but Winfrid, with calm intrepidity, said to his followers, 'Children, forbear to fight; the Scripture forbids us to render evil for evil. The day, which I have long waited for, is come; hope in God, and he will save your souls.' Thus did he prepare the priests and the rest of his companions for martyrdom. The Pagans attacked them furiously, and slew the whole company, fifty-two in number, besides Winfrid himself. This happened in the year 755, in the fortieth year after his arrival in Germany, and in the seventy-fifth of his age *."

Besides Boniface, there were others who proceeded to the Continent in the name of Christ; so that this has been denominated "The Age of Missionaries." Winebald, the son of

* Milner's Church History, vol. iii, p. 182, 183.

a royal English Saxon, laboured in Germany among the idolaters; and his ministry received the Divine blessing. He died A. D. 760. Liefuvyn and Villehad preached with success among the Saxons: the latter continued *thirty-five* years with them; the last two of which he was bishop of Bremen. Rumold preached in the neighbourhood of Mechlin; but, in 775, he was murdered by two persons, one of whom he had reproved for adultery. Virgilius, from Ireland, was made bishop of Saltzburg, by King Pepin, and died A. D. 780.

How far these famous ecclesiastics preached the pure gospel of Christ, it is difficult to ascertain. Mosheim represents them as influenced in their missions chiefly by ambition and avarice. "Boniface," he says, "often employed violence and terror, and sometimes artifice and fraud, in order to multiply the number of Christians. His epistles, moreover, discover an imperious and arrogant temper; a cunning and insidious turn of mind; an excessive zeal for increasing the honours and pretensions of the sacerdotal order; and a profound ignorance of many things, of which the knowledge was absolutely necessary in an apostle, and particularly of the true nature and genius of the Christian religion*."

Christianity in England was immersed in ignorance and superstition. Ceremonies and pilgrimages were the chief things in the religion of that age. Cuthbert, being made archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 740, Boniface addressed to him a long letter, exhorting him to a vigorous prosecution of his high duties in correcting the evils in the church. He complained that even English ladies were found in the cities of France and Italy given to prostitution, after making their pilgrimage to Rome. To remedy existing evils, he desired him to call a council, and forwarded him a copy of the canons recently passed in a synod at Mentz. Cuthbert called a synod at Clyff, or Clooveshoos, near Rochester, A. D. 747, when thirty canons were made for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs; some were adopted from those of Boniface, but without that which acknowledges the supremacy of the pope. By the twenty-seventh canon, prayer for the dead is

* Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii, p. 208.

enjoined; but nothing was decreed to reform the church according to the Scriptures. Cuthbert introduced, A. D. 750, the custom of interment in churchyards. "The practice itself is certainly innocent," as Milner remarks, "though its first origin was extremely superstitious. The attentive reader will judge hence of the progress of the doctrine of purgatory, and the avarice of the ecclesiastics connected with it; above all, of men's departure from the article of justification; which, if it had remained in any degree of purity in the church, would have effectually excluded these abominations. While men rested in Christ, and dared to behold themselves complete in him, they had no temptation to apply to the false refuge of prayers for the departed. In the article of death, they committed their souls and bodies to their Saviour: that hope of glory being lost, they struggled in vain through life with doubts and fears, and, departing in uncertainty, left to the charity of friends to help out their supposed defect of merit*."

Lichfield being created an archbishopric by Pope Adrian I, A. D. 789, disputes arose between the archbishops of York and Canterbury; to settle which, the pope sent two legates into England. These messengers accomplished their object, and brought with them various canons; which were adopted by a council called at Calenith, and subscribed by the kings of Mercia and Northumberland, the nobility, bishops, and clergy. These canons indicate the vast increase of privileges claimed by the clergy, and require the payment of the tenth of all possessions of the laity, as due to the church: hence originated the general claim of tithes in England†. But this claim was soon greatly strengthened.

Offa, king of Mercia, having perfidiously murdered his royal guest Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, when at his court to receive his daughter in marriage, seized on his territory, and fled to Rome to seek pardon for the diabolical crime. This he readily obtained, A. D. 793, for *three hundred and sixty-five* marks; and he then "made a grant to the

* Church History, vol. iii, p. 166.

† Collier, vol. i, p. 137, 138.

church of all the tithes in his dominions," says Collier, "and gave a great estate in land to the cathedral of Hereford, where King Ethelbert was buried*." Besides this, he made his kingdom, as it were, a "fee of the Roman see;" and ordered a tax of a Saxon penny to be levied annually upon every house of the yearly value of thirty pence, to support a college for the English youth at Rome. This is the origin of Peter-pence in England; the enforcement of which, by the agents of the pope in subsequent ages, occasioned grievous oppressions. As a further atonement for his crime of murder, Offa made the provision of support for the priests compulsory by laws. Gratitude for such favours induced them to contrive the discovery of the relics of St. Alban; at the taking up of which, in the presence of an assembled multitude, several miracles are said to have been performed. Offa, having obtained permission from the pope, built an abbey to the memory of the saint; and having thus contributed to the wealth and splendour of the clergy, who highly extolled his generosity, he died A. D. 796.

Alcuin is introduced to our notice by the zeal of Offa. This great man was born in England—some think a pupil of Bede—and ordained deacon of the church at York. He was for some years abbot of St. Augustin's, at Canterbury; but quitted that station, at the request of the archbishop, to return to York, for the purpose of teaching Greek and Hebrew, divinity and philosophy. Being sent as ambassador to France, by Offa, A. D. 790, Charlemagne prevailed on him to remain at his court, as his personal preceptor. Alcuin became, by his zeal for learning, a great benefactor to France; as that monarch, by his persuasions, founded the universities of Paris, Tours, Soissons, &c. Alcuin was esteemed one of the wisest men of his time; but his talents were of no great service to the advancement of religion in England. He died A. D. 804.

Popery continued to make progress in this country, and religion became more than ever debased. Alcuin testified, from his own knowledge, that "the monasteries were pol-

* Ecclesiastical History, vol. i, p. 142.

luted with adulteries, and the altars with perjuries *.” How far Christianity had been corrupted among the learned clergy at this period, may be conceived from the canons made in a council at Calcuith, A.D. 816; at which Kenulph, king of Mercia, and the chief nobility were present. The *second* canon describes the proper manner of consecrating churches, with many ceremonies for depositing some relics of a saint, or the sacred elements of the Lord’s supper; and a picture of the saint to whom the church was to be dedicated, to be painted on the wall of the altar. The *fifth* disallows the ministration of Scotchmen, alleging that it was uncertain from whom they received *orders*. The *tenth* declares, that, on the death of a bishop, the tenth part of his effects shall be given to the poor—that all his *English slaves* shall be manumitted—that, at the sounding of the bell, the people shall repair to church, and sing thirty psalms for his soul—that every bishop or abbot shall cause six hundred psalms to be sung, and one hundred and twenty masses to be said—that they should each liberate three slaves, giving each three shillings—that every monk should fast a whole day—and, at the end of thirty days, make a public entertainment †.

Pure religion, it is manifest, was now almost lost in England amidst such a mass of absurdities, aided by the intestine wars and the incursions of the savage Danes. Egbert improved the distracted state of the country, to promote his own ambition; and, after several bloody battles, he succeeded in conquering all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, and by a treaty with the nobility, signed at Dare, in Yorkshire, A.D. 827, he became KING OF ENGLAND!

* Burton’s Monasticon, p. 27.

† Collier’s Ecclesiastical History, vol. i, p. 148, 149.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE ENGLISH MONARCHY TO THE DEATH OF
ALFRED, A. D. 901.

Ravages of the Danes—King Ethelwolf—His grant of Tithes—His visit to Rome—His presents to the Pope—Gratitude of the Priests—Religion in Ireland and Scotland—Ethelwolf's Sons—Alfred—His labours—His learning—He founds Oxford University—His writings—His precepts—His great men.

CHRISTIANITY, at this period, existed in name through all England; and, while the ravages of the Danes produced dreadful miseries, some good arose even by their means. These invaders, aware of the monasteries being better furnished with provisions than other places, usually sought those asylums, frequently burying the slaughtered inmates beneath their ruins. Many of the monks entered the army; and others, through fear, were dispersed among the country villages, where they imparted the best instructions they were able. By this means, not a few of them entered the married state, and settled as parish priests; for whom, in some instances, churches were built by the people.

Egbert dying, A. D. 838, was succeeded in his throne by his son Ethelwolf, at that time sub-deacon of the cathedral at Winchester. Having been brought up for the church; and being extremely superstitious, Ethelwolf favoured the clergy, who had suffered in their revenues through the barbarous Danes. Under the direction of Swithin, bishop of Winchester, he endeavoured to make provision for their permanent support; especially as it was inculcated upon him, that the progress of the Danes was a judgment from God upon the nation, on account of the non-payment of tithes to the priests. As the only means of averting these calamities, the weak monarch was persuaded to call an assembly in his palace at Wilton; in which, A. D. 854, "for the health of his soul, and the prosperity of his kingdom," he granted the tenth of the lands of his hereditary possessions of Wessex, "to the holy churches and the ministers of religion, for the honour of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and all the saints."

Into what a deplorable state the people must have been

sunk, may be inferred from the ignorance and superstition of the king and his nobles, who could be deluded by the priestcraft manifest in the document by which that boon was conveyed. For the edification of our readers, we present them with a translation:—

“I, Ethelwolf, by the grace of God, king of the West Saxons, in the holy and most celebrated feast of the Passover, for the health of my soul and the prosperity of my kingdom, the people being collected around me by the Almighty God, have taken wholesome counsel with my bishops, lords, and all my nobles, that I might give the tenth part of the land through our kingdom, not only to the holy churches, but also we grant our appointed ministers should hold the same in perpetual liberty; that so such donation may remain unchangeable, and freed from all royal service, and from the service of all secular claims. Thus it hath pleased Elkstan, bishop of the church at Sherborn, Swithin, bishop of the church at Wilton, in common with my barons. But we have done this in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the saints, and in reverence of the Paschal Feast, that Almighty God may deign to be propitious to us and to our posterity. Now this charter has been written in the 864th year of our Lord, in the second indiction, on the day of the Passover, in our palace which is called Wilton. Now he who may wish to augment our donation, may Almighty God increase his prosperous days! But if any one shall presume either to lessen or change it, let him know that he shall give an account thereof before the tribunal of Christ, unless he shall first repair the damage by satisfaction.” This document is signed with crosses, for Ethelwolf the king, Alsthan and Swithin, bishops, Wlflaf, Werferth, abbots, Ethred, and Alfred son of the king*.

Having satisfied his clergy by this act, Ethelwolf visited Rome, where he was well received by Pope Leo, on account of his liberality to the church; and he spent a whole year in his journey, feasting his devotion with the holy relics and the pompous ceremonies in the churches and chapels. Turner

* Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. i, p. 706.—Records, No. III.

remarks, "The presents which the West Saxon king carried to the pope were peculiarly splendid. A crown of pure gold, weighing four pounds; two golden vessels, called *bancas*; a sword adorned with pure gold; two golden images; four Saxon dishes of silver gilt; besides valuable dresses; are enumerated by his contemporary, Anastasius. The king gave a donation of gold to all the Roman clergy and nobles, and silver to the people*." The English college at Rome, recently burnt down, Ethelwolf rebuilt in a style of great magnificence; "and, desiring to endow the college with greater revenues than his predecessor had done, extended the tax of Peter-pence all over his dominions, which, till then, had been levied only in Wessex and Mercia. He obliged himself to send to Rome yearly the sum of three hundred marks, *two hundred* whereof were to be expended in wax tapers for the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the remaining *one hundred* for the pope's private use†."

Ethelwolf, in returning, married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, king of France; but Ethelbald, his son, rebelled against him, being counselled by Alstan, bishop of Sherborn, who represented his father as a weak man, fit only to be the inmate of a monastery. Ethelbald threatening to dethrone his father, Ethelwolf obtained a measure of quiet, by a new grant of tithes of his whole kingdom; the charter of which was signed before the great altar of St. Peter's church, at Winchester, Nov. 3, A. D. 855, and by resigning to Ethelbald the province of Wessex.

This second charter is expressed in terms similar to the former, but with still stronger indications of superstition‡; and, in token of gratitude for this grant, the bishops ordained, "that all our brethren and sisters shall, in every church to which they belong, once every week (on Wednesday) sing *fifty* psalms; and every presbyter shall, on the same day, sing two masses, one for King Ethelwolf, and another for his nobles, who have been consenting to this grant, for the redemption and remission of their sins. And

* History of Anglo-Saxons, vol. i, p. 48.

† Rapin's History of England, vol. i, book iv.

‡ Fuller's Church History, p. 110, 111.

they shall say for the king, while he shall live, the prayer, *Deus qui justificas*, &c.; and for the nobles, *Pretende Domine*, &c. But after he shall be dead, they shall pray for the king in particular, and for his nobles, being dead, in general. And let this be constituted, for all the days of Christianity, as firmly as this grant is constituted—for as long as the Christian faith shall flourish in the English nation*.”

By this famous charter, the secular condition of the clergy was improved; but it is not considered to have been effectual in the promotion of vital religion: it favoured the spirit of popery, and became a still stronger inducement for avaricious and worldly men to enter the church, on account of its emoluments and immunities. “In England,” as Milner observes, “the decline of godliness was grievous; and, as Huntingdon remarks, Divine Providence punished the Saxons by the invasion of the Danes, the most lawless and savage of all mortals. There is reason, however, to believe, that a devotional, and probably an evangelical, spirit prevailed in some parts of the British isles; for monks in Ireland and Scotland, who gave themselves to prayer, preaching, and teaching, in the middle ages, were called *Culdees*—that is, *Cultores Dei*. They were first known in this country by that name, at St. Andrew’s particularly; but were never settled in England, except at St. Peter’s in York†.”

Ethelwolf died A. D. 857, and his throne was filled successively by his sons Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred; the latter of whom entered upon the government on the death of his brother, A. D. 871, when only in the twenty-second year of his age. The last three reigns were distinguished by the desolating progress of the Danish invaders; for they took the city of York, and put numbers of the wretched inhabitants to the sword. Many of the public buildings in the north were demolished by these barbarians; among which were the celebrated monasteries of Whitby, Monkwearmouth, Jarrow, and Landisfarne, whose valuable libraries and paintings were destroyed in the flames.

* Fuller’s Church History, p. 111.

† Church History, vol. iii, p. 199.

Alfred, deservedly called "the Great," was born A.D. 849. In the fifth year of his age his father sent him to Rome, with a great train of nobles; and the pope anointed him with royal unction, at the request of the king. Two years afterwards, Ethelwolf, in his celebrated visit to the pope, took him with him, "because he loved him with superior affection." Although the prince had been given to "St. Swithin" to be instructed, at twelve years of age he could not tell the letters of the alphabet. Even Alfred's brothers had reached manhood, without having been taught letters by their father; who, though he had received an ecclesiastical education, had left both them and Alfred illiterate. Nine years old at his father's death, and yet wholly uninstructed—with one brother on the throne, and two more so near it as ultimately to succeed to it, equally uneducated, and surrounded by nobles as ignorant, and with no lettered clergy about the throne—whence could Alfred have received this necessary introduction to all his improvement, if the more intelligent Judith, the grand-daughter of Charlemagne, had not been transplanted by Ethelwolf from Paris to England, and even detained here by Ethelbald*.

Judith, the step-mother of Alfred, induced the youth to attempt the reading of a Saxon poem, which he found means to accomplish: but still he did not prosecute his studies to any extent, before he ascended the throne; and then, for fifteen years, his hands were fully employed in opposing the Danes, who had almost ruined the country. Having gained a complete victory over them, A. D. 879, those that remained swore allegiance to him; and he vigorously set about fortifying the towns, and rebuilding the monasteries, when his generous soul was pierced in the contemplation of the miserable ignorance around him. He resolved on raising his countrymen from their degradation; and gained some assistance in learning Latin from Werfurth, bishop of Worcester, and Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury. Afterwards he procured Asser, a learned Welsh monk, to become his tutor and companion; and by his aid, and that of John

* Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol. i, p. 493, 494.

Scotus, called Erigena, the *Irishman*, and Grimbald, he acquired a knowledge of Latin, A. D. 887, at the age of *thirty-seven* years!

Alfred is believed to have feared God from his youth; and by the grace of the Holy Spirit, for which he earnestly prayed, to have maintained a beautiful consistency of character through life. St. Neot, his uncle, was a faithful monitor to him; moderating his severity, which was thought by some to incline to oppression towards the indolent and licentious.

In pursuance of his purpose, Alfred fixed upon Oxford as the most eligible place for a seat of learning; as similar, but feeble, efforts had been made in that vicinity several centuries before. From a curious ancient document, we learn, that, "In the year of our Lord 886, in the second year of St. Grimbald's coming over to England, the University of Oxford was founded. Its first regents and readers in divinity were St. Neot, an abbot and eminent professor of theology, and St. Grimbald, an eloquent and most excellent interpreter of the Holy Scriptures. Grammar and rhetoric were taught by Asser, a monk of extraordinary learning; logic, music, and arithmetic, by John, a monk of St. David's; and geometry and astronomy, by another John, a monk and colleague of St. Grimbald, a man of acute wit and immense erudition. These lectures were often honoured with the presence of the most illustrious and invincible King Alfred, whose memory, to every judicious taste, shall be sweeter than honey*."

A learned antiquary says, "At the first founding of the University of Oxford, the noble King Alfred built three halls, in the name of the Holy Trinity, for the doctors in grammar, philosophy, and divinity. The first of these halls was situated in High Street, near the east gate of the city, and endowed with a sufficient maintenance for twenty-six grammarians. This was called Little Hall, on account of the inferiority of the science there studied; and it still retains that name, even in my time. The second was built near the north wall of the city, in the street now called School Street; and

* Camden's Britannia.

endowed for twenty-six logicians or philosophers, and had the name of Less Hall. The third was also built in High Street, contiguous to Little Hall, and was endowed for twenty-six divines, for the study of the Holy Scriptures *."

Alfred gave an admirable example of piety and industry; acting agreeably to a vow in his adversity, that he would devote one-third of his time to the service of God. He therefore continued, through life, to spend eight hours daily in devotional exercises, eight were occupied in affairs of state, and the remaining eight were given to sleep and needful refreshments. His time was measured by wax candles, which were made each to burn four hours; but as there was no glass in his dominions, he invented lanterns to preserve them in windy weather. By this economy of his time, the king was enabled to accomplish surprising things both for the church and the state. He wrote several useful books, and translated into Saxon many others. Among the latter, were the "Pastoral of Gregory," a work on the duties of a Christian pastor — a copy of which he ordered for each of the bishops — and the "Ecclesiastical History" of Bede: but death surprised him, while completing the "Book of Psalms."

The reformation effected by Alfred, both civil and religious, in the condition of this country, corresponded with his extraordinary talents; and he left behind him a character of the greatest monarch that ever sat upon the throne of England. With pleasure we refer our readers to an unusually interesting memoir of this learned, pious, and excellent prince, in Sharon Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons †."

The following "extract from the precepts and instructions of King Alfred, taken from a manuscript in the Cotton Library," will delight every reader. "Alfred was a king of England that was both a king and a scholar: he loved well God's work: he was wise and advised of his talk: he was the wisest man that was in England. Thus said Alfred, England's comfort — 'O that you would now love and long after your Lord: he would govern you wisely. I mildly admonish

* Ross, Hist. Regum Ang. p. 77, 78.

† Vol. ii, p. 1—159.

thee, whether thou art poor or rich, that thou wholly reverence thy Lord Christ, love him, and delight in him ; for he is Lord of Life. He is one God above all goodness. He is a bliss above all blessedness. He is one man, a mild master ; he is one common father, and comfort of all his people. He is so wise and rich a king, that he who, in this world, shall serve him, shall not fail aught of his will.' Thus saith Alfred—' A young man must not give himself to evil, though good befall him not to his mind, nor though he enjoys not every thing he would ; for Christ can, when he will, give good after evil, and wealth after grace.' Thus saith Alfred—' Worldly wealth at last cometh to the worms, and all the glory of it to dust, and our life is soon gone. And though one had the rule of all this world, and of all the wealth in it, yet could he keep his life but a short while. All thy happiness would but work thy misery, UNLESS THOU COULDEST PURCHASE THERE CHRIST : therefore, when we lead our lives as God hath taught us, we then best serve ourselves. For be assured, that he will support us.' His advice to his son concludes thus : — ' Call thou upon God to advise thee in all thy need, and so he shall help thee the better to compass that thou wouldst *.' "

Alfred promoted several in the church, who were distinguished in that dark age ; but still those few particulars relating to them on record will be interesting to a pious reader. Swithin, denominated Saint, preceptor of Ethelwolf, procured the grant of tithes to the church ; and " this alone," says Rapin, " was sufficient to gain him a saintship, though he had been distinguished upon no other account." Monkish legends, in their accustomed manner, ascribe miracles to St. Swithin. Scotus Erigena, the Irishman, removed from Oxford, and became professor in the monastery of Malmsbury, where his pupils are said to have quarrelled with and murdered him. Grimbald was a German, whom Alfred prevailed on to settle in England, as his instructor, and professor of divinity at Oxford. Dunulf was the herdsman, who sheltered the king in his distress ; and,

* Church History, Tract Society, vol. iii, p. 179, 180.

in return for his kindness, Alfred had him instructed and made bishop of Winchester, and his personal counsellor. The monks of Winchester, however, refused to acknowledge this herdsman for their bishop. Wenefrid, or Werfurth, bishop of Worcester, Wulfwig, bishop of London, and Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, are mentioned with respect; but little is related of their evangelical labours. Neot, a relative of Alfred, appears to have been zealous for religion; and also Asser. This latter resided six months in each year with the king; and to him we are indebted for an instructive memoir of Alfred, up to the year 893; but continued to his death by another hand.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE TIME OF ALFRED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NORMANS.

Influence of Alfred's labours — Monasteries restored — St. Dunstan — Gotebald, a Missionary — State of Religion — Other Missionaries — Alfric — Alphage — Agelnoth — The Danes — William the Norman Conqueror — Lanfranc — Margaret of Scotland — Her piety and death — Parishes settled.

ENGLAND had been substantially benefited by the inestimable labours of Alfred, considering "the iron age" in which he lived. He endeavoured to secure a supply and succession of learned Christian pastors, and to draw his nobles to the love of learning; but his benevolent and truly patriotic desires were only partially fulfilled. "This glorious sun," to adopt the emphatic language of Milner, "after it had shone a little time through an atmosphere enveloped with vapours, and had in some degree dispersed them, was not able to illumine the region in which it appeared: the mist prevailed again, and England was covered with darkness *."

Alfred, doubtless with the best intentions, laboured to re-establish the monastic institutions. Dr. Southey states, "As the best means of restoring them, he sent for a colony of monks from France, and their pupils with them, who were training for the same profession. It was not, however, till many years after his death, that monachism again began to

* Church History, vol. iii, p. 201.

flourish, through the growing ascendancy of the Benedictine order, and the exertions of Dunstan, one of the most ambitious and least ambiguous characters of ecclesiastical history. The spirit of that corrupt church, which enrolled him among her saints, is manifest, no less in the course of his undoubted actions, than in the falsehoods wherewith they have been embellished and set forth: there is, therefore, no individual in English history, whose life more clearly illustrates the age of monastic imposture."

"Dunstan was born near Glastonbury, in the reign of Edward the Elder: one of his uncles was primate, another bishop of Winchester; and he was remotely allied to the royal family*." Dr. Southey devotes *twenty-six* pages, in his "Book of the Church," to relate the ludicrous, impious, and blasphemous stories of this "arch miracle-monger," as he justly denominates him. But although he was the most distinguished ecclesiastic in England—from A. D. 925, the time of his birth, to A. D. 988, the period of his death, and was successively abbot of Glastonbury, bishop of Worcester, and archbishop of Canterbury—his deeds cannot be recorded here, because they are a reproach to Christianity, and have no manifest connection with scriptural religion. Indeed, "Dunstan would, in any age or station," as Dr. Southey truly remarks, "have been a remarkable man; but no times could have aided him so well, as the dark age of priestcraft in which he flourished.—Christianity †, in the days of Dunstan, was as much a system of priestcraft, as that which at this day prevails in Hindostan or Tibet; but with this mighty difference, that, whereas inquiry can only show the priest of a false religion how every thing which he teaches and professes to believe is mere imposture or delusion, the Christian minister, even in the darkest times of popery, might ascertain, by strict investigation, that the history of his religion is true; and that the divinity of its precepts is proved by their purity, and their perfect adaptation to the nature of man, in its strength and in its weakness ‡."

* Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 87, 88.

† Romish nominal Christianity.

‡ Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 98.

Superstition and ecclesiastical tyranny held England and all Europe in grievous bondage; and scarcely any notices exist of the advancement of religion in the tenth century. At the beginning of that period, Swein, king of Denmark, driven from his throne, found an asylum in Scotland; where he was instructed in the doctrine of Christ, in whose name he had been baptized when a child. There he reflected on his infidel folly, returned to the truth, regained his kingdom, and became zealous for promoting Christianity.

Hageen Adersteen, king of Norway, who had been educated among the English, attempted, but in vain, about A. D. 933, to evangelize his subjects. Olaus Tryg-gueson also, who had been converted in England to the faith of Christ, itinerated from province to province, "attended by a chosen band of soldiers, and, sword in hand, performed the office of missionary and apostle." Much blood was shed in his contests with the idolaters: but Olaus prevailed; and, at Drontheim, he dragged the statue of Thor, their deity, from its sacred place, and burnt it in the sight of its former worshippers.

Guthebold, an English priest, became an eminent missionary among the Swedes and Norwegians; and from them the name of Christ was published in the Orkney Isles, Iceland, and Old Greenland, where many are reported to have embraced the Gospel*.

Learning, in a small degree, revived in the eleventh century; but the general state of Christianity was truly deplorable. Mosheim remarks, "It is not necessary to draw at full length the hideous portrait of the religion of this age. It may easily be imagined, that its features were full of deformity, when we consider that its guardians were equally destitute of knowledge and virtue; and that the heads and rulers of the Christian church, instead of exhibiting models of piety, held forth in their conduct scandalous examples of the most flagitious crimes. There were no doubt, in several places, judicious and pious men; but those chosen spirits, who had escaped the general contagion, lay too much con-

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii, p. 382, 383.

ceased, and had therefore too little influence to combat with success the formidable patrons of impiety and superstition, who were extremely numerous in all ranks and orders, from the throne to the cottage. Such holy men deplored the miserable state to which Christianity was reduced, by the alteration of its doctrines, and the vices of its profligate ministers. They opposed with vigour the tyrannic ambition, both of the lordly pontiff and the aspiring bishops; and in some provinces privately, in others openly, attempted the reformation of a corrupt and idolatrous church, and of a barbarous and superstitious age. This was, indeed, bearing witness to the truth in the noblest manner; and it was principally in Italy and France that the marks of heroic piety were exhibited *."

England was not altogether destitute of holy men of God. Olaus, king of Sweden, desiring some Christian instructors, several English priests were sent over by King Ethelred. Sigebert, archdeacon of York, was the most eminent. His success being considerable, he was appointed bishop of Wexia, in East Gotheland; and, leaving his nephew to labour among his converts, he proceeded to West Gotheland, to convert the infidels. These young missionaries were murdered by the pagan nobility; but Sigebert prevailed on the king to spare the murderers, and refused to participate of their confiscated property. This devoted man died, A. D. 1002, in the second year of his mission. Gotebald, another Englishman, became bishop in Norway: and Ulfrid preached the name of Christ, first in Germany, and afterwards in Sweden, patronized by King Olaus: but he fell a sacrifice to his imprudent zeal; for, in cutting down the idol Thor with a hatchet, he was murdered, A. D. 1028, by the pagans.

Alfric, or Elfrie, archbishop of Canterbury from A. D. 996 to A. D. 1006, was a man of learning and piety, but greatly imbued with the superstitious spirit of the times. The church service being in Latin, Alfric rendered a great benefit to the people, by his translation of Homilies into the English language: and a council in which he presided, besides va-

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii, p. 543.

rious superstitious canons, made one (the *twenty-third*), requiring the parish priest, upon Sundays and other holy days, to explain the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Gospel for the day, to the people, in English. Inconsiderable as this regulation may appear to us, in that dark age, if observed, it might have been greatly beneficial*.

Alphage, or Elphage, succeeded Alfric; and he seems to have been truly pious. He was a person of noble birth, and passed some years in a monastery in Gloucestershire, whence he was chosen bishop of Winchester. Twenty-two years he retained that dignity, when he was translated to Canterbury. How far his ministry was effectual in advancing the pure doctrine of Christ, we have but little intimation: still his name has been rendered famous, by his sufferings and death from the brutal Danes. When those merciless invaders besieged Canterbury, his friends in vain entreated him to flee for his life. Alphage replied, "God forbid that I should tarnish my character by so inglorious a conduct; and should be afraid of going to heaven, because a violent death lies across the passage. I have been the instrument of drawing over to the Gospel several considerable persons among the Danes: if this be a fault, I shall be happy in suffering for it. I mean, therefore, to stand the shock, and submit to the order of Divine Providence."

The city was taken, and the Danes committed the most horrid barbarities, murdering women and children: on which Alphage expostulated with them. "The cradle," said he, "can afford no triumph for soldiers. It would be better for you to exercise your vengeance upon me, whose death may give some celebrity to your names. Remember, some of your troops have, through my means, been brought over to the faith of Christ; and I have frequently rebuked you for your acts of injustice." Alphage was thrown in chains, and imprisoned for seven months: *three thousand pounds* of silver was fixed as the price of his ransom; and *twelve thousand pounds* for peace with the king, to be procured by his means: but, as he could not perform these conditions, the Danes car-

* Collier, vol. i, p. 207.

ried him with them, and at length murdered him, A. D. 1013, at Greenwich.

Superstition continued to make progress in England, as is manifest from the canons made under the direction of Alphege; and ceremonies, with the use of venerated relics, constituted the greater part of the religion of that age. These had almost superseded the institutions of Christ. Kings, princes, and wealthy prelates, purchased pieces of the *cross*, or whole legs and arms of the apostles; while others were obliged to be contented with the toes and fingers of inferior saints. But the shocking nature of papal avarice, as nourished by this impious system, will be better illustrated by the fact, that Agelnoth, called *the Good*, archbishop of Canterbury, when at Rome, A. D. 1021, purchased of the pope, an arm of Augustin, bishop of Hippo, for *six thousand pounds' weight* of silver, and *sixty pounds' weight* of gold!

Ambition had an extensive field for its operation in England at this period; but Church History cannot be a record of the enormities committed under its influence. The Danes prevailed. Edmund Ironside was assassinated, A. D. 1017, in the first year of his reign; and with him fell the last of the English Saxons. Canute the Great succeeded to the throne; and after him, Harold Harefoot, Hardicanute, Edward the Confessor, and Harold II, until A. D. 1066; when William, duke of Normandy, gained the royal prize by his sword.

William the Conqueror, observing the arrogant claims of the pope, became indignant, and "would not suffer any of his subjects to own the pope without his leave, or receive any letters from his Holiness, unless first shown to himself*." Still this "tyrant found the papacy a convenient engine for the support of his own despotic authority; and while he took care that every one of his subjects should, in ecclesiastical matters, bow under the yoke of the bishop of Rome, he reserved to himself the supreme power in civil affairs, and exercised it with the most unqualified rigour†.

Lanfranc, appointed archbishop of Canterbury by William, A. D. 1071, is reputed the most learned man, and the acutest

* Collier, vol. i, p. 238.

† Milner, vol. ii, p. 304.

theologian of his age. He had been a favourite of the king in Normandy, where he made him abbot of Caen. He distinguished himself in England, chiefly by his support of the papal authority, and defence of the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation. On this account, he was greatly honoured by the pope*.

At this period, several different liturgies were used in England; which, Fuller says, "caused much confusion, and much disturbed men's devotions." But Thurstan, a Norman abbot, introduced a new service into the church at Glastonbury; when a dreadful riot ensued, and eight monks were wounded, besides two killed, near the steps of the high altar, by the abbot's soldiers. Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, in consequence, composed a new service, which was generally observed. "Henceforward," says Fuller, "the most ignorant parish priest in England, though having no more Latin in all his treasury, yet understood the meaning of *Secundum usum Sarum*, that all service must be ordered, according to the course and custom of Salisbury church†."

"Nothing else," Milner remarks, "worthy of a place in these memoirs, seems to have occurred, in the general history of our island, during the course of this century, except what relates to the personal character of Margaret, queen of Scotland, a woman of the rarest piety, and of a character fitted to throw a lustre on the purest ages. She was sister to Edgar Atheling, the grandson of Edmund Ironside, who was the son and successor of Ethelred. Edgar was a peculiar favourite of the English, because he was the last of the Saxon line of princes. In the reign of William the Norman, he and his sister found a safe retreat in Scotland, under the protection of Malcolm; who, by the assistance of Edward the Confessor, had recovered the throne of Scotland from the usurper Macbeth. Malcolm married the English princess. Wonderful things are related of her piety, liberality, and humility. Through her influence, the ferocious spirit of her husband received a happy tincture of humanity. She was enabled to reform the kingdom of Scotland in a great degree,

* Fuller, cent. xi, p. 7, 8.

† Ibid.

and to introduce a more serious regard to the duties of the Lord's day than had been known in that country. She had, by Malcolm, six sons and two daughters. Three of her sons reigned successively, and were esteemed excellent monarchs. Her daughter Matilda was wife to Henry I, of England, and was looked on as a pious Christian. Margaret had taken uncommon care of her children's education; and the fruits of her labours appeared in their lives. Theodoric, her confessor, observes, that she was remarkably attentive in public prayer. "And," says he, "she would discourse with me concerning the sweetness of everlasting life, in such a manner as to draw tears from my eyes." This same Theodoric, a monk of Durham, wrote her life. She was afflicted with sickness at the very time her husband Malcolm was slain at Alnwick, in Northumberland, in the time of William Rufus, in 1093. The bitter news was brought to her ears: her reflections upon it were truly Christian. "I thank thee, O Lord, that this great affliction is evidently sent to purify me from my sins. O Lord Jesus Christ, who, by thy death, hast given life to the world, deliver me from evil!" She survived the event only a few days. A princess of such accomplishments could not have lived in vain in Scotland; but, most probably, must have led many, in a rude and ignorant age, to think that there was something in real godliness*."

In closing the history of this period, it will be proper to notice the origin of parish churches. For several centuries after the introduction of the Gospel to Britain, churches were erected only in the principal cities, the residence of the bishops as Christian pastors. Their churches were called *Cathedrals*, or bishop's seats; and, their converts increasing, they were aided by ministers, whom they sent forth as home missionaries. Places of worship were erected, to accommodate them; who reported their successes to the bishops, delivering up the offerings of the pious, from which common stock the clergy were supported. These rural churches were considered as chapels to the cathedral; and when it became

* Church History, vol. iii, p. 305—307.

necessary to allow residence to pastors, the bishops kept them dependent, reserving the revenues in their own hands. The founders of churches, dissatisfied that their pastors did not enjoy the donations made to them, the bishops agreed to be content with a third or fourth part, retaining the right of baptism, confirmation, and burial. Private oratories became numerous, every nobleman building one for the accommodation of himself and vassals; and any one alienating a part of his estate, the purchaser seldom failed to build a new church. Bishops, also, enriched to an equality with the nobles, did the same for the convenience of their tenants; for a long period retaining possession of the tithes: but at length, their own revenues being immense, they allowed the resident priests to enjoy the whole of the endowments, and to administer the sacraments, forming a hierarchy after the model of Rome. Thus, by degrees, the parochial divisions were settled in most parts of the kingdom before the Norman Conquest.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE CONQUEST, TO THE DEATH OF BRADWARDINE, A. D. 1253.

Anselm — Dr. Southey's testimony — Anselm's theology — Revival of learning — Cambridge University — German Puritans martyred at Oxford — Thomas à Becket — His murder — Penance of King Henry II. — Shrine of St. Thomas — Scot — The Pope's interdict — Langton — Friar Bacon — Greathead — Fitzraf — Bradwardine — Crusades — Transubstantiation.

ANSELM succeeded Lanfranc as archbishop of Canterbury. "As a divine and a Christian," says Milner, "he was the first of characters in this century, and is, therefore, deserving of some attention." — "This archbishop contributed much, by his influence, to settle the celibacy of the clergy in England; and it must be confessed, that even the virtues of this great man, through the peculiar infelicity of the times, were attended with great disadvantages to the state of society. For it ought to be observed, that, if we except his attachment to the authority of the pope, and his passion for the fashionable superstitions, his conduct was pious and ex-

emplary: his zeal against the luxury, simony, and vices of the great, was laudable; and, above all, his defence of evangelical truth, adorned by an upright course of life and conversation, preserved, under God, some genuine remains of godliness in the nation *."

Anselm was born at Aost, in Piedmont, A. D. 1033. At the age of twenty-seven, after a course of irregularities, he entered as monk, under Lanfranc, at Bec, in Normandy; of which abbey he was chosen prior, A. D. 1078, on account of his sanctity and zeal. In this retirement, and some years after, during a residence at Lyons, he composed his devotional pieces, some of which are common, having been translated into English by Dean Stanhope, and published with "Augustin's Meditations." Some of these are richly evangelical, breathing a spirit of elevated piety; and judging of Anselm's character from them, we should conclude that he was a most amiable and humble person, which perhaps he might have been had he remained in private life.

Lanfranc dying, A. D. 1089, the king retained the immense archiepiscopal revenues, besides those of Winchester and Durham, and thirteen abbeys †, for his own use, more than three years; when, during an illness, he appointed Anselm, then in England, to be metropolitan. Anselm, at first, made considerable objection; declaring to his friends, "The plough of the church of England should be drawn by two oxen of equal strength, the king and the archbishop of Canterbury; but if you yoke me, who am an old sheep, with this king, who is a mad bull, the plough will not go straight ‡." On this, Dr. Southey remarks, "He characterized himself untruly; for, whatever his individual disposition might have been, his conduct was in full conformity with the aspiring views of his church §."

Contentions soon arose between the avaricious king and the unbending prelate, on account of a contribution from the ecclesiastical revenues, and Anselm presuming to acknow-

* Milner's Church History, vol. iii, p. 305—307.

† Fuller's Church History, cent. xi, p. 10.

‡ Henry's History of England, vol. v, p. 280.

§ Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 132.

ledge Urban as pope, in opposition to Clement, another claimant of St. Peter's throne. Anselm determined on going to Rome to receive his pall, when William seized the revenues of the archbishop, and would not suffer him to return. But the king dying A. D. 1100, Henry I allowed Anselm to resume his office; still the archbishop refused to make the accustomed acknowledgment for his ecclesiastical dignity, when both the king and the prelate appealed to the pope. His Holiness made a private treaty with the deputies of each party, to serve his own unprincipled policy: his perfidy was manifest on their return to England, producing violent contests and excessive misery to the nation.

Every reader must be shocked in tracing the history of this period, filled up as it is with the detail of controversies between the kings, the bishops, and the popes. These controversies had no relation to evangelical truth; but to *the supremacy of the pope — the civil jurisdiction of the clergy — the right of investiture, or appointment to ecclesiastical benefices — and the obligation of the clergy to do homage, according to the custom of those times, for their temporal possessions.* Parties among the bishops were formed, *with or against the pope or the king, as seemed to favour their particular interests*, as Dr. Southey remarks, “in full conformity with the aspiring views of the church.” “Even the amiable Lanfranc himself,” says a judicious historian, “when engaged in these ecclesiastical controversies, seems to have lost his usual urbanity, and assumed a tone of arrogant severity which was foreign from his natural disposition. But this prelate, amidst all the ardour of his zeal, was meekness and humility itself, when compared with the furious and bigoted Anselm, who continued during so many years to disturb the peace of society, and disgrace the church to which he belonged, by his boundless ambition and spiritual despotism*.”

Anselm was primate of England from A. D. 1093 to 1109; but during that period we find nothing recorded as having been done to evangelize the people, and little to diffuse the knowledge of the Scriptures. Beautiful passages we might

* Morell's Hist. of England, vol. i, p. 154.

give from his devotional pieces; from which Anselm would appear a Christian indeed: but his uncompromising support of the ecclesiastical usurpations, his devoted attachment to the "Man of Sin," and his patronage of the prevailing superstitions, at least occasion our hesitation. Anselm died A. D. 1109, and a memoir of his life was written by Eadmer, an attendant of this prelate. "The efforts which he had made for promoting the sovereignty of the Roman See, entitled him to canonization, and miracles enough for establishing his claim were adduced." Having mentioned some of them, Dr. Southey remarks, "Such is the character of ecclesiastical biography in that age, and in this spirit of deliberate and systematic falsehood are the lives of the Romish Saints composed*."

Anselm's evangelical views on the main points of Christian doctrine will appear from one passage. "To prevent that usurpation which sin had made in the dominion of God, and the desolation which must have followed if it had reigned without control, or been left wholly to his justice, the goodness of God pleased to interpose, and the Son of God took our nature into his own person. By this means being God and man both in the same person, he was provided with a satisfaction exceeding, not only every thing which is not God, but the largest debt that sinners could possibly contract. And thus he who owed nothing for himself vouchsafed to pay down for others, who had not wherewithal to pay what they owed. For the life of that man was of infinitely greater worth than all the creation put together, and far above the sum which sinners were indebted to God for, by way of satisfaction†."

Learning began to revive about this period in England; and, according to Dr. Southey, "the struggle between the papal and royal authorities, did not impede the progress of those improvements which the Norman clergy introduced. A surprising revival of literature had been effected by Lanfranc and Anselm; it extended beyond the monasteries,

* Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 140, 141.

† Anselm on Redemption, by Dean Stanhope, p. 355.

where learning had hitherto been confined; and the schools at Cambridge are believed to have been first established at this time. The rigour with which Henry I, during a reign of five and thirty years, maintained tranquillity at home, allowing of no oppression except that which was exercised by his own officers, favoured the improvement of the nation. The original Saxon churches, as they fell to decay, were generally supplied by more elaborate structures; and the introduction of painted glass, by making larger windows necessary, led to the perfection of church architecture *."

Milner remarks, "The learning, as well as the impiety of the continent, passed into England, and we shall shortly see a dreadful instance of the effects of both at Oxford. For while the real word of God was generally neglected, and the salutary doctrine of the gospel was buried in darkness, the literary improvements of the times might sharpen the intellectual faculties, but would produce no benign effects on the manners of mankind. To finish this brief detail of the progress of learning, I shall add, that Cambridge had begun to be a seminary of learning some little time after Oxford, but in that view had been quite oppressed by the incursions of the Danes. It revived, however, in some degree about the year 1109, when Gislebert, with three other monks, was sent by the abbot of Croyland to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge, where they hired a barn as a convenient place for public lectures. One read grammar in the morning, a second read logic at one o'clock, and a third, at three in the afternoon, gave lectures on rhetoric from Tully and Quintilian. Gislebert himself preached on Sundays and other holidays. The barn was soon found insufficient to contain the auditors: and, therefore, accommodations were provided for the labours of these men in different parts of the town. Such is the account which Peter of Blois gives of the infant state of learning at Cambridge †."

"Where THEN was the church of Christ, and what was its condition?" asks Milner. "In the general appearance

* Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 141, 142.

† Church History, vol. iii, p. 419, 420.

of national religion she was not to be discovered. God had, however, his **SECRET ONES**. There might be, and doubtless were, in common life, various persons too poor and too insignificant to be regarded in history, who feared God and served him in the gospel of his Son, but whom a humble station in society secured from persecution *."

In the south of France, and the adjoining provinces of Switzerland and Germany, there were a people, well known, and persecuted barbarously by the popish church, under the denominations of Waldenses and Puritans, on account of their rejection of the papal superstitions, and their attachment to the Holy Scriptures. Multitudes of them suffered martyrdom in their native valleys; and others escaping, sought an asylum in foreign lands. Some of these injured and slandered confessors of Christ reached the shores of England: but it was only to illustrate the divinity of their principles in suffering for their Saviour. Henry II, had joined with the French king in persecuting the Puritans of Thoulouse; and while, as Milner calls him, a man of "solid understanding," he abused and perverted one of the finest understandings by a life of ambition and lewdness; and by supporting idolatrous religion, he himself was exposed to the severest sufferings from the papal usurpations. One instance of his barbarity deserves to be distinctly related.

"Thirty men and women, who were Germans, appeared in England in the year 1159, and were afterwards brought before a council of the clergy at Oxford. Gerard their teacher, a man of learning, said, that they were Christians, and believed the doctrines of the apostles. They expressed an abhorrence of the doctrine of purgatory, of prayers for the dead, and of the invocation of saints. Henry, in conjunction with the council, ordered them to be branded with a hot iron on the forehead, to be whipped through Oxford, to have their clothes cut short by their girdles, and to be turned into the open fields; and he likewise forbid any person, under severe penalties, to shelter or relieve them. As it was the depth of winter, they all lost their lives through cold and

* Church History, vol. iii, p. 420, 431.

hunger. They had made one female convert in England, who, through fear of similar punishment, recanted. The whole number of Germans remained, however, patient, serene, and composed, repeating, "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Their teacher, Gerard, that he might be distinguished from the rest, had an additional stigma on his chin.

"What a darkness," adds the pious historian, "must at that time have filled our island! A wise and sagacious king, a renowned university, the whole body of the clergy and laity, all united in expelling Christ from their coasts! Brief as is the account of the martyrs, it is sufficiently evident that they were the martyrs of Christ*."

Thomas à Becket must not be altogether unnoticed here: yet, although Dr. Southey fills *one-ninth* of the whole "Book of the Church," consisting of more than *nine hundred pages*, with the details of this "turbulent, ambitious, unforgiving churchman," as he calls him†, Milner dispatches his history in five lines thus:—"The contention between King Henry and Becket is well known. I have nothing to say of it, except that the whole affair is foreign to my purpose. There is no evidence that a spirit of true religion influenced either the king or the archbishop."

In illustration of the corrupt religion of those times, a few particulars respecting him, however, will be necessary. Becket was born A. D. 1119, and educated at Oxford and Paris. Henry II. appointed him chancellor, A. D. 1158, and in 1162 archbishop of Canterbury, when he assumed the arrogance of a sovereign pontiff. His violence and anathemas incensed the king; who, letting fall some imprudent expressions, four knights were emboldened to assassinate the domineering prelate, A. D. 1171. Henry had great difficulty in satisfying the pope, who improved this event to advance his own authority in England, and canonized Becket. "And as the pope had authorized and enjoined prayers to the new

* Church History, vol. iii, 423, 424.

† Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 143, 254.

saint, that he should intercede with God for the clergy and people of England, Henry, either from prostration of mind, or impolicy far less to be excused, determined to implore his intercession in the most public manner, and with the most striking circumstances. Landing at Southampton, he there left his court and the mercenaries whom he had brought over, and set off on horseback with a few attendants for Canterbury. When he came within sight of its towers he dismounted, laid aside his garments, threw a coarse cloth over his shoulders, and proceeded to the city, which was three miles distant, barefoot over the flinty road, so that in many places his steps were traced in blood. He reached the church trembling with emotion, and was led to the martyr's shrine; there, in the crypt, he threw himself prostrate before it, with his arms extended, and remained in that posture, as if in earnest prayer, while the bishop of London solemnly declared in his name, that he had neither commanded nor advised, nor by any artifice contrived the death of Thomas à Becket, for the truth of which he appealed to God; but because his words, too inconsiderately spoken, had given occasion for the commission of that crime, he now voluntarily submitted himself to the discipline of the Church. The monks of the convent, eighty in number, and four bishops, abbots, and other clergy who were present, were provided each with a knotted cord; he bared his shoulders, and received five stripes from the prelates, three from every other hand. When this severe penance had been endured, he threw sackcloth over his bleeding shoulders, and resumed his prayers, kneeling on the pavement, and not allowing a carpet to be spread beneath him; thus he continued all that day, and till the midnight bell tolled for matins. After that hour, he visited all the altars of the church, prayed before the bodies of all the saints who were there deposited, then returned to his devotions till day-break. During this whole time he had neither ate nor drank; but now, after assisting at mass, and assigning, in addition to other gifts, forty pounds a year for tapers, to burn perpetually before the martyr's tomb, he drank some water, in which a portion of Becket's blood was mingled. He then set off for London, where he

found himself in a state incapable of exertion, and it was necessary to bleed him ! *”

“ No arts, no falsehood, no blasphemies were spared, which might raise the reputation of the new shrine above all others in England : lost members were said to be restored there, and the dead, even birds and beasts, restored to life : parallels were drawn between this turbulent, ambitious, unforgiving churchman, and our Lord and Saviour himself, and a prayer was introduced in the service of his day, for salvation through the merits and blood of St. Thomas à Becket. These abominable artifices were successful. A jubilee was accorded every fifty years, when plenary indulgence was to be obtained by all who visited his tomb : 100,000 pilgrims are known to have been present at one of these seasons ; and at this day, it may be seen where their knees have worn the marble steps. The cathedral itself was commonly called St. Thomas’s ; and in the account of one year it appeared, that more than six hundred pounds had been offered at Becket’s altar, when at the altar of Christ nothing had been presented †.”

John Scot, bishop of Dunkeld, is but little known : but what is related of him, indicates an unusual concern for the salvation of souls. On his preferment, he found that the Irish language only was spoken in the county of Argyle, which was included in his diocess. Scot being ignorant of that dialect, which was familiar to Evaldus his chaplain, he applied to the pope for Argyle to be constituted a distinct diocess. This was granted in compliance with this representation of Scot ; “ How can I give a comfortable account to the Judge of the world, at the last day, if I pretend to teach those who cannot understand me ? The revenues suffice for two bishops, if we are content with a competency, and are not prodigal of the Christian patrimony.” Scot died A.D. 1202.

Stephen Langton, one of the most illustrious men of his age for his erudition and political skill, was born in England, but educated at Paris, and greatly esteemed by the French king and nobility. He was made chancellor of Paris, a car-

* Southey’s Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 252, 254.

† Ibid. 248, 249.

dinal of Rome, and appointed, A. D. 1206, by Pope Innocent III, archbishop of Canterbury, in opposition to the monks and the king. In the disputes between John and his barons, Langton greatly aided them in obtaining Magna Charta, signed June 19, A. D. 1215. On this Southey remarks, "It can hardly be doubted, but that those provisions in the great charter which related to the general good, and had their foundation in the principles of general justice, were dictated by him. No man, therefore, is entitled to a higher place in English history, for having contributed to the liberties of England, than Stephen Langton *."

Church history, generally, is made a record of prelatical disputes, and fills many volumes; but these details relate, almost exclusively, to ecclesiastical corruptions, instead of the true church of Christ. These must be excluded here, except a few particulars concerning the pope's "INTERDICTION" upon England, to illustrate the advancement of papal arrogance.

King John refusing his consent to the arbitrary appointment of Langton to be archbishop of Canterbury, Innocent excommunicated him, absolved his subjects from their allegiance to him, and declared the throne vacant. Divine service was suspended, and the administration of the sacraments, except baptism. The church doors were closed, the statues of the saints were laid on the ground, and the office of Christian burial was denied to the dead. Filled with horror at the miseries which prevailed, the king was prevailed on, by Romish agents, to make a solemn oath to perform every thing that should be imposed by the pope. He prostrated himself at the feet of the legate of his Holiness, delivering up his crown and sceptre, which the haughty Pandulph retained five days, and then returned them to the abject sovereign, as favours granted by the bishop of Rome! Before receiving the ensigns of his royal dignity, he was required to take the following oath: — "I, John, by the grace of God, king of England, and lord of Ireland, in order to expiate my sins, from my own free will, and the advice of my barons, give to the

* Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 281.

church of Rome, to Pope Innocent, and his successors, the kingdom of England, and all other prerogatives of my crown. I will hereafter hold them as the pope's vassal. I will be faithful to God, to the church of Rome, to the pope my master, and his successors legitimately elected. I promise to pay him a thousand marks yearly; to wit, seven hundred for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for the kingdom of Ireland."

King John took the oath with all possible solemnity, kneeling before the haughty Pandulph, who held up his hands between his own during the ceremony. The conditions of the oath were signed by the king, and many of his barons, A. D. 1213; but the interdict was not taken off till A. D. 1214, having continued more than *six years*. Such was the intolerable usurpation of the hierarchy under the "MAN OF SIN!"

Superstition and ecclesiastical tyranny continued to increase in England, affording an awful comment upon the prediction of the "MYSTERY OF INIQUITY." The fashionable learning of that age having little relation to the fountain of wisdom in the Holy Scriptures, was ill adapted to dissipate the brooding darkness, and to emancipate the people. This state of things may be illustrated by the fate of Roger Bacon. He was born A. D. 1214, and educated at Oxford, patronized by Greatehead, bishop of Lincoln. His proficiency in Greek and Oriental learning was extraordinary. He prosecuted his studies at Paris; and, returning, entered the Franciscan order of monks, but devoted himself principally to the study of chemistry, natural philosophy, and mathematics. Twenty years, and several thousand pounds, he spent, in making experiments; and his discoveries were astonishing. His celebrity excited the envy of the monks, who reported that he corresponded with evil spirits: he was therefore forbidden to read lectures in the university, and confined to his cell. He appealed to Pope Clement IV, to whom he sent a copy of his works; which, being prohibited, he was sentenced to close prison, in which he remained ten years, and died A. D. 1292, having acquired the title of "Wonderful Doctor:" but Mil-

nor remarks of him, "I know no evidence of his piety, and love of evangelical truth *."

Robert Greathead (Grossetete), the patron of Bacon, was born A.D. 1175, and died A.D. 1253, aged seventy-eight years, the last twenty-three of which he was bishop of Lincoln. Greathead appears to have acquired all the learning of that age, having studied in the universities of Oxford and Paris. Piety, integrity, and zeal, characterized this venerable prelate; and he laboured, at first with the sanction of the pope, to reform the shocking abuses which he witnessed in the monasteries in his diocese. He sought to benefit the people, by frequent preaching; and though his writings do not indicate his being the clearest and soundest of divines, yet he held all the essentials of the gospel of Christ. Greathead made various efforts to emancipate his country from the pernicious exactions of the pope; but they cannot be detailed within these brief limits, nor yet his contests with his Holiness. England furnishing a rich field for a harvest of ecclesiastical revenues, the pope, in many cases, appointed Italians to the vacant livings. Fuller remarks, "The pope's oppression grew intolerable; for it appeared, by inquisition made, that the ecclesiastical revenues of Italians in England—whereof many were boys, more blockheads, all aliens—amounted, per annum, unto *threescore and ten thousand* marks; whereas the king's income, at the same time, was hardly *twenty thousand*†."

Greathead, in the spirit of an apostle, remonstrated with Innocent against his enormities in making such appointments, refusing to obey his mandates; on which account his Holiness, being enraged, threatened and excommunicated the bold prelate. Nevertheless, he continued in his dignity, and died in hope of glory, A.D. 1253, warning his clergy against the abominations of the pope, as Antichrist. Matthew Paris, a contemporary historian, though superstitiously attached to the pope, and prejudiced against Greathead, bears this testimony to his character:—"This holy bishop, Robert, de-

* Church History, vol. iv, p. 3.

† Church History, cent. xiii, p. 65.

parted this world, which he never loved, and which was always to him as a place of banishment. He was the open reprover, both of my lord the pope, and of the king; and the censurer of the prelates, the corrector of the monks, the director of priests, the instructor of the clergy, the supporter of scholars, the preacher to the laity, the punisher of incontinence, the diligent investigator of various writings; and, lastly, he was the scourge of lazy and selfish Romans, whom he heartily despised. In the supply of the temporal table, liberal, copious, polite, cheerful, and affable. In the spiritual table, devout, humble, and contrite. In the episcopal office, diligent, venerable, and indefatigable*."

Inefficient were the efforts of Greathead, and of the very few others who partook of his spirit in that age, to effect a reformation in the church. Richard Fizraf, educated at Oxford, of which he became chancellor A.D. 1333, and made dean of Lichfield A.D. 1337, promoted in 1347, by Edward III, to the archbishopric of Armagh, made a stand against the mendicant friars, who swarmed in our islands, and whose preaching and pretended pardons served to increase the prevailing evils. "I have, in my diocese of Armagh," says Fizraf, "about *two thousand* persons, who stand condemned by the censures of the church denounced against malefactors, of all which number, scarcely fourteen have applied to me or my clergy for absolution. Yet they all receive the sacraments, as *others do*, because they are absolved, or pretend to be absolved." Denouncing the wicked practices of the friars, in his sermons at London, he was cited to Rome, where he boldly defended himself before Pope Innocent VI, for which he was not allowed to return; and died, after seven or eight years of exile, A.D. 1360†. Milner says of Fizraf, "Of his refutation of the reigning abuses, the account is large; but to us, at least at this day, tedious and unnecessary. Of his Christian spirit, doctrines, and sufferings, the account is very brief; but, I think, sufficient to show that

* Matthew Paris, p. 876; Rapin's History of England, book viii; Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. i, p. 417—422.

† Ibid.

God WAS WITH HIM *." Fizraf is said to have translated the Bible into English †.

Divine faithfulness was doubtless illustrated in preserving the church of Christ in England; and many there probably were, by whom the corruptions of popery, both in doctrine and discipline, were opposed. But the true servants of the Redeemer were few, and their names have been enrolled only in the Lamb's book of life. Among the great, not many are recorded as the faithful witnesses for Christ: yet THOMAS BRADWARDINE stands conspicuous. He was born about A.D. 1290, educated at Merton College, Oxford, and in 1325, was known as one of its proctors. His life was that of a scholar, undistinguished by any striking incident, while his reputation for learning secured him the appellation of "*The Profound Doctor*." He was a frequent and popular preacher; he accompanied Edward III, as chaplain, in his French wars; and his prudence and piety are believed to have had a salutary influence on both the king and his army. The monks of Canterbury chose him archbishop: but the king would not part with him until a second vacation, when he was elected again, and Edward consented. Bradwardine was consecrated at Avignon; when cardinal Hugh, a nephew of the pope, ridiculed the prelate, by introducing into the hall a person habited as a peasant, riding on an ass, petitioning the pope to be made archbishop of Canterbury. Conscious of the learning and virtues of the humble prelate, the pope and his cardinals were constrained to resent the indignity, and frown on its contriver.

Bradwardine returned to England to enter on his high office, but not many weeks after his consecration, and only seven days after his landing, he died at Lambeth, A. D. 1349. "Whether Bradwardine, who had so far excelled as a divine, would have been equally efficient as a metropolitan, may be doubted; but in the former capacity, his proficiency is believed to have been unrivalled. The lectures delivered by him in Merton Hall, not many years prior to Wycliffe's resi-

* Church History, vol. iv, p. 76. † Rapin, Hist. of Eng. book x.

dence as a student in that seminary, were published in a volume, which extends to nearly nine hundred folio pages, and was entitled, 'De Causa Dei,' or the cause of God against Pelagius. In this curious production, where the various knowledge, and the scholastic taste of the author, are alike conspicuous, the essential doctrines of the gospel are explained and defended with a felicity which has been noticed by the divines of a later period with equal pleasure and surprise. The object of the work is to demonstrate the present depravity of human nature, and, as a consequence, its entire dependence on the atonement of the cross, and on the influence of the Divine Spirit for salvation."—"The Oxford professor feelingly exclaims, 'What multitudes support Pelagius, and with clamour, and raillery, and derision—almost the whole world is gone after Pelagius into error!' The zeal of Bradwardine, directed thus vigorously towards a reformation of the doctrine of the church, passed over the flagrant evils in its polity and discipline. But in managing this serious department of controversy, he availed himself freely of the reasonings brought to the same question by the genius of Augustin; and it is a certain evidence of mental improvement, that his work, abstruse as it was in many of its parts, became immediately popular. Its success also may be viewed as favourable to the cause of theological opinions, which, towards the close of the same century, were published by Wycliffe and his coadjutors with still greater efficiency*."

Milner calls this work of Bradwardine's, "an admirable performance; whether one considers the force of his genius, the solidity of his reasoning powers, or the energy of his devotion." And he thus concludes the review of his works: "Such were the ardent breathings of soul in a studious and thoughtful scholar of the fourteenth century; who, unaided by human connection, in an age dreary and unpromising throughout Europe, and in our own island full of darkness, seems to have lived the life of faith in the Son of God. The light of the Waldensian doctrine had been all along confined to the continent. But HE, who shows mercy because he

* Vaughan's Life of Wycliffe, vol. i, p. 195—197.

will show mercy, and who had, in some measure, paved the way to the more copious exhibition of his grace by the life and writings of Bradwardine, was preparing, not long after his decease, to revive the light of divine truth in England, and there to form a people for himself who should set forth his praise *."

Two other circumstances of this period require a distinct, although brief notice. The first is the "Crusades," or "Holy Wars," for the recovery of Palestine, the scene of our Saviour's miracles and death, from the infidel Saracens. These wars continued about two centuries, from A. D. 1096, impoverishing all ranks except the clergy and the popes, who gained large accessions of wealth by them. Though carried on in the name of Christ, and the consecrated soldiers conducted by ecclesiastics, "nothing perhaps in the annals of history," says Dr. Maclaine, "can equal the flagitious deeds of this infernal rabble," of whom there perished, in the several expeditions, not less than *two millions* of Europeans !

"Transubstantiation" is the other particular. From the latter part of the *second* century, when Christian pastors began to be called *priests*, superstition had attributed some mysterious efficacy to the Lord's Supper, and added various rites in its administration. As the pernicious idea of a *Christian priesthood* was cherished, this notion was strengthened, until Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbey, A. D. 845, published a treatise, affirming that the bread and wine, after blessing, were really changed into the body and blood of Christ. This opinion gained adherents during a long controversy. Berengarius, archdeacon of Angers, A. D. 1035, was a learned opponent ; but Lanfranc, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, advocated the doctrine, and it prevailed. But the controversy was decided A. D. 1215, in the fourth council of Lateran, called by Pope Innocent III, which consisted of *four hundred and twelve bishops*, and *eight hundred abbots and priors*, besides the ambassadors of almost every state in Europe.

* Church Hist., vol. iv, p. 106.

“Hitherto,” says Dr. Mosheim, “the opinions of the Christian doctors, concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist, were extremely different; nor had the church determined, by any clear and positive decree, the sentiment that was to be embraced in relation to that important matter. It was reserved for Innocent to put an end to the liberty, which every Christian had hitherto enjoyed, of interpreting this presence in the manner he thought most agreeable to the declarations of Scripture, and to decide in favour of the most monstrous doctrine that the frenzy of superstition was capable of inventing. This audacious pontiff pronounced the opinion that is embraced at this day in the church of Rome relating to that point, to be the only true and orthodox account of the matter; and he had the honour of introducing and establishing the use of the term Transubstantiation, which was hitherto absolutely unknown *.”

Dr. Southey remarks, “Of all the corruptions of Christianity, there was none which the popes so long hesitated to sanction as the prodigious doctrine of Transubstantiation. Nevertheless it prevailed, and was finally declared, by Innocent III, at the fourth Lateran council, as a tenet necessary to salvation. Strange as it may appear, the doctrine had become popular—with the people, for its very extravagance,—with the clergy, because they grounded upon it their loftiest pretensions. For if there were in the sacrament this actual and entire presence, which they denoted by the term of transubstantiation, it followed that divine worship was something more than a service of prayer and thanksgiving, an actual sacrifice was performed in it, wherein they affirmed the Saviour was again offered up, in the same body which had suffered on the cross, by their hands. The priest, when he performed this stupendous function of his ministry, had before his eyes, and held in his hands, the Maker of heaven and earth; and the inference which they deduced from so blasphemous an assumption was, that the clergy were not to be subject to any secular authority, seeing that they could create

* Eccles. Hist. vol. iii, p. 243.

God their Creator! Let it not be supposed that the statement is in the slightest part exaggerated; it is delivered faithfully in their own words*."

Priestcraft having arisen to a height so enormous, no one can wonder at any other blasphemies or iniquities recorded in history.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE BIRTH OF WYCLIFFE TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VII,
A. D. 1509.

CHAPTER I.

LIFE OF WYCLIFFE.

Popery in the time of Wycliffe — Friars, Franciscans, and Dominicans — Oxford University — Early History of Wycliffe — His Offices and Writings — Complaints by the Parliament — His Embassy to the Pope — Declares the Pope to be Antichrist — Translates the Bible — Cited before the Bishops — His illness — Cited before Archbishop Sudbury — Cited by the Pope — Death of Wycliffe — His Doctrines — His Opinions of the Clerical Orders — His Character by Vaughan — By Dr. Southey.

FEARFUL darkness, which might indeed be felt, overspread the nation, when there arose a glorious luminary in England. John Wycliffe is justly called "The Morning Star of the Reformation." The period at which he appeared has been denominated the most gloomy in the history of the church; but his character and talents were extraordinary, admirably fitted for his work, by the wise ordination of Providence.

Popery had now gained its highest elevation. "According to the Canons, the pope was as far above all kings as the sun is greater than the moon. He was King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, though he subscribed himself Servant of Servants. As supreme king, he might impose taxes upon all Christians; and the popes declared it was to be held as a point necessary to salvation, that every human creature is subject to the Roman pontiff. That he might lawfully depose kings, was

* Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 315, 316.

averred to be so certain a doctrine, that it could be denied only by madmen, or through the instigation of the devil. The Spouse of the Church was Vice-god: men were commanded to bow at his name, as at the name of Christ; the proudest sovereigns waited on him as menials, led his horse by the bridle, and held up his stirrup while he alighted; and there were ambassadors who prostrated themselves before him, saying, 'O thou, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us!'—The advocates of the papal power proclaimed that he could change the nature of things, and make injustice, justice. Nor was it possible that he should be amenable to any secular power; for he had been called God by Constantine, and God was not to be judged by man: under God, the salvation of all the faithful depended on him; and the Commentators even gave him the blasphemous appellation of 'Our Lord God, the Pope*!'"

Infallibility was pretended as essential to the church; but the corrupt lives of the clergy provoked inquiry into their doctrines. Reformers arose on the Continent, under the denomination of Waldenses, and various other titles. "Indignation against spiritual tyranny and imposture, uncompromising sincerity, and intrepid zeal, made them formidable to the hierarchy." Their numbers rapidly increased; and by the purity of their lives, the simplicity of their principles, and their indefatigable zeal, the papal church was seriously endangered. But Europe was not yet ripe for a scriptural revolution. The spirit of enthusiasm now fell upon Francesco, who founded a new order of monks, called Franciscans, after their canonized founder, St. Francis. Entirely devoted to the pope, and ardently adoring the Virgin Mary, "the great goddess of the Romish faith," these new monks increased prodigiously. "In less than ten years, the delegates alone to its general chapter exceeded five thousand in number; and by an enumeration, in the early part of the eighteenth century, when the Reformation must have diminished their amount at least one-third, it was found that even then there were twenty-eight thousand Franciscan nuns in

* Ibid. vol. i, p. 322.

nine hundred nunneries, and one hundred and fifteen thousand Franciscan friars in seven thousand convents; besides very many nunneries, which, being under the immediate jurisdiction of the ordinary, and not of the order, were not included in the return *."

The rival order of St. Dominic was instituted nearly at the same time, for the same purpose, and upon the same principle. The temper of its founder engaged it in the bloody service of extirpating the Albigenses by fire and sword. In this work both co-operated; and though they soon began cordially to hate each other, they were both equally zealous in serving the papal church, and in persecuting its enemies †."

Dark as was this age, it was the period in which the universities received their chief endowments. The students at Oxford, especially, were exceedingly numerous. But the friars, forcing themselves everywhere by their assiduity and boldness, interfered with the rights of the universities, augmenting their numbers by inveigling the youth. Parents, on this account, became afraid to trust their sons at Oxford; and the number of students is said, by Chancellor Ffizraf, to have been diminished, in consequence, from *thirty thousand*, to a fifth of that number ‡. The friars, therefore, were regarded with an evil eye by the members of that university, from the duties of which they endeavoured to exempt themselves, as they obtained an exemption from its jurisdiction. And when there appeared a man bold enough to attack them upon the principle of their institution, and the errors which they taught, and skilful enough in disputation to baffle them at their own weapons, he was encouraged by the persons in authority there.

"This man was John Wycliffe, whom the Roman church has stigmatized as a heretic of the first class, but whom England and the Protestant world, while there is any virtue, and while there is any praise, will regard with veneration and gratitude §."

* Ibid. vol. i, p. 325.

† Ibid.

‡ Vaughan's Life of Wycliffe, vol. i, p. 364.

§ Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 326.

Wycliffe was born in a village bearing his family name, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, A. D. 1324. At the age of seventeen he was a commoner at Queen's College, Oxford; when he was removed to Merton College, the most celebrated in the University, and where Bradwardine had recently been professor of divinity. Wycliffe devoted himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures; and, shocked with the ecclesiastical corruptions, in the thirty-second year of his age, A. D. 1356, he published his treatise, entitled, "The Last Age of the Church." Three years later, he became distinguished at Oxford as the object of the enmity of the friars, on account of his publishing his censures on their delinquencies. "To the disputes which followed, much of his subsequent decision in the work of reformation is to be attributed. The controversy was one conducted against some of the most powerful minds of that generation, involving principles of the highest importance, and leading to results the most momentous in the history of religion, since the age of inspired teachers. Irritated by the reasonings of their opponent, the mendicants fled to the protection of the papacy; and before the pontifical tribunal, the complaints of auxiliaries so devoted to its cause would not be preferred in vain. The favour, however, which was thence obtained, disclosed an exercise of power so palpably irreligious and unjust, as to prepare the way for an easy abandonment of various matters, deriving the whole of their support from so doubtful an authority *."

Wycliffe was greatly honoured by the University, for his services in their cause; and the society of Balliol College presented him, A. D. 1361, to the living of Fillingham, in the diocese of Lincoln. By the same community, and within the same period, he was called to the dignity of warden. "Four years later, we find him occupying the same office, in connection with Canterbury Hall; and for this honour he was indebted to the enlightened friendship of Simon Islep, then archbishop of Canterbury.

* Vaughan's Life of Wycliffe, vol. i, p. 262.

"This primate had filled some of the most important offices in the church and the government; and, with his attachment to learning, united a contempt of luxury, and an abhorrence of clerical delinquencies, which rendered him, to the incompetent and vicious, an object of terror. Wycliffe may have felt himself flattered by an appointment, which not only originated with the first ecclesiastic of the realm, but with one so much disposed to investigate pretensions to learning and piety*."

Islep dying, A.D. 1366, was succeeded by Simon Langham, a patron of the monks; and he ejected Wycliffe from his wardenship. To the pope, Wycliffe made an appeal, which, after four years, was decided against him. It is at this crisis, also, that we find his name fearlessly associated with a controversy, which had arisen between Edward III, and the pontiff, Urban V. It was in 1365, that the letter of Urban demanded of the English monarch the annual payment of a thousand marks, to be transferred to the papal treasury, as a feudal acknowledgment for the sovereignty of England and Ireland; those kingdoms being held in fee of the successors of St. Peter, as had been agreed by King John. The Parliament decided, that John's act was unlawful. A daring monk advocated the papal claim, which was quickly answered by the powerful pen of Wycliffe, as "the king's peculiar clerk;" declaring the "canon law" to be "rendered superfluous by the Christian Scriptures," and that the pope was liable to the guilt of mortal transgression; consequently, might forfeit every right to ecclesiastical dominion†. However true, these sentiments were novel in that age; and "it is certain," says Vaughan, "that, in England, the doctrine thus affirmed respecting the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and respecting the alleged consequence of mortal sin, obtained in Wycliffe their first advocate‡."

Wycliffe lost his wardenship, but was rewarded with a professorship of divinity, A.D. 1372. "His elevation to the chair of theology, in the leading university in the kingdom,

* Ibid. vol. i, p. 273, 274.

† Ibid. p. 278, 279.

‡ Ibid. p. 293.

opened an important field for the diffusion of his opinions, and has rendered the year 1372 a memorable period in his history *." His "Exposition of the Decalogue," produced about this time, gives a delightful exhibition of the evangelical sentiments, "and the devotional feelings, which the reformer brought to the discharge of his duties as divinity professor." Having explained the *first* precept in its spiritual requirements, he adds, "If a man will keep this commandment, he must believe stedfastly, that Almighty God in Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one God, are the noblest object that may have being — all power, all wit, all wisdom, all mercy, all charity, and all goodness, being in him, and coming of him. Also, thou must fear God above all things in this world, and break his commandments for the sake of no worldly good; also, thou must love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself; labouring diligently to understand the law of God, especially his ten commandments; and watching that thy will be so regulated, that it may accord with God's will. Have a remembrance, too, of the goodness of God, how he made thee in his own likeness; and how Jesus Christ, both God and man, died so painful a death upon the cross, to buy man's soul out of hell, even with his own heart's blood, and to bring it to the bliss of heaven †!"

Independence of every priestly mystery, which Wycliffe thus maintained, was to prove the essential and the most effectual means of our religious emancipation. Ecclesiastical impositions and extortions increasing, the exact number and value of alien benefices in England was investigated, and "it was resolved, by the parliament of 1374, to choose certain delegates, who should once more convey their remonstrance to the pontiff. Wycliffe's name was second on the list; and, during two years, he had a fine opportunity of personally witnessing the intrigues of the papal court. It was complained, by a petition to parliament, that the taxes paid to the court of Rome, for ecclesiastical dignities, amounted to *five times* more than those obtained by the king from the whole pro-

* Ibid. vol. i, p. 319.

† Ibid. p. 329.

dace of the realm. "For some one bishopric, or other dignity," the pope is said to receive, "by way of translation and death, three, four, or five several taxes; and while, for money, the brokers of that sinful city (Rome) promote many caitiffs, being altogether unlearned and unworthy, to a thousand marks' living yearly, the learned and worthy can hardly obtain twenty marks, whereby learning decayeth;—aliens," the complaint proceeds, "and enemies to this land, who never saw, nor care to see, their parishioners, have those livings; whereby they despise God's service, and convey away the treasure of the realm, and are worse than Jews and Saracens."—"The pope's collector keepeth a house in London, with clerks and officers thereunto belonging, as if it were one of the king's solemn courts, transporting yearly to the pope *twenty thousand marks*, and most commonly more." They add, "that cardinals and other aliens, remaining at the court of Rome—whereof one cardinal is a dean of York; another, of Salisbury; another, of Lincoln; another, archdeacon of Canterbury; another, archdeacon of Durham; another, archdeacon of Suffolk; and another, archdeacon of York; another, prebendary of Thane and Nassingdon; another, prebendary of York, in the diocese of York—have divers others, the best dignities in England, and have sent over yearly unto them *twenty thousand marks*, over and above that which English brokers have *." Specifically, and at great length, the existing enormities were stated by the "Good Parliament," as it was called by the people; and some concessions and promises were made by the pope.

Wycliffe was presented, in 1375, to the prebend of Aust, in Westbury, by the king; and, about the same time, to the rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. On his return from the Continent, "Wycliffe attacked the papal court in the boldest manner; maintaining, that the Scriptures contain all truths necessary to salvation, and that the perfect rule of Christian practice was found in them only: he denied the authority of the pope in temporal matters; proclaimed that he was the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, whom St. Paul

* Ibid. vol. i, p. 350, 351.

prophetically describes, 'sitting in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God,' and denounced him as anti-christ. These opinions he openly preached and published, appealing to the Scriptures for their proof; and they were propagated by his disciples, who attacked the friars in their own manner, preaching to the people, and going about, as he himself did, barefoot, and in plain frieze gowns. It was not long before he was accused of heresy; and orders came to Sudbury the primate, and Courtney bishop of London, to have him arrested, and kept in close custody, till they should receive further instructions. But the duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, who was then governing the kingdom during the latter days of his father, protected him with a high hand: and he was still so popular at Oxford, that when a nuncio was sent thither, requiring the University, under pain of the severest penalties, to deliver him up for justice, the threats were disregarded. The archbishop, finding it impossible to proceed in the summary manner which the pope ordered, summoned him to appear, within thirty days, before him and the bishop of London at a synod held in St. Paul's; and Wycliffe, confident in his cause, and in his protectors, hesitated not to obey *," A. D. 1377.

"On the day appointed, Wycliffe appeared before the synod, with four bachelors of divinity, one from each of the mendicant orders, to assist him—thus showing, that even among the friars themselves, he had found disciples and co-adjutors; and with John of Gaunt, and Lord Percy the earl marshal, as his friends and protectors †."

Wycliffe was required, by the bishop of London, to stand during his trial; but his noble friends insisted on his having a seat—on which account an altercation arose between the bishop and the duke, which ended in a tumult, and the meeting broke up. The bishop, the following year, cited Wycliffe to appear before the prelates, at Lambeth Palace; where it is probable he would have been condemned, but for the arrival of an authoritative order from the queen-mother, by

* Southey's *Book of the Church*, vol. i, p. 337, 338.

† Ibid.

Sir Lewis Clifford, forbidding the bishops to pass sentence on him *. A schism in the popedom happening at that time, Wycliffe improved the event and his leisure, by publishing a treatise on the "Truth of the Scripture;" and "that his countrymen might be enabled to try his doctrines by that test, he translated both the Old and New Testament into the English tongue †."

Shortly afterwards, Wycliffe fell dangerously ill at Oxford; when four doctors from the four orders of friars, and several aldermen of the city, were commissioned to visit him; hoping that, in the fear of death, they might induce him to retract what he had written against the Mendicants. Having listened to them patiently, he desired his attendant to raise him on his pillow; and then, with eyes fixed on them, he sternly replied, "I shall not die, but live still farther to declare the evil deeds of the friars!"

Wycliffe recovered, and continued his various labours to diffuse the pure doctrines of Christ. But he was summoned by Sudbury, the archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1382, before a numerous assembly of prelates at Oxford. There, in the presence of the court, he baffled his opponents by his superior knowledge. His opinions were published, and gained ground; especially as many persons obtained his New Testament, by which they discovered the truth of his doctrines. What measures to adopt with regard to this bold reformer, his judges were at a loss to determine. "But from this period, and by virtue of letters obtained from the king, his connection with Oxford was dissolved ‡," and he withdrew to his living at Lutterworth. "Our great reformer, undaunted in his retirement, and faithful to the last, still wielded the pen; and when Urban VI endeavoured to raise men and money here, for a crusade against the rival pope, he wrote against the wickedness of exciting war in Christendom, upon a dispute between two false priests, insisting that the pope was plainly antichrist.

* Vaughan's Life of Wycliffe, vol. i, p. 377.

† Southey, vol. i, p. 341, 342.

‡ Vaughan, vol. ii, p. 120.

"Urban summoned him for this to Rome: he replied, that an attack of palsy rendered him incapable of performing the journey. A second attack, which seized him in his church, proved fatal, when he was about sixty years of age *." — Wycliffe terminated his mortal career on the last day of December, A. D. 1384.

Wycliffe held for his own salvation, and maintained as a reformer of the Christian church, all those great principles, which were restored at the Protestant Reformation. His faith included the doctrine of the Holy Trinity — the divinity and incarnation of the Son of God — salvation only by his righteousness and atonement, through the sanctification of the Holy Spirit, and personal holiness — and, with the rejection of the popish traditions, the exclusive authority and perfect sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, in all matters of faith and practice. As a specimen of his evangelical sentiments, we have already given one passage, in agreement with which his writings generally will be found. Various doctrinal errors have been attributed to this great man, by those who have been but imperfectly acquainted with his works. Those, however, who would learn correctly the opinions of that honoured minister of Christ, and see a worthy portrait of his extraordinary character and labours, must read the masterly volumes of his "Life and Opinions," by Robert Vaughan †.

We must, however, give one passage, expressing Wycliffe's judgment concerning the "Orders" of Christian ministers. "By the ordinance of Christ, priests and bishops were all one: but afterwards, the emperor divided them, and made bishops lords, and priests their servants; and this was the cause of envy, and quenched much charity." — "I boldly assert one thing, *viz.* that in the primitive church, or in the time of Paul, two orders of the clergy were sufficient; that is, a priest and a deacon. In like manner I affirm, that, in the

* Southey, vol. i, p. 347.

† The Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe, D. D., illustrated principally from his unpublished Manuscripts; with a Preliminary View of the Papal System, &c., by Robert Vaughan. 2 vols. 8vo.

time of Paul, presbyter and bishop were names of the same office. This appears from the third chapter of the First Epistle to Timothy, and in the first chapter of the Epistle to Titus. And the same is testified by that profound theologian, Jerome." — "From the faith of the Scriptures, it seems to me to be sufficient, that there should be presbyters and deacons, holding that state and office which Christ has imposed on them; since it appears certain, that these degrees and orders have their origin in the pride of Cæsar. If, indeed, they were necessary to the church, Christ and his apostles would not have been silent respecting them; as those impious pretend, who magnify the papal laws above those of Christ. Every catholic should judge of the office of the clergy, from what is taught in Scripture, especially in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus *."

The learning, patriotism, and piety of Wycliffe, equalled the greatness of his intellectual character, and his apostolic courage; but, for a review of the whole, we must refer to Vaughan. That learned biographer remarks, "In the school of the Reformers, the precedence in honour has generally been given to Martin Luther; and perhaps there is not another individual in that distinguished class of men, who may be compared with him to so little disadvantage as John de Wycliffe. Both were nursed in the superstitions which they were destined to oppose; and both passed, by slow and unanticipated steps, to the adoption of their final sentiments. They were also devout men from their youth; and before meditating any hostile movement with respect to the hierarchy, were in some degree aware of its abuses. But the claim to originality and enterprise, must certainly be awarded to the Englishman. There was an advance in the cause of civil liberty, and a revival of learning, observable in the fourteenth century, which were highly favourable to the formation of the character of Wycliffe; but, two centuries later, the same causes did much more towards inspiring the genius of Luther. The court of Cæsar had been for ages the retreat

* Vaughan, vol. ii, p. 275, 276.

of men, who had most successfully assailed the secular ambition of the pontiffs; and while the living admirers of the Greek and Roman classics, who had everywhere multiplied, were, with few exceptions, impatient to effect a reformation of the established system, the councils of Basle, Constance, and Pisa, had exposed its departing strength. Upon the whole, therefore, we may perhaps venture to conclude, that, while there certainly were some points of dissimilarity between the two great leaders of the English and German reformations, the difference between them is more apparent than real; and such as will not be found in the elements of their character, so much as in the circumstances of their history. Nor is it altogether mysterious, that a more qualified estimate should have so far prevailed respecting the character of Wycliffe, than has generally obtained in reference to that of Luther. The bold antagonist of Tetzil laboured, as we have seen, under better auspices, and with more success; and whatever Protestant learning or genius could do, has been generously done, towards vindicating his conduct and opinions from the aspersions of his enemies. But in the annals of this country, there are hundreds of men, whose names should not be repeated with that of Wycliffe, to the illustration of whose history a much larger share of industry and talent has been applied *."

Dr. Southey testifies — "A great and admirable man he was: his fame, high as it is, is not above his deserts; and it suffers no abatement, upon comparison with the most illustrious of those who have followed in the path which he opened. His writings were carried into Bohemia, by one of the natives of that country, whom the marriage of their princess with Richard II brought into England. From the perusal of them, John Huss imbibed those opinions concerning the papal church, for which he suffered heroically at the stake, to his eternal honour, and to the perpetual infamy of the council which condemned him, and of the emperor who suffered the safe conduct which he had given him to be broken; and Huss prepared the way for Luther †." That

* Ibid. vol. ii, p. 339—347.

† Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 348.

distinguished writer declares — “It is a reproach to this country, that no statue has been erected in his honour; and that his translation of the Old Testament should never have been printed *.”

CHAPTER II.

WYCLIFFE'S DISCIPLES.

Activity of the Lollards — Londoners Lollards — Popish Opposition to the Scriptures — Dr. Lingard's Testimony — Lord Mayor — Knighton's Testimony — “The Ploughman's Tale” — Wycliffe's “Poor Priests” — Weir's Testimony — Queen Anne's Plety — Dr. Cramp — John de Trevisa — William of Wickham.

WYCLIFFE died in peace, leaving his various writings, and his Translation of the Holy Scriptures, as a rich inheritance to the church. His decease was a joyful event to the Romish clergy; but his principles could not descend into the grave with him. His doctrines, being the essential truths of Christianity, were imperishable. With amazing success they were propagated through the nation by his numerous followers, who were called **LOLLARDS**, a name adopted from those condemned as heretics in Germany. These itinerated through the country on foot, in a plain dress, vehemently declaiming against the gross corruptions of the church, and the manifest vices of the clergy. Many of these preachers were not only indefatigable in their home-missionary labours; but, as is testified by their enemies, they became exceedingly eloquent and powerful disputants on the subjects of religion. Yet their talents were ascribed to the assistance of the devil, by whom it was said they were possessed as soon as they became Lollards. They were gladly heard, however, not only by the common people, but by many of the great and noble, in whom they found powerful protectors. Among these were the duke of Lancaster, and the lords Clifford, Hilton, Latimer, and Percy.

Sharon Turner informs us, from the contemporary authorities, that “preachers imbued with the opinions of Wycliffe started up in many places; and several knights, lords, and even dukes, espoused them. The citizens of London

* Ibid. vol. i, p. 347.

became, for the most part, Lollards, as the new reformers were called. The sermons of the mendicant friars, formerly so admired, were undervalued; and the preaching from the **NEW SCRIPTURES** made a universal impression." Three years after the death of Wycliffe, we find the bishop of Worcester complaining, that "the eternally-damned sons of anti-christ, the disciples and followers of Mahomet, conspiring with a diabolical instigation, confederating together under the name of Lollards, and actuated by insanity, were pouring out their poison from their honeyed mouths, under the veil of great sanctity." "From which," says a judicious writer, "we may infer, that these reformers were men of virtuous lives and mild manners, as well as of intelligent minds *."

Romish writers contemporary with the Lollards reprobate the translation and circulation of the Scriptures as a grievous evil. Knighton, a canon of Leicester, says, "Christ committed the Gospel to the clergy and doctors of the church, that they might minister it to the laity and weaker persons, according to the exigency of times and persons' wants; but this Master John Wycliffe translated it out of Latin into English; and by that means laid it more open to the laity and to women who could read, than it used to be to the most learned of the clergy, and those of them who had the best understanding. And so the Gospel pearl is cast abroad and trodden under swine; and that which used to be precious to both clergy and laity is made, as it were, the common jests of both; and the jewel of the church is turned into the sport of the laity †."

Dr. Lingard, a Roman-catholic historian of our times, in the spirit of Knighton, bears a remarkable testimony to the effects of our reformer's labours. He says, "Wycliffe made a new translation, multiplied the copies with the aid of transcribers, and, by his 'poor priests,' recommended it to the perusal of their hearers. In their hands it became an engine of wonderful power. Men were flattered by the appeal to their private judgment; the new doctrines insensibly acquired

* Fry's History of the Christian Church, vol. i, p. 250.

† Milner's Church History, vol. iv, p. 163.

partizans and protectors in the higher classes, who alone were acquainted with the use of letters; a spirit of inquiry was generated, and the seeds were sown of that religious revolution, which, in a little more than a century, astonished and convulsed the nations of Europe."

Among the more decided adherents of Wycliffe's doctrines, a distinguished place must be assigned to John of Northampton. This opulent citizen was lord-mayor of London two years before the Reformer's death; and he is described, by the Romish writers, as a Lollard. John provoked the priesthood grievously, by his activity in correcting the vices of the metropolis; by which the bishop and his clergy made a lucrative profit, "compounding with the most notorious offenders." Vaughan remarks, "The bishop and his dependants stormed at this intrusion on the sphere of their acknowledged jurisdiction: but their wrath was fruitless. In the following year, Northampton was re-elected; and, through both periods of office, failed not to render himself the terror of the licentious, in a licentious age. He was aware of being supported by the more respectable of his fellow-citizens; and their joint conduct is described by Walsingham, as the effect of that spirit of insolence, presumption, and heresy, which had long characterized the Londoners, and scattered its infection over other cities*."

Undoubted authorities testify, that the disciples of Wycliffe "multiplied, and filled every place within the compass of the land†." Knighton of Leicester, as Vaughan remarks, "in attempting to account for this fact, which he deploras as the most evil feature of the times, has remarked, that the sectarian teachers 'always pretended in their discourses to have a great respect for the law of God, or, as they expressed themselves, *goddis law*, to which they declared themselves to be strictly conformed both in their opinions and their conduct.' The effect of this appeal to the Scriptures, as opposed to that rival authority which had been assumed by the church, is said to be, that a great many well-meaning people were

* Life of Wycliffe, vol. ii, p. 152.

† Knighton, in Vaughan, vol. ii, p. 155.

deluded, and were induced to unite with the enemies to the law of God. This writer has also attempted to describe the character of the new sectaries; and his statements, though but partially true, and in some respects contradictory, are deserving of notice. It may be correct, that, 'like their Master, they were too eloquent, and too much for other people, in all contentions by word of mouth; that, mighty in words, they exceeded all men in making speeches, out-talking every one in litigious disputations.' So marked also was the contrast between the Christianity of the Scriptures, now first disclosed to these persons, and that which they found sanctioned by popes and councils, that we are not in any measure surprised to find, that both men and women, though never so lately converted to this sect, were distinguished by the same modes of speech, and by a wonderful agreement in the same opinions.' Novel as the event appeared, the light introduced rendered the impurities which the darkness had concealed so far visible, as to have precisely this effect; except, indeed, when the influence of prejudice, the power of which is commonly derived from a regard to some selfish interest, was such as to produce its wonted evasion of evidence *."

Besides the direct testimony of their enemies, other sources of information give us a satisfactory view of Wycliffe's disciples. The poem called "The Plowman's Tale," is valuable in this respect. It is a production of that age, "intended to embody the points of controversy between the Lollards and the orthodox, and to illustrate the manner in which they were accustomed to advocate their respective tenets. This production consists of a dialogue between a griffin and a pelican; the *latter* representing the true church, who, like her Lord, has been called to nourish her offspring with her blood; the *former* serving as the emblem of the hierarchy, because strong, soaring, and oppressive. In the conclusion, a struggle ensues, during which a phoenix appears, in aid of the defenceless pelican, and destroys her antagonist, together with a host of foul birds collected as allies. The Ploughman,

* Vaughan, vol. ii, p. 156.

having finished his narrative, observes, that he is not to be considered as a party to the quarrel described, but simply as giving a faithful report of its progress and result *."

Wycliffe's colleagues and home-missionaries, the "POOR PRIESTS," are often referred to with high commendations, as a blessing to the church of Christ in England. "From the preamble to the persecuting law, so dishonestly obtained by Courtney in 1382, it appears, that these laborious teachers were accustomed to journey from town to town, and from county to county; that, clothed in habits of peculiar simplicity, and without any licence from the local ordinaries, it was their manner to preach their doctrine openly, not only in churches and churchyards, but also in the midst of markets and fairs, and indeed in all places where multitudes were convened. When cited by their ecclesiastical superiors to answer before them, on account of these disorders, they are described as treating the authority claimed by such officers with contempt. The alternative that would be submitted to them, on appearing before such a tribunal, they well knew to be silence or imprisonment; and as they were not at all concerned about the spiritual censures which their conduct might incur, it was natural that a summons from such quarters should be rarely obeyed †."

Sancho Reinher, a Romish writer of that age, bears testimony to the holiness of life exhibited by those who had embraced the doctrines of the Reformer, in these remarkable words:—"The disciples of Wycliffe are men of a serious and modest deportment; avoiding all ostentation in dress, mixing little with the busy world, and complaining of the debauchery of mankind. They maintain themselves wholly by their own labour, and utterly despise wealth; being fully content with bare necessities. They follow no traffic, because it is attended with so much lying, swearing, and cheating. They are chaste and temperate; are never seen in taverns, or amused by the trifling gaieties of life. You find them always employed, either learning or teaching. They are concise and devout in their prayers, blaming an animated

* Ibid. vol. ii, p. 157, 158.

† Ibid, p. 163, 164.

prolixity. They never swear; speak little; and in their public preaching they lay the chief stress on charity. They never mind canonical hours, because they say that a Paternoster or two, repeated with devotion, is better than tedious hours spent without devotion. They explain the Scriptures in a different way from the holy doctors and church of Rome. They speak little and humbly, and are well behaved in appearance."

Milner adds, "This abstract is not produced as a proof of the candour of a Roman-catholic, but of his wretched standard of virtue and holiness. For these excellencies of character in the followers of Wycliffe are not here mentioned by the author in terms of approbation, but, on the contrary, are with great simplicity noted by him as the distinguishing marks of heretical people. So little, in the times of Wycliffe and his followers, had the prevailing religion to do with morals and the heart *."

Queen Anne was an admirer of the doctrines of Wycliffe; and her personal character was so excellent and exemplary, that, for many years after her decease, she was called "the Good Queen Anne." Many have mentioned the piety of this eminent Christian female; but we shall give an account of it in the words of Milner. Archbishop Courtney was a determined persecutor of the Lollards; and King Richard II was induced to patronize the proceedings of the prelates, though it does not appear, that, during his reign, any were actually put to death. "That the blind fury of ambitious and unprincipled men was thus for a time restrained from committing the last acts of injustice and barbarity, is to be ascribed partly to the power of the duke of Lancaster, who may be called the political father of the Lollards, and partly to the influence of Anne, the consort of Richard II, and sister of Winceslaus, king of Bohemia. The accounts of this princess, in regard to religion, are brief; yet they merit our particular attention, because they seem to illustrate the course of Divine Providence, in paving the way for that connection with Bohemia, by which the labours of Wycliffe became so ser-

* Church History, vol. iv, p. 202, 203.

viceable in propagating the Gospel in the latter country. She lived with King Richard about eleven years, and died in the year 1394, in the seventeenth year of his reign. It is remarked of her, that she had in her possession the Gospels in the English language, with four learned Commentaries upon them. At her funeral, Arundel, archbishop of York, in his sermon, adverted to this circumstance; and expressed much surprise at it, as she was born an alien. The prelate added, that she had sent to him, for his inspection and judgment, her four English translations of the Gospel, and that he had found them true and faithful. He confessed that it appeared to him a marvellous instance of godliness, that so great a lady would humbly condescend to study such excellent books: and he completed his encomium by declaring, that he never knew a woman of such extraordinary piety *."

Sufficient has already been shown, by this brief notice of the Lollards, that in general they adorned the doctrine of God their Saviour; and that in their age, in England, we must seek among the disciples of Wycliffe for the true church of Christ.

Henry Crump, a doctor of divinity at Oxford, from a violent adversary became a convert to Wycliffe's doctrines, and a bold preacher of the faith of Christ; for which he was persecuted by the bishops, and obliged to flee into Ireland. There, however, he was imprisoned by a prelate, A. D. 1392; and, as is believed, died in his confinement.

John de Trevisa deserves a record here. He was born in Cornwall, and died in peace, A. D. 1397, when nearly ninety years of age. His patron, Thomas Lord Berkeley, gave him the vicarage of Berkeley, in Gloucestershire, where he translated several voluminous writings; and, by the influence of his noble patron, he undertook the translation of the Old and New Testament. Such regard had this nobleman for the Word of God, that the book of Revelation, both in Latin and French, was inscribed on the walls and roof of his chapel at Berkeley. Trevisa was an enemy to the monastic system; declaring, that "Christ sent apostles and presbyters, not

* Ibid. vol. iv, p. 164, 165.

monks and mendicants." Though neither Trevisa nor Lord Berkeley are usually ranked among the Lollards, they partook of the same spirit of piety, derived from their study of the Holy Scriptures*.

William of Wickham was a great man in his day, being bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor. He founded New College at Oxford, A. D. 1379, besides that at Winchester. He was a decided enemy to the Romish locusts, and died, A. D. 1404, professing, that notwithstanding all his good works to benefit his country, he trusted in Christ alone for salvation and eternal life.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH MARTYRS.

Archbishop Courtney—Richard II deposed—Bloody Statute—William Sawtre, the first burnt at the stake—Order of his execution—John Badby—Sir Roger Acton and other martyrs—Archbishop Arundel's murderous policy—Lord Cobham—His condemnation—His martyrdom.

COURTNEY was succeeded in the primacy, A. D. 1396, by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of York. But this prelate, who had so commended the scriptural piety of Queen Anne, "is branded in history as a persecutor and a traitor:" as Dr. Southey remarks, "becoming a traitor, and taking an active part in deposing Richard, that he might no longer be withheld from persecuting a sect, whose numbers were now formidable. It was by the aid of the clergy that Henry IV succeeded in usurping the throne, this being the only instance in English history, wherein their conduct as a body was disloyal. To prove himself as sincere in their cause, as they had been in his, and as little restrained by humanity or justice in supporting it, he passed a statute, whereby all persons, who propagated a new doctrine by preaching, writing, teaching, or discourse, were required to renounce their heresies, and deliver in all their heretical books, and submit themselves to the Church, on pain of being delivered over to the secular arm, and burnt alive†."

* Fuller, cent. xv, p. 156.

† Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 348, 349.

Milner remarks, "Richard II being deposed, Henry of Lancaster, the son of that same John of Gaunt, who had patronized Wycliffe, usurped the throne in the year 1399; and shortly after, was crowned by Arundel, then archbishop of Canterbury. Both the king and the archbishop had demonstrated by their conduct that they were ready to sacrifice every thing to their ambition. It is not therefore matter of surprise, either that the murderer of King Richard should proceed to persecute, with extreme barbarity, the Lollards, whom his father had so zealously protected; or that the archbishop, who had supported the usurper in his iniquitous pretensions to the crown, should also concur with him in his plan to crush those reformers *."

Conscience cannot be convinced by fines and imprisonment, by fires and faggots: yet nothing would satisfy the unprincipled archbishop and his colleagues, less than the adoption of the bloody decree of the papal court. It had been decreed in the fourth council of Lateran, A.D. 1215, "that all heretics should be delivered over to the civil power to be burned." This bloody statute was obtained by Arundel, A.D. 1400; and by this law it was required, that heretics should be burnt "in an high place before the people, to the end that such punishment might strike fear to the minds of others." To give further efficiency to this dreadful statute, Arundel published several provincial constitutions, by which, any person preaching doctrines contrary to the determinations of the church, or calling them in question, were for the first offence excommunicated, and for the second, declared heretics. Whosoever read the books of Wycliffe or his disciples, without a special license from one of the universities, was condemned as a promoter of heresy. Oxford being infected with "Lollardy," the heads of every college were enjoined, on pain of excommunication and deprivation themselves, to inquire every month whether any scholar held doctrines against the determination of the church: in which case they were to be expelled and condemned as guilty of treason. "Twelve inquisitors of heresy, for this dreadful name had

* Church History, vol. iv, p. 107.

been introduced among us, were appointed at Oxford, to search out heresy and heretical books*."

William Sawtre, parish priest of St. Osithes, London, was the first victim under the new statute, and the first martyr for the Reformation in England. While minister of St. Margaret's at Lynn, in Norfolk, he had been examined for his opinions by the bishop of Norwich; and, under the fear of death, had formally abjured them. On his removal to London he petitioned parliament that he might be heard before them for the benefit of the whole realm, induced less probably by the hope of any public good, than by the desire of recovering his own peace of mind. He was therefore brought before archbishop Arundel in convocation, and charged with affirming that he would not worship the cross on which Christ was crucified. Sawtre was examined on this single question, whether the sacrament of the altar, after the pronouncing of the words of consecration, remained material bread or not. His final answer was, that it remained bread as before; on which, he was declared convicted of heresy, and sentenced as an heretic to be punished, after having been degraded and deposed from the priesthood.

Sawtre being the first that was condemned to the stake in England, Arundel was very particular in all the forms of his degradation and execution, that they might serve as an exact precedent for all future occasions. "They were probably derived," says Southey, "from the practice of the accursed Inquisition in Languedoc; and they were well devised for prolonging the impression of horror upon the expectant and awed spectators. Sawtre was brought before the primate and six other bishops in the cathedral of St. Paul's; they were in their pontifical attire, and he appeared in priestly vestments, with the paten and chalice in his hands. Arundel stood up, and in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit (thus profaned in this inhuman process), degraded him, first from his priestly order, and in sign of that degradation took from him the paten and chalice, and

* Southey.

plucked the priestly casule from his back. The New Testament was then put into his hands, and taken from him; the stole being at the same time pulled off, to degrade him from the office of deacon. By depriving him of the alb and maniple, his deprivation from the order of sub-deacon was effected; the candlestick taper, and urceole were taken from him as an acolyte; the book of exorcisms as an exorcist; the lectionary as a reader: he then remained in a surplice as a sexton, and with the key of the church door; these also were taken from him; the priest's cap was then to be laid aside; the tonsure to be rased away, so that no outward mark whatever of his orders might remain; the cap of a layman was placed upon his head, and Arundel then delivered him, as a secular person, to the secular court of the high constable and marshal of England there present; beseeching the court to receive favourably the said William Sawtre, unto them thus recommitted! For with this hypocritical recommendation to mercy the Romish church always delivered over its victims to be burnt alive! Sawtre accordingly suffered martyrdom at the stake, in Smithfield; leaving a name slandered by the Romanists, but held in deserved respect for the sake of the gospel by British Christians*.

How far the simple purity of evangelical order in the ministry had been corrupted, may be imagined by the process of degrading Sawtre. "How many steps," Fuller remarks, in relating this farce, "are required to climb up to the top of popish priesthood! It is almost incredible, how many trinkets must be had to complete a priest!"

Sawtre having died at the stake, the Lollards were admonished, and observed greater privacy in their profession of the Gospel. But several suffered grievous troubles for the sake of Christ. Among these was William Thorpe, a priest of great firmness and ability. After a series of bitter persecutions from archbishop Arundel, he was imprisoned, where it is believed he died through ill usage, about A. D. 1407. His

* Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 354; Fox, vol. i, p. 671—675; Fuller, cent. xv, p. 156—158.

"Examinations," written by himself, exhibit him, as Fox says, "a valiant warrior under the triumphant banner of Christ*."

John Badby, a tailor, of the diocese of Gloucester, was the second victim. He was convicted of heresy by the bishop of Worcester, as he declared that it was "impossible that any priest could make the body of Christ sacramentally." "I believe," said he, "the omnipotent God in Trinity; but if every consecrated host at the altar be Christ's body, there must be in England no less than twenty thousand gods." He was brought to London and examined before the archbishop of Canterbury, at St. Paul's, in the presence of many prelates, the duke of York, and the nobility; but, declaring that no power should make him deny his opinions, he was condemned to be burnt. Prince Henry, afterwards king Henry V, was present at his execution, and urged him to save his life by submitting to the judgment of the church. The box of the sacrament was then brought forth by the prior of St. Bartholomew's, twelve torches being carried before it: but when it was presented to Badby as he stood in an empty cask, chained to the stake, with faggots piled around him, he still called it "hallowed bread, and not God's body," and the fatal fire was kindled. His cry for mercy touched the heart of the prince, who ordered the fire to be quenched, hoping to prevail on the sufferer to recant, offering him at the same time a pension for life: but he continued firm in the rejection of the popish dogma; when being replaced in the cask, and, calling upon Christ to receive his spirit, he expired a martyr for the Saviour's truth, A. D. 1409.

Milner remarks, "It was a marvellous instance of the strength of Christ made perfect in weakness, and a striking proof that God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, that a single artificer should sustain the most cruel torments with patience and serenity, not only in defence of divine truth, but also of common sense; while the most dignified characters in the kingdom, and among these the prince of Wales, afterwards the renowned Henry V,

* Acts and Monuments, vol. i, p. 689—708; Wickliff to Bilney, by the Tract Society.

gloried in defending one of the most egregious absurdities that ever disgraced the human understanding. What are all his victories and triumphs, of which English history is so proud, compared with the good sense and gracious spirit of John Badby*!

Intolerant bigotry was not satisfied with these sacrifices. Archbishop Arundel and his colleagues were determined on making vigorous effort to exterminate the Lollards. They carried forward their murderous work, acting upon a statute which they procured, A. D. 1410, "to be a law for ever: That whatsoever they were, that should read the Scriptures in the mother tongue, which was then called Wycliffe's learning, they should forfeit lands, cattle, body, life, and goods, from their heirs for ever, and so be condemned for heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and most arrant traitors to the land†."

Bale says, "Anon after, that act was proclaimed throughout the realm, and then the bishops, the priests, the monks, and the friars a world some what to their minds. For then were many taken in divers quarters, and suffered most cruel death. And many fled out of the land into Germany, Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and into Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, working there many marvels against the false kingdom, too long to write. In the Christmas following was Sir Roger Acton, knight, master John Browne, Sir John Beverly, a learned preacher, and divers others, imprisoned for quarrelling with certain priests. For all men at that time could not patiently suffer their blasphemous brags.

"In January following (A. D. 1413), was the before-named Sir Roger Acton, master John Brown, Sir John Beverly, and thirty-six more, of whom the more part were gentlemen of birth, convicted of heresy by the bishops, and condemned of treason by the temporality, and according to the Act, were first hanged, and then burned in the said Giles-field. In the same year, also, one John Claydon, a skinner, and one Richard Turming, a baker, were both hanged and burned in

* Church History, vol. iv, p. 168, 169.

† British Reformers, by the Tract Society, Wickliffe to Bilney, p. 134. This work will be found truly interesting to our readers.

Smithfield by that Act, besides what was done in all other quarters of England; which was no small number if it were thoroughly known*." Fox calls Sir Roger Acton, "This worthy, noble, virtuous knight," in giving an account of the dreadful persecutions of these faithful martyrs of Christ †.

"In the year 1413, died Henry IV. His successor, Henry V, trode in his steps, and countenanced Arundel, in his plans of extirpating the Lollards, and of supporting the existing hierarchy by penal coercions. In the first year of the new king's reign, this archbishop collected in St. Paul's church, at London, a universal synod of all the bishops of England. The principal object of the assembly was to repress the growing sect; and as Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, had on all occasions discovered a partiality for these reformers, the resentment of the archbishop and of the whole body of the clergy, was particularly levelled at this nobleman. Certainly, at that time, no man in England was more obnoxious to the ecclesiastics. For he made no secret of his opinions. He had very much distinguished himself in opposing the abuses of popery. At a great expense, he had collected, transcribed, and dispersed, the works of Wycliffe among the common people without reserve; and it was well known, that he maintained a great number of itinerant preachers in many parts of the country, particularly in the dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, London, and Hereford ‡."

Arundel procured a royal mandate for sending to Oxford "twelve inquisitors of heresies," as they are called by Fox. Milner says, "The issue of their inquiries proved highly ungrateful to the hierarchy. They found Oxford overrun with heretics: they were, indeed, respectfully received by the rulers of the university, but the opinions of Wycliffe had made their way among the junior students; and the talents and integrity of their master were held in high esteem and admiration by his disciples." This growth of heresy was attributed to Cobham, and they were resolved on effecting his

* British Reformers, p. 134, 135.

† Acts and Monuments, vol. i, p. 774, 775.

‡ Milner, vol. iv, p. 169, 170.

destruction. "Arundel instantly saw the wisdom of this policy, and he resolved to follow it," says Milner. "For the purpose of giving weight to his proceedings, this artful prelate, at the head of a great number of dignified ecclesiastics, complained most grievously to Henry, of the heretical practices of his favourite servant, Lord Cobham, and intreated his majesty to consent to the prosecution of so incorrigible an offender. The affections of the king appear to have been, in some measure, already alienated from the unfortunate nobleman: Mr. Fox observes, that he gently listened to those 'blood-thirsty' prelates, and far otherwise than became his princely dignity*."

Henry requested the prelates to spare that nobleman until he should have conversed with him. The king admonished him, that as an obedient son he would acknowledge himself culpable, and submit to the decision of his mother, the holy church: but that magnanimous Christian knight made his sovereign this answer: "You, most worthy prince, I am always prompt and willing to obey; unto you, next my eternal God, owe I my whole obedience; and submit thereunto as I have ever done, all that I have either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoever you shall in the Lord command me. But as touching the pope and his spirituality, I owe them neither suit nor service; for so much as I know him by the Scriptures to be the great antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place."

Henry's weak mind revolted at such boldness in the Christian, and turned angrily away. Influenced by his superstition, he authorized Arundel to proceed against his victim. Cobham retired to his castle at Cowling near Rochester; but Arundel sent his summoner to require his appearance, to which the baron paid no regard, and letters of citation were affixed to Rochester cathedral. Having written a paper which he styled "The Christian Belief of Lord Cobham," this nobleman went with it himself to the king, but Henry refused to receive it, and ordered it to be delivered to the

* Milner, vol. iv, p. 171.

prelates, allowing them to cite him personally in his presence. Cobham appealed to the pope, but in vain; he was committed to the Tower. In his confinement he prepared a new confession of his faith, to lay before the consistory, in St. Paul's. Arundel desired him meekly to seek absolution, which he might obtain on his recantation; when Lord Cobham presented his written belief.

Much clamour was made against this resolved confessor of Christ, when he was remanded for a while; and being again brought before this ecclesiastical assembly, they required him to acknowledge the transubstantiation of the Lord's supper, which he firmly denied. Arundel again required him to confess and ask absolution, which Cobham refused, declaring he never had trespassed against him; and, in the presence of the assembly, he made a solemn confession and appeal to God, asking his forgiveness. Then admonishing the people to beware of the antisciptural doctrines of the bishops, who condemned him, not for breaking the laws of God, but their unrighteous traditions, he declared, "I believe fully and faithfully in the universal laws of God. I believe that all is true which is contained in the holy, sacred scriptures of the Bible. Finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I should believe." After much insult from the bishops, Cobham was condemned as a heretic, Sept. 5, 1413, and remanded to the Tower, from which, however, he escaped, early in October.

Arundel is said to have been mortally seized, while pronouncing sentence on Lord Cobham; and he dying A.D. 1414, was succeeded in his archiepiscopal dignity by Henry Chicheley. "This man," says Milner, "deserves to be called the firebrand of the age in which he lived;" and after charging upon him the guilt of involving Henry in a desolating war with France, remarks, "The archbishop at home, partly by forced abjurations, and partly by the flames, domineered over the Lollards; and almost effaced the vestiges of godliness in the kingdom. This was one of the most gloomy seasons, which the church ever experienced. No quarter was given to any professors of the pure religion of Christ. Even the duke of Bedford, the brother of the

king, one of the wisest men of his age, thought it no dishonour to be the minister of Chicheley's cruelties. The diocese of Kent was particularly exposed to the bloody activity of Chicheley. Whole families were obliged to relinquish their places of abode for the sake of the Gospel *."

Reports were frequently carried to the king, that the Lollards, with Cobham at their head, were conspiring to murder Henry and his brother in the palace at Eltham; and to burn Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's, St. Alban's, and all the priories in London. Rapin argues their falsehood, remarking, "It is more than probable that the accusation was forged, to render the Lollards odious to the king, with a view to gain his licence for their persecution †."

Milner also testifies, that "the conduct of those in power in the church, at that time, was so completely flagitious and unprincipled, that it is impossible to review their usual mode of proceeding against those whom they termed heretics, without entertaining suspicions similar to those which have occurred to Rapin. Henry appears, however, to have given sufficient credit to the calumny to answer all the designs of the ecclesiastical rulers. He became thoroughly incensed against the Lollards, and particularly against Lord Cobham. A bill of attainder against that unfortunate nobleman passed the Commons, through the royal influence. The king set a price of a thousand marks upon his head, and promised a perpetual exemption from taxes to any town that should secure him ‡."

Through the diligence of the dependents of Lord Powis, Cobham was discovered and taken in Wales, and brought to London, while the king was employed in France. "His fate was soon determined. He was dragged into St. Giles's Fields, with all the insult and barbarity of enraged superstition; and there, both as a traitor and a heretic, he was suspended alive in chains, upon a gallows, and burnt to death §", A. D. 1417. "At the time of his execution, many persons of rank and

* Milner's Church History, vol. iv, p. 195, 196.

† History of England, vol. i, p. 507, folio edition.

‡ Milner's Church History, vol. iv, p. 190, 191.

§ Ibid.

distinction were present; and the ecclesiastics are said to have laboured to the utmost to prevent the people from praying for him. Lord Cobham, however, resigned himself to a painful and ignominious death, with the utmost bravery and most triumphant joy, exhorting the people to follow the instructions which God had given them in the Scriptures; and to disclaim those false teachers, whose lives and conversation were so contrary to Christ and his religion *."

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE MARTYRDOM OF COBHAM, A. D. 1417, TO THE DEATH OF HENRY VII, A. D. 1509.

Popish Oppressions — Norfolk and Suffolk — William White — Wycliffe's Bones burnt — Humphrey Duke of Gloucester — Eleanor, his Duchess, imprisoned — Himself murdered — His Chaplain Pecock's Sufferings — Dr. Sonthey's Remarks — Several Kings — John Goose — Printing invented — Henry VII — Joan Broughton — William Tylsworth — Bishop Nix — Royal Superstition.

ECCLESIASTICAL tyranny and oppression continued through the fifteenth century; sacrificing, by the prison and the stake, the most pious and virtuous of the community. "Wycliffe's learning," as the reading of the Scriptures was called, was still cherished by multitudes; but the most vigorous efforts were made to cut off those who dared to obey the Gospel of Christ, and thus transgress the impositions of the bishops.

Fox records the sufferings of many; among whom, William Taylor, after a grievous imprisonment, by order of the bishop of Worcester and archbishop Chicheley, was martyred at the stake, at Smithfield, March 1, 1422 †.

Norfolk and Suffolk were regarded as overspread with the heresy of Wycliffe, especially by the ministry of William White. Fox calls him. "The morning star in the midst of a cloud;" and says, "He gave over his priesthood and benefice, and took unto him a godly young woman to his wife, named Joan: notwithstanding, he did not therefore leave from his former office and duty, but continued to labour to the glory and praise of the spouse of Christ, by reading,

* Ibid. vol. iv, p. 191, 195.

† Acts and Monuments, vol. i, p. 866.

writing, and preaching*.” He was prevailed on to recant before archbishop Chicheley, at Canterbury: but, repenting of his cowardice, he went into Norfolk; and there, occupying himself teaching and converting the people unto the true doctrine of Christ; at the last, by means of the king’s letters, he was apprehended and condemned by the bishop of Norwich, and there burned, in September 1424.

White was revered and beloved by those who had been benefited by his ministry; and a lady of some note declared, that, if any saints were to be prayed to, she would rather pray to him on account of his holy life. “His wife, Joan, suffered greatly from the bishop; and about one hundred and twenty of his followers were vexed and cast into prison, and, after their abjuration, brought to open shame in churches and markets.”

Wycliffe’s ashes were not allowed to rest in quiet; for, in 1415, by the Council of Constance, by whose atrocious sentence Huss and Jerome were sacrificed at the stake, forty-four conclusions, drawn from the writings of Wycliffe, were declared to be heretical, and their author condemned as an obstinate heretic. His bones were ordered to be dug up and cast upon a dunghill; but the sentence was not executed till 1428, when Pope Martin V sent orders to Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, once a professed favourer of the reformed doctrine. The bishop’s officers obeyed the order; the bones were burnt, and the ashes were cast into the adjoining rivulet, Swift. From Lutterworth, as Fuller beautifully remarks, “this brook conveyed his ashes into the Avon; Avon into Severn; Severn into the narrow seas; they into the ocean. And thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over†.”

Henry VI, only ten months’ old, had succeeded to the throne, A. D. 1422, when Humphrey, called “the Good Duke of Gloucester,” was Protector, during the king’s minority. The duke was son of Henry IV, brother of Henry V, and uncle of the young king: and he is said to have been of a

* Acts and Monuments, vol. i, p. 869.

† Church History, cent. xv.

gentle disposition, a friend to virtue, and a lover of his country; wise, discreet, studious, and sincerely pious; but an enemy to pride, especially in the clergy; on which account they cordially hated him, and ultimately brought him to a most cruel death. Beaufort, the "rich bishop of Winchester," afterwards cardinal, mortally hated the duke; and struck a fatal blow at him, by a conspiracy between himself and several nobles, A. D. 1441, when Eleanor Cobham, his duchess, was accused, before the archbishop of Canterbury, of "necromancy, witchcraft, and treason."—"Lady Cobham was convicted; but the king refused to take the forfeit of her life, and only committed her to the custody of Sir Thomas Stanley, who kept her prisoner in Chester Castle *."

Archbishop Chicheley, "the firebrand of his age," as Milner calls him, died A. D. 1445, and was succeeded by John Stafford: but he partook of the spirit of his predecessor, and Duke Humphrey fell before his enemies. They had contrived to have a parliament called at Bury St. Edmund's, for the purpose of leading him far from his devoted friends, the citizens of London; and, immediately on his arrival, he was seized and imprisoned, and murdered in his bed the second night. The murder was attributed to the duke of Suffolk, with the connivance of the queen and Cardinal Beaufort †.

Reynold, or Reginald, Pecock had been chaplain to Duke Humphrey, by whose interest he was made bishop of Asaph, and afterwards of Chichester. He held many of the opinions of Wycliffe, and was tender towards the Lollards, instead of persecuting, endeavouring to reconcile them to the church; but, in so doing, and for his scriptural sermons at Paul's Cross, he fell under its censures himself, "for declaring that the pretensions of infallibility could not be maintained, and that Holy Writ was the only standard of revealed truth. The implicit faith which the church, upon this ground, required in all its institutions, as he saw that it shocked the understandings of reasonable men, so he perceived that it was deeply prejudicial to religion; and expressed his strong feeling concerning it in this prayer—"O thou Lord Jesus, God

* Collier, vol. i, p. 667.

† Fox, vol. i, p. 922—924.

and Man, head of the Christian church, and teacher of Christian belief, I beseech thy mercy, thy pity, and thy charity; far be this said peril from the Christian church, and from each person therein contained; and shield thou that this venom be never brought in. I beseech thee, ordain, and do, that the law and the faith which thy church at any time keepeth, be received, and admitted to fall under this examination, whether it be the same very faith which those and thine apostles taught or no, and whether it hath sufficient evidence for it to be very faith or no *."

A charge of heresy was therefore brought against him, for teaching that the church was fallible. Other accusations were added, one of which was, that it was not necessary to salvation to believe that our Saviour descended into hell. He was condemned upon all, and had to choose between abjuration and martyrdom. Martyrdom was not his choice. Death, perhaps, would have been preferable: for "he was brought in his episcopal habit to St. Paul's Cross, in the presence of twenty thousand people, and placed at the archbishop's feet; while *fourteen* of his books were presented to the bishops of London, Rochester, and Dunholm, as judges. These books he was ordered to deliver, with his own hands, to the person by whom they were to be thrown into the fire, there ready for that purpose. Then standing up at the Cross, he read his abjuration in English; confessing that, presuming upon his own natural wit, and preferring the natural judgment of reason before the Scriptures and the determination of the church, he had published many perilous and pernicious books, containing heresies and errors."

Dr. Southey adds, "The tender mercies of the Romish church to this eminent man (the most learned man of his age and country), who had thus humbly and thoroughly submitted to its authority. His enemies insulted him with a malice at once venomous and grovelling. He was sent to Thorney Abbey, there to be confined in a secret closed chamber, out of which he was not allowed to go. The person who made his bed and fire was the only one who might enter and

* Southey's *Book of the Church*, vol. i, p. 388.

speak to him, without the abbot's leave, and in his presence. He was to have neither pen, ink, nor paper; and to be allowed no books, except a mass-book, a psalter, a legendary, and a Bible. In this dismal imprisonment Pecock died *, as is believed by violent hands.

Grief and indignation must fill the mind, on contemplating the scenes of treachery and murder arising from the unprincipled ambition of the nobles and prelates during the reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III, from A. D. 1422 to A. D. 1485. "The civil wars," as Fuller remarks, "diverted the prelates from troubling the Lollards; so that this very storm was a shelter to those poor souls †." Still, as Fox states, "there was no reign in which some good man or other did not suffer the pains of fire for the religion and true testimony of Christ Jesus ‡."

John Goose, "a godly constant servant of Christ," was condemned and burnt on Tower Hill, in August 1473. Robert Belisdon, the humane sheriff, exhorted him to renounce his errors: but Goose was firm in the faith of Christ; and, taking refreshment at the sheriff's house, he said, "I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I shall pass a sharp shower before I go to supper §."

About this melancholy period the wonderful art of printing was brought into England, by William Caxton. It had been invented by Laurentius of Haerlem, about A. D. 1450, and improved by Faustus of Mentz; so that the Latin Bible was printed first, A. D. 1450. Caxton printed his first work, the "Game of Chess," in Westminster Abbey, A. D. 1474: but the art was encouraged, and books on religious subjects were soon set forth by this means. Divine Providence directed to this most beneficial art: yet its operation confounded the clergy, as it laid open the Holy Scriptures to the people, and they were conscious that it would be fatal to their usurpations over the consciences of mankind. They laid their grievances before the pope, "that his Holiness could not be

* Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 390—392. Fox, vol. i, p. 929, 930.

† Church History, cent. xv, p. 190.

‡ Acts and Monuments, vol. i, p. 939.

§ Ibid.

ignorant what effects the invention of printing had produced ; for men now began to call in question the present faith and tenets of the church, and to examine *how far religion had departed from its primitive institution*. What was particularly to be lamented, they had exhorted the laity even *to read the Scriptures, and to pray in their vulgar tongue*. That if these things were suffered, the common people might at last believe that there was not so much need of the clergy ; for, if men were once persuaded, *they could make their own way to God ; and that prayers, in their ordinary language, might pierce heaven as well as those in Latin ; how much would the authority of the mass fall ?* And how prejudicial might this prove to all ecclesiastical orders *."

Fox had seen some of the glorious fruits of this art, in the subversion of the papal domination in England ; and he remarks, " Hereby tongues are known, knowledge groweth, judgment increaseth, books are dispersed, the Scripture is seen, the doctors are read, stories are opened, times compared, truth discovered, falsehood detected and with finger pointed, and all through the benefit of printing. Wherefore I suppose, that either the pope must abolish printing, or he must seek a new world to reign over ; for else, as this world standeth, printing will doubtless abolish him. But the pope, and all his college of cardinals, must this understand, that, through the light of printing, the world beginneth now to have eyes to see, and heads to judge. He cannot walk so invisible in a net, but he will be spied. And although, through might, he stopped the mouth of John Huss before, and of Jerome, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdom sure ; yet, instead of John Huss and others, God hath opened the path to preachers, whose voices the pope is never able to stop, with all the puissance of his triple crown. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular order of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Gospel soundeth to all nations and countries under heaven ; and what God revealed to one man, is dispersed to many ; and what is known in one nation, is opened to all †."

* Kennett, vol. ii, p. 60.

† Acts and Monuments, vol. i, p. 927.

Henry VII ascended the throne A. D. 1485. He asserted his authority over the clergy, but found it subservient to his policy to employ them in state affairs, rather than his nobles. He suffered them therefore to proceed with their accustomed rigour and cruelty against the Lollards; and among the victims whom they brought to the stake was a widow lady of quality, named Joan Boughton. She was more than eighty years of age; and being known to hold the opinions of Wycliffe, whom she esteemed a saint, she was threatened with being "burnt for her obstinacy and false belief." Fox remarks, "She set nothing by their menacing words, but defied them; for she said she was beloved of God, and his holy angels; that she feared not for the fire, and in the midst thereof she cried to God to take her soul into his holy hands *." She died a martyr for Christ, April 28, A. D. 1494, and was held in such reverence for her piety and virtues, that during the night after her martyrdom, her ashes were collected by the Lollards, to be preserved as relics for the honour of her character and sufferings. Southey says, that "her daughter, the Lady Young, suffered afterwards the same cruel death with equal constancy †."

At Amersham in Buckinghamshire, William Tylsworth was burnt at the stake, in a close called Stanley. Joan Clerk, his only daughter, being suspected of holding the principles of her pious father, the heresy of Wycliffe, was compelled, not only to witness his death, but with HER OWN HANDS TO SET FIRE TO THE FATAL FAGGOT; and her husband, John Clerk, did penance at her father's burning, bearing a faggot, with many others! These were the monstrous cruelties exercised upon the devoted disciples of Christ; and, as Southey remarks, "By such barbarities did the Romish church provoke the indignation of God and man ‡!"

"Bishop Nix," he adds, "of Norwich, one of the most infamous for his activity in this persecution, used to call the persons whom he suspected of heretical opinions, 'men savouring of the frying-pan;'—with such levity did these monsters regard the sufferings which they inflicted §."

* Acts and Monuments, vol. i, p. 856.

† Book of the Church, vol. i, p. 394.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

Henry VII died April 22, A.D. 1509, and from the language of his "Will," dated March 31, 1504, we may learn the theology of the prelates in his time, and who exercised the greatest influence at court:—"We saye at this tyme, as sithence the first yeres of discresonne we have been accustomed, theis words, Dne Ihu Xe, qui me ex nihilo creasti, fecisti, redemisti, et predestinasti ad hoc quod sum, tu scis quid de me facere vis ; fac de me sdm voluntatem tuam cum misericordia *. Therefore doe of mee thy will ; with grace and pitie and mercy, most humbly and entirelie I beseeche thee. And thus unto the I bequeth, and into thy most mercifull handes my soule I committe. And howbeite I am a sinful creature, in sinne conceived, in synne have lyved, knowing perfectlie that of my merites I cannot attaine to the lyfe everlastinge, but onlie by the merits of thy blessed passion, and of thy infinite mercy and grace ; nathlesse, my moste merciful Redeemer, Maker, and Saviour, I trust that, by the speciall grace and mercy of thy moste blessed mother, ever virgin, our ladie St. Mary, in whom, after thee, in this mortall lyfe hath ever byne my moste singuler truste and confidence : to whom in all my necessities I have made my continuall refuge, and by whome I have hitherto in all my adversities ever hadd my speciall comforte and reliefe ; will now in my most extreme neede, of her infinite pitie, take my soule into her handes, and it presente unto her most dere sonne ; whereof sweetest ladie of mercie, verie mother and virgin, wel of pitie, and surest refuge of all needfull, most humblie, moste entirelie, and most hartile, I beseech the ; and for my comforte in this behalfe, I trust also to the singuler meditacon and praiers of all the holie company of heaven : that is to saye, anges, archanges, patriarks, profits, apostles, evangelistes, masters, confessoure, and virgines ; and especiallie to mine accustomed avours I call and crie, St. Michael, St. John Baptist, St. John Evangelist, St. George, St. Anthony, St. Edwarde, St. Vincent, St. Anne, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Barbara ; humblie beseechinge not onlie at the hower of

* O Lord Jesus Christ, who hast created me from nothing, who hast made, redeemed, and predestinated me to what I am, thou knowest what thou wilt do with me, deal with me in mercy according to thy will.

death soe to aide, socore, and defend me, that the aunciente gostlie ennemye, nor non other evell or dampnable sperete, have no power to envade me, nor with his terribleness to anoy me," &c.

Henry charged his executors to avoid "dampnable pompe, and outrageous superfluities" in his funeral; yet the "high altar dedicated to our Lady" was to be adorned with the large image of her in his possession; with an immense profusion of gold and silver plate and jewels. And "lest his soul might not rest in peace, although every precaution certainly was taken by him that poor sinner could take, he requested 10,000 masses should be said in the monastery, London, for its repose; 1,500 in honour of the Trinity; 2,500 in honour of the five wounds of the Lord Jesus Christ; 2,500 to the five joys of our Lady; 450 to the *nine* orders of angels; 150 to the honour of the patriarchs; 600 to the *twelve* apostles; and 2,300 to the honour of all saints; and all those to be sung in a little month after his decease *."

BOOK V.

FROM THE DEATH OF HENRY VII, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION UNDER ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY VIII, TO HIS BEING ACKNOWLEDGED SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH.

Crisis in England — Henry's education — Cardinal Wolsey — Richard Hunne murdered — Martyrs — Henry writes against Luther — The pope styles him "Defender of the faith" — Tindal translates the Scriptures — His martyrdom — Wolsey falls — Henry divorces his queen — The Clergy call him "Supreme Head of the Church" — This confirmed by Act of Parliament.

DIVINE Providence had mercifully brought the church of Christ to a momentous crisis before the death of Henry VII. By the invention of printing and the revival of learning, it produced its numerous benefits during the reign of Henry VIII. This prince succeeded his father under peculiarly auspicious

* Malcolm's *Londin. Redivivum*.

circumstances. He was the first sovereign for more than a century that had ruled England with an undisputed title. Every other monarch since the deposition of Richard II, had, by some, been deemed a usurper: but Henry VIII united in himself the titles of York and Lancaster; and of the former house, he was regarded as the genuine representative. On these accounts he was never disquieted by the shadow of a pretender.

Henry VIII, being the second son of Henry VII, was educated for the church, designed for archbishop of Canterbury, and probably for the throne of his Holiness. With every advantage of person, he united superior mental accomplishments, and his learning was such as might have raised him to distinction even from an inferior station. Nurtured in the choicest studies and theology of the Romish church, Henry was ardently attached to the papal superstitions. He went to mass *five* times a day: and even on his hunting days, he would hear mass *thrice*, with daily service of *vespers* in the queen's chamber. Under a monarch with such prejudices, scriptural religion could not be expected to flourish with his approbation; more especially as his confidential ministers were decided adherents of the papacy. Henry retained the ministers of his father; among whom Cardinal Wolsey became the principal, and "his administration," says Sir James Mackintosh, "grew to a dictatorship *." Thomas Wolsey was born in 1471, and raised to an office of trust by Henry VII. In 1513, while with the king in France, he was made bishop of Tournay, and in 1514, bishop of Lincoln, and before the close of that year, archbishop of York. In 1515 he was created cardinal, and elevated to the office of lord chancellor. Favours were lavished upon Wolsey by the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain, to engage his interest in securing an alliance with England. In 1519, he was made papal legate, with power to suspend even the laws and canons of the church. For a long period Wolsey enjoyed the confidence of the king, delighting in pomp and splendour equally with his royal master.

* History of England, vol. ii, p. 119.

Henry's court, as is testified by Erasmus, then the greatest scholar in Europe, was famous for men of letters. "Both in his prodigality, and in his patronage of letters," says Southey, "the king was encouraged by his favourite Wolsey, the most munificent of men. Under his administration, the disorders of the clergy were repressed, men of worth and learning were promoted in the church, libraries were formed, and the study of Greek and Hebrew introduced at Oxford. The practices and doctrines of the church, Wolsey took as he found, and so he would have left them; but he removed its ignorance, reformed its manners, and might have enabled it yet awhile to have supported itself by the improvements which it derived from his liberality and love of learning, if a more perilous but needful reformation had not commenced, when Luther proclaimed the principles of religious liberty, which he had derived from Huss, and Huss from Wycliffe*."

Clerical disorders were repressed but very partially by Wolsey; and a law having passed to check their prevalence, the priests complained of their privileges being invaded. The abbot of Winchelcomb maintained, in a book, that all clergymen "whether of the greater or lower orders, were sacred, and exempted from all temporal punishment by the secular judge, even in criminal cases†."

Controversy arose on this subject, the clergy supporting the abbot's doctrine; when Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor of London, having refused some fees demanded by a priest at the funeral of his child, was sued: on which he commenced a suit against the priest under the statute of *premunire*. The clergy were incensed, and Hunne was accused as a heretic; "understanding that he had Wycliffe's Bible, he was attached of heresy, and put into the Lollards' tower at Paul's, and examined upon some articles objected to him by Fitz-James, then bishop of London‡." Hunne, being a citizen of note, was dreaded; and on December the 4th, 1514, was found dead in prison: but on a coroner's inquest, Dr. Horsey, chancellor to the bishop of London, his sumner, and the

* Book of the Church, vol. ii, p. 5, 6.

† Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol i, p. 17. ‡ Ibid. p. 19.

bell-ringer, were found personally guilty of his murder; as confessed by the bishop's sumner, Charles Joseph. Still the bishop directed the body to be burnt, as of a heretic: but the citizens, indignant at this outrage, procured the matter to be investigated by the parliament and by the king's council. The bishop of London and the cardinal laboured to prevent the stigma from resting upon the clergy; but "the thing," says Burnet, "was so foul and so evident, that it could not be done*."

Warrants were issued against Dr. Horsey: but the cardinal and the bishop used their influence, and succeeded to their wishes. "The king," as Burnet remarks, "not willing to irritate the clergy too much, and judging he had maintained his prerogative by bringing Horsey to the bar, ordered the attorney to allow him to plead Not guilty, when he was dismissed." However, "the clergy suffered much by this business, besides the loss of their reputation with the people, who involved them all in the guilt of Hunne's murder: nor was the city of London at all satisfied with the proceedings in the King's Bench, since there was no justice done; and all thought the king seemed more careful to maintain his prerogative than to do justice. This was the only thing," Burnet adds, "in the first eighteen years of the king's reign, that seemed to lessen the greatness of the clergy, but in all other matters he was a most faithful son of the see of Rome†."

Moderate limits will not contain a detail of the ecclesiastical persecutions of those who read the Scriptures, or the various sufferings which they endured. Fox gives a long list of them, among whom he particularizes John Stilman and Thomas Man, martyrs for Christ in Smithfield, in 1518; Fitz-James, bishop of London, and Dr. Hed, the pope's vicar-general, with other prelates, being their prosecutors. Six men were in like manner sacrificed at the stake, April 4, 1519, at Coventry, for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed, in English; besides a widow named Smith, at the same time and place. Buckinghamshire was still noted for Lollards; and the ex-

* Ibid. p. 20.

† Ibid. p. 24, 25.

tracts from the bishops' register, published by Fox, giving the names of those who were made to do penance and branded in the cheek, indicate to what an extent evangelical truth had spread. Fox, writing in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, remarks, "Certainly, the fervent zeal of those Christian days seems much superior to these our days and times, as manifestly may appear by *their sitting up all night in reading and hearing*: also by their expenses in buying books in English; some gave five marks, some more, some less, for a book; some gave a load of hay for a few chapters of St. James or St. Paul in English. In which rarity of books and want of teachers, I greatly marvel to note in the register, and to consider how the word of truth notwithstanding did multiply as it did among them *."

Divine truth continued to make progress in England; but the holy flame burst forth in the ministry of Luther in Germany, who publicly set the pope at defiance, denouncing him as Antichrist. This apostolic man laboured from 1517, with the courage of Wycliffe, and with still greater success, protected by his sovereign, the Elector of Saxony. He translated the Bible, and wrote many valuable treatises in defence of the Scriptures, against the pope and the abominations of the priesthood, exciting general attention throughout Europe, when there arose hosts of both auxiliaries and opponents. Henry "to get himself a name, and to have a lasting interest with the clergy, would needs turn their champion, and write against Luther in defence of the seven sacraments. This book was magnified by the clergy as the most learned work that ever the sun saw; and he was compared to Solomon, and to all the Christian emperors that had ever been: and it was the chief subject of flattery for many years, besides the glorious title of Defender of the Faith, which the pope bestowed on him for it†." Luther gloried in having so great a king for an opponent, and wrote a refutation, treating the royal polemic with probably too great harshness. Henry was exceedingly mortified by the reformer's severity: but he

* Acts and Monuments, vol. ii, p. 23.

† Burnet, vol. i, p. 42. This title was granted Oct. 11, 1521.

esteemed his new title as his brightest jewel, and obtained a ratification of it by act of parliament.

Royalty was insufficient to arrest the progress of divine truth; and Luther's writings inspired many in England to imitate his example: some even proceeded to Germany to confer with him. Among these was William Tindal, worthily called "The Apostle of England." He was born about the year 1500, near Wales, and educated at Oxford. By reading the Scriptures and the writings of the Reformers, he was converted to the truth; and being persecuted by the priests, while tutor in the family of a Gloucestershire knight, he resolved on translating the Word of God. Humphrey Monmouth, a wealthy citizen of London, entertained Tindal, and, approving his purpose, engaged to supply him with *ten pounds a year*. Other generous friends assisting, Tindal hastened to confer with Luther, and settled at Antwerp, as the most eligible place for printing his translation and sending it to England. In this city he received considerable support as chaplain to the English merchants.

Tindal printed his New Testament in 1526, and forwarded it to England, where it was eagerly purchased. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and Tunstal, bishop of London, prohibited it, in a commission dated October 23, 1526, requiring every copy to be delivered up to be destroyed. Tunstal even employed a Dutch merchant to purchase the whole impression: Tindal's funds were thus replenished, and he soon brought out an improved edition. Encouraged in his glorious undertaking, he proceeded with the Old Testament, when in 1529 he received the valuable aid of Miles Coverdale, by whom the whole was completed. This devoted man continued revising and improving his translation, until 1534, when he was betrayed by Henry Philips, an agent of the English prelates; and having been imprisoned about eighteen months in Tilford Castle near Antwerp, he was put to death by strangling, under the imperial decree of Augsburg. Tindal's dying words were, "O Lord, open the eyes of the king of England!"

Tindal bequeathed a treasure to the church in England; and fully to estimate the importance of his giving the trans-

lated Word of God to our countrymen, is impossible. Bishop Tunstal and his colleagues, in vain attempted to prevent the advance of the gospel: it enlightened many in the universities; and Bilney in 1531, Bainham in 1532, and Lambert and Frith in 1533, were intelligent martyrs for Christ, converted by means of Tindal's Testament. Latimer, and many others, of deserved honour in the church of God, received the doctrines of salvation by the same means.

Providence directed several political occurrences also to further the gospel in England. Among these may be justly reckoned the ambition of Cardinal Wolsey. That haughty prelate aspired to the papal throne; but met with disappointment through the influence of Charles V. Meditating revenge on him, he encouraged the scruples of the king, respecting his marriage with his brother's widow, who had been his faithful wife for eighteen years. Henry's doubts, first made public in 1527, were increased by his passion for Anne Boleyn, one of the ladies of the court; and Wolsey was employed to obtain from the pope, a divorce. Queen Catharine being aunt to the emperor, the pope dared not to grant this request, for fear of drawing down his indignation, under which he had already suffered; and Wolsey failing in his attempts, was suspected of insincerity, and fell under the royal displeasure. The enemies of that proud ecclesiastic improved their opportunity against their oppressor: he was deprived of his honours and died in disgrace and poverty, in 1530, exclaiming, "Oh! that I had served my God as faithfully as I have my king, then he would not have forsaken me in my old age."

Henry, being cited to Rome by the pontiff, ordered a protest against such an insult; and a letter was sent to the pope, in June 1530, signed by Cardinal Wolsey, the archbishop of Canterbury, *two* dukes, *two* marquises, *thirteen* earls, *five* bishops, *twenty-five* barons, *twenty-two* mitred abbots, and *eleven* knights and doctors, requiring his Holiness to terminate the king's suit, lest a delay of justice should lead to desperate measures*. At this period, Dr. Thomas Cranmer

* Mackintosh's History of England, vol. ii, p. 167, 168,

suggested the short method of settling the question by an appeal to the Word of God, "whether it were lawful for a man to marry his brother's wife?" and to ask the judgment of the learned universities. This expedient delighted the king, who was ever after a friend to Cranmer, promoting him to the highest honours. Henry's dearest wishes were gratified by the decision of the universities; and Cranmer, who had been consecrated archbishop of Canterbury in March, pronounced the sentence of divorce, May 23, 1533, and confirmed the marriage of the king with Anne Boleyn, which had taken place November 14, 1532.

"Several preparations had been made for these bold measures," as is remarked by Sir James Mackintosh. "Wolsey had exercised the legantine power so long, that the greatest part of the clergy had done acts, which subjected them to the same heavy penalties, under the ancient statutes, which had crushed the cardinal. No clergyman was secure. The attorney-general appears to have proceeded against the bishops in the court of king's bench, and the conviction of the prelates would determine the fate of their clergy. After this demonstration of authority, the convocation agreed to petition the king to pardon their fault. The province of Canterbury bought this mercy at the price of a grant of 100,000*l.*; that of York contributed only 18,840*l.* Occasion was then taken to introduce a new title among those by which the petitioners addressed the king, who was petitioned as "*Protector of the Clergy, and Supreme Head of the Church of England*.*" Archbishop Warham supported the designation: and this "new title, full of undefined and vast claims, soon crept from the petitions of the convocation into the heart of acts of parliament. By a series of statutes passed in the years 1533 and 1534, the church of England was withdrawn from obedience to the see of Rome. A purely domestic election and consecration of all prelates was established; all pecuniary contributions imposed by "the bishop of Rome, called the pope," were abolished; and all lawful powers for licensing and dispensing were transferred to Canterbury.

* Ibid. p. 170, 171. Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i, p. 148, 149.

The statute affirms, "Your Majesty is supreme Head of the Church of England, as the prelates and clergy of your realm, representing the said church in their synods and convocations, have recognized." All these enactments were sanctioned and established by a brief but comprehensive act in 1535, "concerning the king's majesty to be supreme head upon earth of the church of England, which granted him full power to correct and amend any errors, heresies, abuses, &c., which by any ecclesiastical jurisdiction might be reformed and redressed *."

CHAPTER II.

HENRY VIII, TO HIS DEATH IN 1547.

Death-blow to Popery—Latimer—Nun of Kent—Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher—Thomas Cromwell—Bible printed in England—Cranmer's answers—Declaration of the Bishops—Monasteries suppressed—"The Bloody Statute"—"The Bishops' Book"—Bibles set up in St. Paul's—Anne Askew martyred—Cranmer's ruin attempted—and the Queen's, by the Papists—Death of Henry VIII.

POPERY had received its mortal wound in England, by "the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God," previously to its political death-blow by act of parliament. The supremacy of the pope being thus transferred to the king, Henry exercised it over the ecclesiastical revenues in the most summary manner. The clergy could now make no reasonable objection to their chosen "head of the church;" and we must ascribe their non-resistance to the passing of the act in parliament, to a dread of the king's displeasure, or to a lukewarm zeal for the established religion.

Evangelical truth had made considerable progress among learned men in the nation, by the writings, examinations, and sufferings of those noble martyrs, Bilney, Bainham, Byfield, Lambert, Frith, and the like martyrdom of many others, whose intelligent testimonies had been published. Queen Anne patronized the reformers; and "she took Shaxton and Latimer to be her chaplains, and soon after promoted them to the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester †."

* Mackintosh, vol. ii, p. 171—174.

† Burnet, vol. ii, p. 95.

Various methods were in vain adopted by the papists, to preserve their system of usurpations. They "injured themselves by their craft, as well as their cruelty. A nun in Kent was encouraged to feign revelations; at first, for the purpose of bringing a particular image into repute; afterwards a political bearing was given to the imposture: she declared strongly against the divorce while the cause was pending, and predicted, that if Henry persisted in his purpose, and married another wife, he should not be a king a month longer; nay, not an hour in the sight of God, but should die a villain's death. Her prophecies were collected in a book, and repeated in sermons, particularly by the observant Franciscans, one of whom preaching before the king, told him, that many lying prophets had deceived him, but he, as a true Micaiah, warned him that the dogs should lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's. Henry bore this treasonable insolence with patience: but when it was perceived that the accomplices in this scheme of delusion, emboldened by impunity, had communicated with Queen Catherine and with the pope's ambassadors, the affair assumed a serious aspect, and the parties were apprehended. They confessed the imposture; and with this exposure it might probably have ended, had not other accomplices spread a report, that the nun had been forced into this confession, and tampered with her to make her deny all that she had confessed. She was then executed, with five of her associates, for treason, acknowledging the justice of her sentence, and saying, these men, who must have known she was feigning, persuaded her that it was the work of the Holy Ghost *."

Among the persons who were implicated for misprision of treason in this affair, were Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More. These were the most distinguished adherents of the pope in England; and though men of learning and general probity, they were cruel persecutors of the reformers. Refusing to acknowledge the king as "supreme head of the church," they were beheaded; Fisher in June, and More in July, 1535. Sir Thomas More was the most

* Southey's *Book of the Church*, vol. ii, p. 30—40.

zealous champion the church of Rome ever had in England ; and, excepting his cruel bigotry, he was one of the greatest men of that age.

Thomas Cromwell, a man of great talents, formerly secretary to cardinal Wolsey, was appointed lord chancellor on the fall of More ; and being " made the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters," he co-operated with his cordial friend Cranmer in promoting the Reformation. Cranmer in 1536 succeeded with the convocation to petition the king for leave to make a translation of the Bible. Bishop Gardiner, with the popish party whom he headed, violently opposed it : but a majority favoured the measure. Some declared to the king, that if he suffered a translation of the Scriptures, he would no longer be able to govern his subjects : while others affirmed, that nothing would more effectually annihilate the pope's authority, than the Bible in English. These arguments, enforced by the queen, who had yet the affections of the king, prevailed, and he gave orders for its accomplishment*.

Tindal's Bible had been revised by Miles Coverdale and John Rogers, comparing it with the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German ; adding notes and prefaces from Luther's translation. It was published in 1537, dedicated to King Henry, under the borrowed name of Thomas Matthews. This translation of the Bible, with prefaces added by Cranmer, was sent over to France the same year, to be printed at Paris, under the care of bishop Bonner, the English ambassador. The royal permission being obtained, the work was undertaken : but the French clergy interfered, the press was stopped, and most of the copies were seized and publicly burnt. Some of them were, however, saved, and the workmen with the types and presses were conveyed to London, where Grafton, in 1538, printed 1,500 copies. Cromwell presented this Bible to the king, and procured his warrant, allowing all his subjects to read it without molestation. Injunctions were also given in the king's name to all incumbents, " to provide one of these Bibles, and set it up publicly in the church, and

* Burnet, vol. i, p. 254, 255.

not to hinder or discourage the reading of it, but to encourage all persons to peruse it, as being the true and lively Word of God *."

Much discussion arose at this period respecting *rites, sacraments, and orders*. Collier seems angry with Cranmer for his answers to the "seventeen questions" on these subjects. Attaching some mysterious efficacy to these, the popish priests had imposed upon the people in the absence of the Scripture: but truth appeared by the light of God's Holy Word. Cranmer answered to the *first* question, *What a sacrament is by the Scripture?*—"The Scripture sheweth not what a sacrament is:" and the archbishop of York wrote, "In Scripture we neither find definition nor description of a sacrament †." In answer to the *tenth* question, "Whether bishops or priests were first? and if the priests were first, then the priests made the bishops," he wrote, "The bishops and priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion ‡." In a paper signed by Cromwell, the *two* archbishops, *eleven* bishops, and a great number of the most eminent divines, entitled, "A Declaration of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests," it is declared, "The truth is, that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops §."

Monasteries remained the strong-holds of popery through the country, and Henry coveted their ill-gotten riches. Wolsey having suppressed *forty* of the smaller ones, by virtue of papal bulls, to endow his two colleges, their property was seen not to be sacred. A new visitation was made: "coining was detected in some houses; the blackest and foulest crimes in others ||." Henry, therefore, seized their treasures. By one act, Southey states, "*three hundred and seventy-five* convents were dissolved; in the diocese of Bangor not one was left standing. The king became possessed of about 10,000*l.* in plate and moveables, and a clear yearly revenue of

* Ibid, p. 322, 323.

§ Ibid. p. 397.

† Ibid. vol. ii, p. 256.

|| Southey, vol. ii, p. 57.

‡ Ibid. p. 281.

30,000l.*" Burnet says, "The clear yearly value of all the suppressed houses is cast up, in an account then stated to be, *viz.* 131,607l. 6s. 4d. as the rents were then rated; but was at least ten times so much in value†."

Abolishing the monasteries was not promoting scriptural religion; and an awful amount of misery and crime was produced by scattering so many thousand persons over the land, as were driven through the country by this measure, many of them with little or no means of subsistence. This procedure, added to the political measures of the past reign, threw such swarms of vagrants about the kingdom, that *seventy-three thousand* persons are reported to have been capitally convicted and executed under Henry VIII.

Uniformity in religious opinions was now resolved by the king; and a committee of bishops and doctors drew up the notorious "Six Articles," which passed both houses of parliament, and received the royal assent June 28, 1539, entitled, "An Act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion:" these declared, "*First*, That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread or wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ were present. *Secondly*, That communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds. *Thirdly*, That priests, after the order of the priesthood, might not marry by the law of God. *Fourthly*, That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God. *Fifthly*, That the use of private masses ought to be continued; which, as it was agreeable to God's law, so men received great benefit by them. *Sixthly*, That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church‡."

Commissions were issued to the prelates and clergy, rigorously to enforce this "bloody statute," as it was called. Cranmer had voted against the measure, and Latimer and Shaxton immediately resigned their bishoprics: but this ex-

* Ibid. p. 69.

† Reformation, vol. i, p. 347.

‡ Ibid. p. 335.

posed them to the resentment of the popish prelates; for "they being presented as having spoken against the articles, were put in prison, where Latimer lay till the king died; but Shaxton, before that event, gained his liberty by recantation.

Popery being favoured, the bishops of the old system rejoiced in the prospect of regaining their lost ascendancy. Cranmer, however, retained the confidence of the king; and the same year obtained a proclamation for the free use of the Bible in the English tongue.

In 1540, Cromwell fell under the king's displeasure, and that great minister, after a few weeks' imprisonment, was beheaded as a traitor. He fell a sacrifice to the king's caprice, and popular odium, as the disorders arising from the suppression of the monasteries were charged upon him. Cranmer, to the last, dared to show his friendship for this upright favourer of the Reformation: and it is remarkable, that Cromwell had learnt by heart the whole of the New Testament.

Vigorous efforts were now made to restore popery, and the Romish prelates prevailed to prevent the Reformation from advancing much during the latter part of Henry's reign. Still there were several things done which were beneficial, particularly the "Bishops' Book," drawn up by the most eminent divines appointed by the king. It was at first called "The Institution of a Christian Man," and afterwards revised and called "The necessary Erudition of a Christian Man;" the former published in the year 1540, and the latter about two years after. This treatise, especially in its second form, favours popery, retaining transubstantiation and the seven sacraments: yet it refers to the Word of God as the only infallible appeal.

In 1541 a new edition of the Bible was published, and the king, by proclamation, required, that all curates and parishioners of every town and parish do provide themselves a copy of it before a certain day, under the penalty of forty shillings for neglect, that it might be read by all who chose. Bonner, bishop of London, seeing the king's mind set upon it, ordered six of these great Bibles to be set up in several places

at St. Paul's; that all persons who could, might have free access to them. And upon the pillars to which these Bibles were chained, an exhortation was placed, admonishing all that came to read, to receive the word for the edification of their souls. Multitudes crowded to hear the Scriptures read by such as had clear voices; and many put their children to school, that they might hear them read the Word of God. Tumultuous disputes arose over these public readings, on which the bishop threatened to take away the Bibles; and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, obtained an act in 1543, that "every nobleman or gentleman might cause the Bible to be read to him, in or about his house: every merchant might read it, being a householder: but no woman, nor artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men under the degree of yeomen, nor husbandmen or labourers, might read it. Spiritual persons, who preached or taught contrary to the king's instructions, should for the first offence recant, for the second carry a faggot, and for the third be burnt! *"

Little further was publicly done to promote religion until the year 1544, when the king appointed a translation of certain prayers and litanies into English. The reformers rejoiced in this measure, hoping that the "head of the church" would suffer all the other offices to be translated. In 1546, Henry seemed resolved on a further reformation, changing the mass into a communion, and endeavouring to engage the king of France and the emperor to conform to his plan; but the project was laid aside, and the capricious monarch sacrificed several under "the bloody statute" for denying transubstantiation. One in particular must be mentioned.

Catherine, Henry's sixth queen, favoured the Reformation, and the papists resolved on the destruction of her and of Cranmer: but they commenced with the pious Anne Askew, one of the queen's favourite ladies. She was apprehended and rigorously examined, even upon the rack, and threatened with the stake. Her wisdom and piety shone conspicuously in her behaviour and answers. Southey states, from Fox and others, "Sir Anthony Knevet came to solicit pardon for

* Ibid. p. 390—415.

having disobeyed the chancellor, by refusing to let the goaler stretch this lady on the rack a second time, after she had endured it once; without accusing any person of partaking her opinions. It was concerning the ladies of the court that she was thus put to the torture, in the hope of implicating the queen; and, when Knevet would do no more, the chancellor Wriothesley, and Rich, who was a creature of Bonner's, racked her with their own hands, throwing off their gowns that they might perform their devilish office the better. She bore it without uttering cry or groan, though immediately upon being loosed, she fainted. Henry readily forgave the lieutenant, and appeared ill pleased with the chancellor: but he suffered his wicked ministers to consummate their crime. The execution was delayed till darkness closed, that it might appear the more dreadful. Anne Askew was brought in a chair, for they had racked her till she was unable to stand; and she was held up against the stake by the chain which fastened her; but her constancy, and cheerful language of encouragement, wrought her companions in martyrdom to the same invincible fortitude and hope. After a sermon had been preached, the king's pardon was offered to her, if she would recant. Refusing even to look upon it, she made answer, that she came not there to deny her Lord! The others, in like manner, refused to purchase their lives at such a price. The reeds were then set on fire—it was in the month of June—and at that moment a few drops of rain fell, and a thunder-clap was heard, which those in the crowd, who sympathized with the martyrs, felt, as if it were God's own voice, accepting their sacrifice, and receiving their spirits into his everlasting rest!*

Craumer was the next intended victim; and Henry had consented to his apprehension: but his conscience awoke him to send at midnight for his faithful counsellor, giving him his ring as a token of his protection. Thus his enemies were confounded, when he appeared in their presence. Insatiate for blood, Gardiner had succeeded in persuading Henry, that the queen was both a heretic in religion and a traitor to

* Book of the Church, vol. ii, p. 92, 93; Burnet, vol. i, p. 438, 439.

her sovereign; and he even prevailed on the king to sign articles of impeachment against her! But Providence interposed: for in his haste, Gardiner dropped the warrant, which was conveyed to the queen: the plot being discovered, by an ingenious conversation she regained the confidence of her lord, and the chancellor, attended by forty guards, on his entering the king's presence to seize her person, was thrown into confusion by the royal reproaches*.

Henry departed this life January 28, 1547, to render his account at the tribunal of God. Two of his queens had been beheaded, as sacrifices to his evil passions; two more he had divorced; one had died during his life, and one he left a widow. Fuller remarks, "As to the character of his mind, all the virtues and vices of all his predecessors from the conquest, may seem in him fully represented, both to their kind and degree, learning, wisdom, valour, magnificence, cruelty, avarice, fury, lust; following his pleasures whilst he was young, and making them come to him when he was old†." Every virtuous mind must be shocked while contemplating "the sensuality, rapacity, and cruelty of Henry VIII." Providence, notwithstanding, had overruled his evil passions to subvert the usurpations of the papacy, to restore the Holy Scriptures to the people,—and to establish the sovereign authority of the British Parliament. On these accounts, every Christian Briton will regard this period of our national history with admiration and gratitude to God. Sir James Mackintosh justly remarks, "The immense revolutions of his time in property, in religion, and in the inheritance of the crown, never could have been effected without the concurrence of parliament.—Those who saw the attainders of queens, the alteration of an established religion, and the frequent disturbance of the royal succession, accomplished by acts of parliament, considered nothing beyond the jurisdiction of so potent an assembly. If the *supremacy was a tremendous power*, it accustomed the people to set no bounds to the authority of those who bestowed it on the king! ‡"

* Ibid. p. 442, 443. † Church History, century xvi, p. 165.

‡ History of England, vol. ii, p. 240.

CHAPTER III.

EDWARD VI.

Character of Edward—His Protestant government—Cranmer's reform—New offices in Religion—Act of Uniformity—Cranmer persecutes—His cruelties to Joan Bocher—Ordination—Bishop Hooper's Nonconformity—Common Prayer revised—Articles of Religion—Edward's illness and death—Benefits of the Reformation—State of religion—Conformists and Nonconformists—Foreigners Nonconformists.

EDWARD VI, was born October 12, 1537, and when little more than *nine years and three months old*, succeeded his father Henry VIII. He was a child of extraordinary attainments, as all parties acknowledge; and equally remarkable for his piety and sweetness of disposition. He revered the Word of God, so that when a juvenile companion laid down the sacred volume in his apartment to stand upon, in reaching something, Edward took it up, kissed it, and laid it aside; and at his coronation, when the three swords of the three kingdoms were brought to be carried before him, he observed that there was one yet wanting, and called for the Bible. "That," said he, "is the sword of the Spirit, and ought in all right to govern us, who use these for the people's safety, by God's appointment. Without that sword we are nothing: from that alone we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, and whatsoever we have of divine strength*."

Edward, being a sincere lover of the Holy Scriptures, was a patron of the Reformation, which was supported by his maternal uncle, the duke of Somerset, lord protector of the young king; by archbishop Cranmer, and by the greatest part of those whom Henry had left executors of his will, and regents during the minority of his son. Religion was most deplorably sunk throughout the nation, except with individuals who possessed the Scriptures, as almost all the clergy were papists; but the government was in the hands of the reformers; and Cranmer, under the sanction of the king, the protector, and the council, assisted by a few select divines, prosecuted their work with vigour. Latimer, and others, who had been imprisoned in the late reign for religion, were

* Southey, vol. ii, p. 105, 106.

released: the bloody statute of the six articles was repealed, with other persecuting laws; the pious exiles returned from the continent, and learned divines from among the reformers were invited into England.

Cranmer is said to have relinquished the doctrine of transubstantiation the last year of Henry's reign, being converted by means of the writings of Frith the martyr. Ridley, about the same time, came to the same conclusion, that the doctrine was not more scriptural than the term; and Latimer also abandoned this his last error of popery. Two things were immediately adopted for the benefit of the nation: one was, that, as the parish priests were unable to preach, Homilies should be composed, to be read instead of sermons, for the instruction of the people in the doctrines of evangelical truth. Twelve of these discourses were drawn up, principally by Cranmer, containing much scriptural truth, especially on the grand article of justification; yet with many popish errors. The other measure was the appointment of six of the most distinguished preachers to accompany the commissioners sent to visit the whole kingdom. Besides the Homilies, it was resolved, that the Paraphrase of the New Testament, by Erasmus, translated into English, should be provided for every parish church in England. Popish masses were forbidden, and the Lord's Supper was commanded to be received by the people, both bread and wine, in a manner more agreeable to its primitive institution. A new office for the communion was prepared; and, to meet the Romish prejudices, Cranmer inserted the words, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life," &c.* The whole service of public prayer was examined; a catechism was composed at the command of the archbishop; and it was resolved to prepare a new Liturgy. This, to conciliate the papists, was principally translated from the several Romish mass books then used in Latin. Burnet states, "In compiling the offices, they began with morning and evening prayer: these were put in the same form they are now, only there was no confession nor absolu-

* Burnet, vol. iii, p. 88.

tion; the office beginning with the Lord's Prayer. In the communion service, the Ten Commandments were not said as they are now; but in other things it was very near what it is now. All that had been in the order of the communion formerly mentioned was put into it: the offertory was to be made of bread, and wine mixed with water. Then was said the prayer for the state of Christ's church, in which they give thanks to God for his wonderful grace declared in his saints, in the blessed Virgin, the patriarchs, apostles, prophets, and martyrs; and they commend the saints departed to God's mercy and grace, that at the day of resurrection we with them might be set on Christ's right hand. It was ordered that the whole office of the communion, except the consecratory prayers, should be used on all holy days, when there was no communion, to put the people in mind of it and of the sufferings of Christ*." Offices for baptism, by dipping the child three times, or sprinkling on the face, and for confirmation, with various ceremonies adopted from the mass books, were drawn up; and by this policy the reformers hoped gradually to wean the people from their old superstitions. The Psalms were put into metre by Sternhold and Hopkins, and allowed to be sung in churches, the use of which being regarded as a good criterion of piety†.

Common Prayer having been thus prepared, it was made obligatory this year (1548) by act of parliament; eight bishops and several noblemen protesting against it. Adopting the popish maxim, that it was proper to enforce religion by penalties, it was enacted, that "if any parson, vicar, or other spiritual person, shall refuse to use this Common Prayer Book, or officiate with any other form or ceremonies, or shall preach or speak any thing in derogation of the said book, he was to forfeit a year's profit of one of his preferments, and suffer six months imprisonment for his first offence; to suffer imprisonment for a whole year, and be deprived *ipso facto* of all his spiritual promotion for the second; and for the third offence to be imprisoned during life‡." Similiar penalties were to follow writing against this book.

* Ibid. p. 100. † Collier, vol. ii, p. 326. ‡ Burnet, vol. iii, p. 122.

Images in churches, some of which were blasphemously ridiculous representations of the adorable Trinity, and God the Father, were ordered to be taken down, and pulpits erected. All dignified clergymen were required to preach personally *twice a year*; and bishops *four times*, unless they had reasonable excuse for their omission*.

Persecution, however, dishonoured the Reformation in England; and though no catholic suffered death in this reign for his religion, even Cranmer is guilty of the blood of his fellow protestants. "At this time (1549) there were many anabaptists in several parts of England. They were generally Germans, whom the revolutions there had forced to change their seats.—On the 12th of April there was a complaint brought to the council, that, with the strangers that were come into England, some of that persuasion had come over, and were disseminating their errors, and making proselytes: so a commission was ordered for the archbishop of Canterbury and others, three of them being a quorum, to examine and search after anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the Common Prayer. They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoin them penance, and give them absolution: or, if they were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular power to be farther proceeded against. Some tradesmen in London were brought before the commissioners in May, and were persuaded to renounce their opinions†."

"There was one more remarkable victim," says Dr. Southey, whose case will be best stated in the words of that elegant writer. "Joan Bocher, a Kentish woman, of good education, and therefore of good birth, and of respectable rank in life, for she had frequented the court, and had been intimate with Anne Askew. In an evil hour was she accused of maintaining a fanatic and long-forgotten notion concerning our Saviour, that though born of the Virgin, he partook of humanity only in appearance, having but an apparent, and not a real body. And for this she was condemned to die! "It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance!" said the undaunted

* Ibid. p. 37.

† Ibid. p. 145, 146.

woman, to those who sat in judgment on her. "Not long ago you burnt Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrine, for which you burnt her! And now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh,—and in the end you will come to believe this also, when ye have read the Scriptures, and understand them!" This was a speech which, notwithstanding the error it contained, ought to have stricken Cranmer with compunction. When it was found that no reasoning could shake her confidence in this groundless opinion, the council called upon Cranmer to obtain a warrant for her execution. It is the saddest passage in Cranmer's life; the only one for which no palliation can be offered; for if he had not assented to it, and even constrained the young king to sign the fatal order, this crime might have been averted. There is not a more painful and humiliating circumstance in our history. Edward had been blessed with a tender heart, and the tendency of his education had been to cultivate the best feelings, and strengthen them by the purest principles. This act, which he was called upon to sanction by his warrant, appeared, to his uncorrupted judgment, in its true light; and it was not without remonstrance and tears, that, in deference to Cranmer's character and station, he signed the warrant, telling him *he* must answer for it before God! Edward had not then completed his fourteenth year; and yet so much did he excel the best and wisest of his counsellors in the wisdom of the heart*." Joan Bocher was burnt to death May 2, 1550; and on May 24, 1551, Von Paris, a surgeon of London of Dutch extraction, suffered death for denying the divinity of Christ.

Ordination to the ministry was a subject of anxious consideration with the reformers; and twelve divines were appointed to prepare a service for that purpose. After some difficulties from those who were rigid papists, "they agreed on a form of ordaining deacons, priests, and bishops," which, as Burnet states, "is the same yet used in the church of England, except in some few words that have been added

* Book of the Church, vol. ii, p. 136—138.

since in the ordination of a priest or bishop*." We have already seen Cranmer's declared judgment of the identity of priest and bishop according to the Scriptures: but either to meet the wishes of the papists, or to support his own ecclesiastical dignity, the several orders of ministers were continued as they existed in the Romish church: and now arose a contest on this subject, connected with the episcopal robes.

Dr. John Hooper, one of the most learned and excellent of the reformers, was appointed by letters patent, July 3, 1550, bishop of Gloucester. On this Burnet remarks, "It has been already shown, that the vestments used in Divine service were appointed to be retained in the church: but Hooper refused to be consecrated in the episcopal vestments. The grounds he went on were, that they were human inventions, brought in by tradition or custom, not suitable to the simplicity of the Christian religion: that all such ceremonies were condemned by St. Paul, as beggarly elements: that these vestments had been invented chiefly for celebrating the mass with much pomp, and had been consecrated for that effect; therefore he desired to be excused from the use of them. Cranmer and Ridley, on the other hand, alleged, that tradition in matters of faith was justly rejected, but in matters of rites and ceremonies, custom was oft a good argument for the continuance of that which had been long used. Therefore, they required Hooper to conform himself to the law †." Hooper was by no means convinced by such reasoning, which was in reality a violation of the fundamental principle of Protestantism—the exclusive sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures: neither would they allow him to decline the episcopate! The earl of Warwick "wrote earnestly to the archbishop to dispense with the use of the garments, and the oath of canonical obedience at his consecration." "Cranmer wrote back, that he could not do it without incurring a *præmunire*. So the king was moved to write to him, warranting him to do it, without any danger which the law could bring on him for such an omission. But though this was done on the 11th of August, yet he was not consecrated till March the next year ‡."

* Burnet, vol. iii, p. 189.

† Ibid. p. 200.

‡ Ibid. p. 202.

Cranmer was still inflexibly determined on humbling the nonconformist, and therefore he would not comply with the wishes of the king. He laid the matter before the council, and Hooper was committed to prison in the Fleet. Fox, in the Latin edition of his *Acts and Monuments*, states the manner in which the affair was compromised. "Thus ended this theological quarrel in the victory of the bishops, Hooper being forced to recant; or, to say the least, being constrained to appear once in public attired after the manner of the bishops. Which, unless he had done, there are those who think the bishops would have endeavoured to take away his life: for his servant told me, that the duke of Suffolk sent such word to Hooper, who was not himself ignorant what they were doing*."

Ridley is believed to have been more severe against Hooper than even Cranmer: but he lived to repent of his bigotry, and to confess his folly. For when they were both in prison in Mary's reign for the doctrine of Christ, Ridley wrote to Hooper an apology for his former persecuting conduct, acknowledging his own "simplicity" in that affair, and commending the "wisdom" of his "most dear and reverend fellow-elder in Christ†." Cranmer also, when stripped of his episcopal robes at his degradation before his martyrdom, expressed his contempt for such "gear."

About the latter end of 1550 "there was a review of the Common Prayer Book; several things had been continued in it, either to draw in some of the bishops, who by such yieldings might be prevailed on to concur in it; or in compliance with the people, who were fond of their old superstitions‡." Martin Bucer, a famous German divine, was principally consulted in this business, by whom various improvements were suggested. Some of the more zealous servants of Christ "began a practice," which, says Burnet, "might seem in itself not only innocent, but good, of preaching sermons and lectures on the week-days, to which there was a great running from neighbouring parishes."

* Fox, vol. iii, p. 121.

† Ridley's Works, p. 202.

‡ Burnet, vol. ii, p. 203.

Complaints, however, were made by the indolent clergy against this practice, which condemned their irreligious sloth and incompetence, as an excess of zeal fraught with many evils; and therefore, by an order in council against all preaching on working-days, on which there should be only prayers, their wishes were gratified.

The year 1551, is distinguished by the drawing up of the "Articles of Religion," in number *forty-two*, but nearly the same as the present "Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England," and the further correction of the Book of Common Prayer; the General Confession of sins, and the General Absolution being added; "and indeed," Burnet remarks, "they brought the whole Liturgy to the same form in which it is now, except some inconsiderable variations, that have been since made for the clearing of some ambiguities."

Hooper's influence prevailed to have the altars in the churches generally exchanged for tables, urging that Christ instituted the holy supper not at an altar, but at a table. Popish transubstantiation required kneeling at the altar, for the superstitious people to worship the bread and wine; and the English reformers, seeking to gain the papists, "added in the office of the communion a rubric concerning the posture of kneeling, which was appointed to be still the gesture of communicants*."

Another arrangement was made this year of a most important character. "Six eminent preachers were chosen out to be the king's chaplains in ordinary; two of these were always to attend at court, and four to be sent over England to preach and instruct the people: these were, Bill, Harley, Pern, Griindal, Bradford, and Knox. These, it seems, were accounted the most zealous and readiest preachers of that time, who were thus sent about as itinerants, to supply the defects of the greatest part of the clergy, who were generally very faulty†."

The Common Prayer, "perused, explained, and made more perfect," was confirmed by act of Parliament in January 1552; to which was added "the form of making bishops, priests, and deacons;" and "so appointed, this new

* Ibid. p. 224.

† Ibid. p. 225.

book of service was to be everywhere received after the feast of All Saints next, under the same penalties that had been enacted three years before, when the former book was published *."

Religion was reduced to a standard for the national faith, by the publication of the formulary drawn up the last year, under the title, "Articles agreed upon by the bishops and other learned and godly men, in the last convocation at London, in the year of our Lord 1552; to root out the discord of opinions, and establish the agreement of true religion." These Articles, however, do not appear to have been laid before that ecclesiastical assembly or the parliament: but Cranmer, with a few select divines, having prepared them, presented them to the council, where they received the royal assent; when subscription was required to them by all the clergy, on pain of expulsion from all ecclesiastical preferment.

Edward VI soon afterwards fell sick, first of the small-pox, and afterwards with the measles, which left such debility in his delicate frame, that a consumption terminated his mortal course, July 6, 1553, the wonder of the age for his attainments and piety. His ardent solicitude for the progress of true religion, was manifest from the language of his last prayer: "Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen; howbeit, not my will, but thine be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless my people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for Jesus Christ his sake †."

"Papistry," thus lamented by the pious king, had opposed various obstructions to the work of reformation; but to conciliate it, much of popery was retained in the constitution and services of the church of England. In reforming religion,

* Ibid. p. 249.

† Ibid. p. 293.

therefore, in this country, those great men who were the chief labourers were not unanimous in relation to their work. They acknowledged that the Holy Scriptures were the only authoritative rule for both doctrine and ceremonies: but they were afraid to proceed so far, especially with regard to ceremonies of worship. The numerous clerical orders which popery had originated, were retained, though the reformers had declared their conviction that only the bishops and deacons were sanctioned by the Scriptures; and in the preface to one of the service books, they signified that they had "gone as far as they could in reforming the church, considering the times they lived in, and hoped they that came after, would, as they might, do more." Crammer, it was said by a contemporary writer, "had drawn up a book of prayers a hundred times more perfect than that which was then in being; but the same could not take place, for that he matched with such a wicked clergy and convocation." King Edward, in a paper of his own writing, laments the inefficiency of ecclesiastical discipline, "Because," says he, "those bishops who should execute it, some for papistry, some for ignorance, some for age, some for their ill name, some for all these, are men unable to execute discipline: wherefore it were necessary that those that were appointed to be bishops, or preachers, were honest in life and learned in doctrine; that by rewarding such men, others might be allured to follow their good life*."

Political and interested motives, with little religion, influenced a large majority of the clergy in this reign: yet there was a goodly band in England, who were "burning and shining lights" in their day, fervent in prayer, evangelical in doctrine, laborious in the discharge of their ministry, and illustrious examples of purity in their lives. By their means genuine godliness was advanced in some favoured places, and they became an unspeakable blessing. The Scriptures were circulated, the pure doctrine of salvation by Christ alone was restored, and not a few became intelligent converts from popish idolatry to the truth as it is in Jesus. Still there

* Buraet, vol. iv, p. 83.

was a vast mass of ignorance in the country, and comparatively few were the faithful preachers of the gospel.

Bernard Gilpin, deservedly called "The Apostle of the North," in a sermon, by command, before the Court, about six months before the death of the king, complained of patronage as a curse, that "Christian souls, so dearly bought, were committed without respect to men not worthy to keep sheep; that noblemen rewarded their servants with livings, appointed for the gospel; that he was not able to rehearse, nor yet any man knew, all the abuses, which the simoniac, ambitious, and idol pastors had brought into the land; by whose examples ravenous wolves, painted Christians, hypocrites, had entered, and defiled the sanctuary, Christ, and his Gospel, to the destruction of the flock. A thousand pulpits in England were covered with dust. Some had not had four sermons in fifteen or sixteen years, since friars left their limitations; and few of those worthy the name of sermons*."

Conformists and *Nonconformists* were henceforth particularly distinguished in England; concerning whose fathers among the Protestants, Fuller remarks: "The founders of Conformity were such as remained here all the reign of King Henry VIII, and weathered out the tempest of his tyranny at open sea, partly by a public compliance, and partly by a cautious concealment of themselves. These, in the days of King Edward VI, were possessed of the best preferments in the land, and retained many ceremonies practised in the Romish church, conceiving them to be ancient and decent in themselves. The authority of Cranmer and activity of Ridley headed this party; the former being the highest, the latter the hottest in defence of conformity.

"The founders of Nonconformity were such as fled beyond the seas, chiefly into Germany, where, living in states and cities of popular reformation, they sucked in both the air and discipline of the place they lived in: these returning late into England, were at a loss for means and maintenance; only supported with the reputation of being confessors, rendering their patience to the praise, and their persons to the pity of

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii, 198, 199.

all conscientious people, and renounced all ceremonies of the Papists. John Rogers, lecturer in St. Paul's and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, with John Hooper, were leaders of this party*."

Nonconformity, in reality, rested upon the infallible principle, the sufficiency and exclusive authority of the Holy Scriptures; while Conformity admitted the essential principle of popery, the lawfulness of imposing upon the people rites and doctrines, in addition to the inspired oracles: and religion will be found to have prospered in every age, just in proportion to the degree in which a sacred, jealous, and exclusive regard has been paid to the Word of God.

Among the Nonconformists in England at this period, it will be only justice to mention two congregations of foreigners, one at London, under the episcopal care of John á Lasco, a Polish nobleman; and the other at Glastonbury, whose pastoral bishop was Valerandus Pollanus. Attempts were made to compel them to conform to the rites prescribed in the English liturgy: but they succeeded in obtaining a charter to observe their own forms of worship and discipline. John á Lasco was a man of high character for learning and piety: he was a firm supporter of Hooper in his nonconformity to the popish impositions; yet he was a favourite with King Edward, who consulted him frequently in ecclesiastical affairs, in carrying on the Reformation, and granted that three hundred and eighty of his congregation should be made denizens of England†.

CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF MARY.

Lady Jane Grey—Mary succeeds—She persecutes—Promises to marry Philip of Spain—Lady Jane beheaded—Philip arrives in England—Reconciliation with Rome—Martyrs—Rogers, Hooper, Saunders, Taylor, Farrar, Bradford—Effects of their murders—Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer—His character—Mary dies—Number of the Martyrs—Their principles—Popish cruelties.

MARY succeeded her brother Edward on the throne of England. That prince had been induced by his council, to set aside by

* Church History, cent. xvi, p. 402.

† Burnet, vol. iii, p. 208; Strype, vol. ii, p. 38, 400.

his will the succession of his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, and of the queen of Scots, and to settle the crown on Lady Jane Grey. This distinguished female was eldest daughter of the duke of Suffolk, a person of extraordinary talents and piety, zealous for the Reformation, and next in blood after the royal princesses.

The reason for this policy was, concern for the Protestant religion: for Mary and the Queen of Scots were papists, and the blood of Elizabeth was tainted by act of Parliament: besides, it suited the ambition of the duke of Northumberland, whose son, Lord Guildford Dudley, had recently married Lady Jane.

Mary had powerful friends in the popish prelates and clergy; and promising to make no alterations in religion, she gained an army in Norfolk, and marched to London without loss of blood. Jane and Dudley were sent to the Tower, where the dreadful tragedy was acted, in their being sacrificed to the ambition of their parents and the jealousy of Queen Mary.

Mary was consistent in her religion, yielding her conscience wholly to the direction of the priests. Superstition, bigotry, and cruelty governed her unhappy mind, and made her a determined enemy to the principles of the Reformation. In almost every respect, Mary's reign was calamitous to the British nation: it exhibits a genuine picture of popery, when united with ignorance and arbitrary power; the record of it has been handed down to our time, to be transmitted to the latest posterity, characterized as "The Bloody."

The parliament of her father Henry having declared that the sovereign is the "Supreme Head of the Church of England," Mary acted upon that law, and immediately issued a royal order prohibiting public preaching. By the same authority the popish mass was restored; and the married clergy expelled their livings, unless they put away their wives. Cranmer was sent to the Tower on the 2d of September, and Latimer on the 13th; and many more of the preachers were soon thrown into prison. Many of the reformers, aware of the impending storm, withdrew to the continent, to the number, at least, of eight hundred; besides many hundreds of

noblemen, merchants, and others possessing property, and the foreign Protestants who had settled in England.

Mary was opposed by the parliament in her projected marriage with a Spanish prince, who was a papist: but on the 20th of October, 1553, in the presence of the imperial ambassador, "kneeling before the altar in her private oratory, after reciting the hymn *Veni Creator*, she called God to witness, that she solemnly plighted her troth to Philip prince of Castile*." "The parliament was dissolved, and bishop Gardiner was dispatched to inform the emperor, that if great sums of money were not sent over to gratify the chief nobility, and the leading men in the country, both for obliging them to his interest, and enabling them to carry elections for the next parliament, the opposition would be such, that the queen must lay down all thoughts of marrying his son†." Charles resolved to comply with the demands of the English; and borrowed 1,200,000 crowns, then a prodigious sum, with which Gardiner bribed many, and gained by this means his object in a corrupted parliament.

Lord Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane Grey were beheaded on the 12th of February, 1554; on which day, *fifteen* gallowses were erected, for the execution of fifty-two persons, who were hanged thereon, and on this account was called "*Black Monday*."

Philip landed at Southampton, July 20, and he was married to Mary on the 25th, by Gardiner, in his cathedral at Winchester. On Thursday, Nov. 29, the formal reconciliation to the church was solemnized with extraordinary pomp. The queen and the king being placed in regal state in the great hall of the palace at Whitehall, Cardinal Pole, the pope's legate, who was a prince of the blood, took his seat beside them. Both houses of parliament being present, presented on their knees a humble supplication on behalf of the whole nation, beseeching their majesties to intercede with the lord cardinal, for their readmission within the sacred pale of the church, and for an absolution from their offences of heresy and schism, on condition of repealing all laws against the

* Mackintosh's Hist. of Eng., vol. ii, p. 299. † Burnet. vol. iii, p. 334.

Catholic religion, passed in the season of their delusion. Mary and Philip having made the intercession, the legate, after a long speech, declaring the paternal solicitude of his Holiness for the welfare of England, in the pope's name granted a full absolution, which the members of parliament received on their knees: after which the king, queen, and legate, together with the whole body of the senators of the nation, chanted *Te Deum* in the chapel of the palace, expressive of their joy! The pope solemnly ratified the act of his legate, and the news of the whole transaction was quickly published through Europe! * Preparatory for this absolution an act was passed for the *revival* of the statutes of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, against heretics; which were to come into force from the 20th of January, 1555; this year opened therefore with a portentous gloom.

Cardinal Pole, on the 23d of January, received all the bishops at Lambeth palace, to give them his blessing, and directions for the government of the church; "and on the 25th there was a solemn procession through London, consisting of *eight* bishops, and one hundred and sixty priests, all in their robes, with Bonner carrying the host, to return thanks to God for their reconciliation†." After this solemnity, the first measure of the restored church was proceeding against the protestants, bishop Gardiner being lord chancellor; and under the direction of him and of Bonner, bishop of London, the dreadful cruelties commenced.

John Rogers, from among the great numbers that were in prison, was the first victim: he had been a prebendary of St. Paul's, being esteemed one of the most learned of the reformers: and he had the honour of assisting Tindal in making his translation of the Bible. After his trial before the bishops, which was a mere mockery of justice and of reason, being condemned, Rogers entreated his judges to grant him an interview with his wife, a helpless foreigner who had borne to him ten children; Gardiner, with brutal sophistry denying his marriage, refused this favour. He had, however, the

* Ibid. p. 373—375; Mackintosh, vol. ii, p. 313—315.

† Burnet, vol. iii, p. 363.

pleasure of seeing them once more; for he met his beloved and faithful wife, with all her children, one of whom was at the breast, on his way to Smithfield, where he was burnt to ashes, triumphing in the salvation of his Almighty Redeemer, February 4, 1555.

Dr. John Hooper was condemned with Rogers, but he was sent to suffer in his episcopal city, Gloucester, where he died at the stake on the 9th of February: he was not allowed to address the people, who had assembled in crowds to witness his execution: but in their hearing he made a long prayer, in which he declared the glorious doctrines which he was come to seal with his blood. The queen's pardon being offered to him on condition of his recantation, he rejected it, and died, often repeating in the fire, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"

Laurence Saunders, a learned and eminent preacher, in like manner suffered at Coventry, the bishops sending him to be a spectacle in that city, where he had for a time exercised his ministry. A pardon was offered him at the stake, on condition of his recantation: but he declared that he held no heresies, having taught only the blessed gospel of Christ; and refusing to deny the doctrines he had preached, he was burnt to death February 8th, 1555, triumphing in God his Saviour, and saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ! welcome everlasting life!"

Dr. Rowland Taylor, "parson of Hadleigh" in Suffolk, was most brutally treated, both by Gardiner at his condemnation, and by the guards at his execution on the 9th of February. Taylor was sent to suffer at Hadleigh; and at the stake he declared to the people, that he had "taught them nothing but God's holy Word, and he was now come to seal it with his blood."

Dr. Robert Farrar, bishop of St. David's, triumphantly sealed the truth with his blood, dying at the stake at Caermarthen, whither the bishops had sent him. Farrar was burnt the 30th of March.

John Bradford, a prebendary of St. Paul's, reputed "the holiest man of his time," was a powerful and popular preacher: but he was burnt in Smithfield, July 15, and with

him a youth named John Leaf, a tallow-chandler's apprentice, of singular piety. Bradford kissed the stake, and cheered his fellow-sufferer, saying, "Be of good comfort, brother, for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night." Bishop Ridley said of Bradford, who was his chaplain, "He was a man by whom God hath and doth work wonders in setting forth his word."

"The whole nation," says Burnet, "stood amazed at these proceedings, and the burning of such men, only for their consciences, without the mixture of any other thing pretended against them. And it was looked upon as a horrible cruelty, because those men had acted nothing contrary to the law; for they were put in prison, at first for smaller matters, and there kept till those laws were passed, by which they were now burnt *."

Petitions against these bloody proceedings were transmitted to the queen from the protestant exiles abroad; and even King Philip, ashamed, caused, as a piece of policy, a Spanish divine of great celebrity to preach against these cruelties. Gardiner expected that a few examples of this species of murder would have converted the whole nation to the Catholic church: but finding himself disappointed, he left the business altogether to Bonner, who cheerfully undertook it, as it suited his naturally "savage and brutal" disposition.

The prisons in London were full of the Nonconformists: and the Tower was for a time so crowded, that Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were thrust into one chamber, where they held sweet intercourse, enjoying divine "fellowship with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." In April 1554, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were removed to Oxford to dispute with the catholics. "These conferences," Sir James Mackintosh remarks with perfect justice, "were a series of insolent triumphs. The audience was so carefully selected, that they always gave the honour and applause of victory to the prevailing faction. On one question being proposed to Philpot, a noted divine, he answered well, by quoting the

* Ibid. vol. iii, p. 388.

words of Ambrose archbishop of Milan to the emperor Valentinian, "take away the law and I will reason with you ;" an answer, to which, though perfectly conclusive, few but the weaker party appeal*."

Latimer and his fellow-labourers had been condemned on the 28th of April 1554 : and after eighteen months imprisonment, having been again sentenced, he was executed with Ridley, October 16, 1555, at Oxford. Their behaviour was most illustrative of their evangelical principles ; and when chained to the stake, Latimer, now *eighty* years of age, thus addressed his companion in death : "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man : we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." They died triumphing in God their Saviour.

Cranmer's fate will naturally be a subject of interest with every reader. He was spared five months after the sacrifice of his revered friends, chiefly by the policy of Gardiner ; who "knew, that as soon as he was burnt, Pole would be made archbishop of Canterbury." Bonner, in February 1556, was sent to Oxford to degrade him, which was performed with a multitude of ceremonies, reducing him from his official elevation to the condition of a layman. "Unhappily for his reputation, he made some of those repeated applications to Mary for pardon, by which he had before escaped out of extraordinary peril† ;" and his enemies saw his infirmity. Both English and Spanish divines were sent to persuade him to recant, with hopes of life and preferment ; he was removed out of prison to the dean's lodgings at Christ Church, and at length subscribed a paper, condemning the doctrines of Luther and Zuingli, and justifying all the peculiarities of the Romish system. Hypocrisy and villany had gained their end in victory over this oppressed servant of Christ, and the prelates published the recantation of Cranmer throughout Europe : but their malicious souls were not satisfied without his blood ; and with no previous warning, Cranmer was brought forth to be burnt in front of Balliol

* History of England, vol. ii, p. 323.

† Ibid. p. 324.

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College, after a sermon by Cole, provost of Eton College. His devout behaviour during this service was such as to pierce the hearts of all who retained a spark of humanity; expressing great inward emotion, lifting up his eyes to heaven, and then casting them downwards, as one ashamed of himself; often pouring out floods of tears. Cole, having finished his sermon, desired him to declare his faith; which, after prayer, he did with dying solemnity: having repeated the Creed, and professed his belief in the Scriptures, he declared that "which troubled his conscience more than any thing he had ever done in his whole life: which was, the subscribing of a paper contrary to the truth, and against his conscience, out of the fear of death, and the love of life; and when he came to the fire, he was resolved that hand that had signed it should be first burnt. He rejected the pope, as Christ's enemy and antichrist; and said, he had the same belief of the sacrament, which he had published in his book *." Such an unexpected statement threw the whole assembly into confusion, when he was pulled down, and hurried, with insults and reproaches, to the place of execution, which had been sanctified by the blood of Latimer and Ridley. Having prayed, he was tied to the stake, and the fire was kindled: he expressed no disorder for the pain he endured; but sometimes saying, "That unworthy hand!" which he held in the flames! He finished his mortal course, crying, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

Cranmer was not only a great but a pious man, possessing a clear insight into the capital doctrines of the gospel; and Great Britain is incalculably indebted to his instrumentality in promoting the reformation of religion: but his public life exhibits him as remarkable for timidity. Still, as Sir James Mackintosh beautifully remarks, on the closing hours, "The language of Cranmer speaks his sincerity, and demonstrates that the love of truth still prevailed in his inmost heart. It gushed forth at the sight of death, full of healing power, which engendered a purifying and ennobling patience, an l

* Burnet, vol. iii, p. 428, 429.

restored the mind to its own esteem, after a departure from the onward path of sincerity. Courage survived a public avowal of dishonour, the hardest test to which virtue can be exposed; and if he once fatally failed in fortitude, he in his last moments atoned for his failure by a magnanimity equal to his transgression *." Happy for this penitent martyr for Christ, he was accepted and pardoned through the atonement of his divine Redeemer!

Particulars of the sufferings, deaths, and triumphs of the other martyrs for Christ in this reign, cannot be detailed in this limited record. *Four, five, six, seven*, and on one occasion *thirteen*, were seen murdered in one fire! neither sex nor age, the lame nor blind being spared, if they refused conformity to the impositions of the Romish prelates†. Barbarities so shocking, terrified the whole nation, making every heart to mourn; while the people beheld with admiration the pious resignation and holy triumph of such numbers of those devoted servants of Christ.

Mary, deserted by her haughty and worthless husband, perhaps overcome by misgivings on reviewing her fruitless barbarity, or at least haunted by those awakenings of conscience, which would occasionally prevail over her superstitious belief, breathed her last, November 17, 1558, to the unspeakable joy of her subjects, of whom hundreds of the most learned and virtuous had been sacrificed to her bigotry, excited and directed by her more malicious and bigoted prelates; and many more were waiting in prison for their fiery translation to heaven.

Of the martyrs for Christ in this reign, there are reckoned *five* bishops, *twenty-one* clergymen, *eight* gentlemen, *eighty-four* tradesmen, a *hundred* husbandmen, labourers, and servants, *fifty-five* women, and *four* children! Cooper estimates the number of those who suffered death from February 1555 to September 1558, at about 290. According to Burnet, there were 284. Speed calculates them at 274. The most accurate account is probably that of Lord Burleigh, who, in his treatise called, "The Execution of Justice in England," reckons

* History of England, vol. ii, p. 327.

† Burnet, vol. ii, p. 433.

the number of those who died in that reign by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, to be nearly 400, of which those who were burnt alive amounted to 290*.

Justice to the cause of religion requires a brief review of the principles for which these British martyrs died: and in this review Christians of every denomination are interested. Some have imagined that they died for the peculiarities of the church of England: but this is an egregious error, if the episcopacy and form of government, the liturgy and ceremonies of the church of England, are intended: the martyrs shed their blood for none of these, nor did any one of those devoted men. Mr. Ryland, a clergyman of no ordinary reputation for learning and discriminating piety, truly declares, "It should ever be recollected, that Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, and Latimer, no farther died for the Anglican church, than Huss or Jerome suffered for the congregation of Bohemia. They were severally martyrs for the faith of Jesus Christ; as that existed then, and exists now, independently of its connection with any human system †."

The principles for which the British martyrs shed their blood are those which were held in common by the Protestant Reformers throughout Europe. In these Luther and Zuingle, Calvin and Cranmer, Melancthon and Knox, were essentially agreed,—doctrines which have been maintained by the noblest advocates of Christianity in every age down to our days. Hall, and Baxter, and Rutherford, and Leighton, and Watts, and Doddridge, and Romaine, and Wesley, and Whitfield, and Edwards, and Dwight, and Scott, and Chalmers: the most revered ministers of the church of Scotland, the church of England, and the Dissenters, have held the same principles, which will be regarded as the truths of God to the latest generation of the world.

The doctrines which the British martyrs sealed with their blood, were substantially the following:—The sole and exclusive authority of the Holy Scriptures in all matters of faith and worship.—The full and perfect sacrifice of the

* Mackintosh, vol. ii, p. 329.

† Antichrist, p. 73.

incarnate Son of God, once offered on the cross for the sins of the whole world, commemorated in the Lord's Supper.—Intelligent faith in the atonement and righteousness of Christ is required by the gospel of every man as the means of his reconciliation with God for salvation.—True faith in Christ, as a grace of the Holy Spirit in sanctification, is inseparably connected with good works, as the necessary fruits of faith.—The necessity of all the public services of religion, especially of preaching and prayer, being in the language understood by the people, as the means of conversion and spiritual edification. These principles, with inconsiderable latitude of interpretation, generally in a manner which would now be called Calvinistic, were the joy and solace of the British martyrs.

Before closing this "bloody reign" of Mary, it will be necessary to remark, that the horrors of popery, with multitudes in Britain, were contemplated, not only in the scenes of barbarity which they had witnessed in England, but also from the reports of the dreadful cruelties which were practised in the dominions of Charles V, the father of King Philip. "John Louis Vives, a Spaniard of great learning and reputation, bewails the fate of moderate Catholics in Spain. 'We live,' says he, in a letter to Erasmus, on the 18th of May, 1594, 'in hard times, in which we can neither speak nor be silent without danger.' In the forty-three years of the administration of the first four inquisitors-general, which closed the year 1524, they committed 18,000 human beings to the flames, and inflicted inferior punishments on 200,000 persons more, with various degrees of severity*." "Father Paul assures us, that from the first edict of Charles V, to the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, in 1558, 50,000 men had been hanged, beheaded, burned, and buried alive for their religion†."

* Mackintosh, vol. ii, p. 349.

† Ibid. p. 334.

CHAPTER V.

REFORMATION BY ELIZABETH.

Elizabeth's accession — Alteration of religion — Act of Uniformity — Deprived clergymen — New bishops — Divines who refuse bishoprics — Articles of religion — Rites and ceremonies — Puritans object to them.

ELIZABETH was twenty-five years of age at the death of her sister queen Mary. She had complied with the popish ceremonies in the late reign: but being known to favour the protestant doctrines in which she had been educated, though her life was spared, she was committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Pope at Hatfield. There she found much relief in her literary studies, having been directed in the reading of the principal Latin and Greek classics by the famous Roger Ascham, who declared that she was at the head of the lettered ladies of England, excelling even Lady Jane Grey, and Margaret Roper, the daughter of Sir Thomas More, called by Erasmus "*The Ornament of England*."

Elizabeth inherited much of the high spirit of her father Henry: but it had partially been subdued by persecution and confinement. Though the pope had pronounced her illegitimate, and Mary queen of Scots laid claim to the throne of England, the bloody tyranny of the late reign had so terrified the nation at popery, that Elizabeth ascended the throne without opposition. On receiving at Hatfield the information of having been proclaimed queen, Elizabeth fell on her knees, exclaiming, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." She immediately appointed Sir William Cecil to be secretary of state, an office which he had held under Edward, a man of great talents and a zealous protestant. "Within a few days of her arrival in London, Cecil laid before her his plan for a religious revolution, which was to take from her enemies the power and influence of the establishment, and arm her friends with these formidable weapons*;" and he advised an ecclesiastical commission to carry forward his plan.

Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, officiating in the royal

* Mackintosh's History of England, vol. iii, p. 4.

chapel on Christmas day, was desired to omit the elevation of the host in the mass; which he conscientiously refusing, the queen with her ladies withdrew, to mark her displeasure. On the 28th of December the commission issued a proclamation, allowing the Epistles and Gospels and Decalogue; together with the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Litany, to be read in English; and such measures being taken, the queen assuming power to regulate religion, and these things favouring the restoration of the reformed doctrines, all the Catholic prelates, except Oglethorpe, refused to assist at the coronation of Elizabeth, Jan. 14, 1559.

Parliament met Jan. 25, when Cox, one of the protestant exiles, having returned, preached; and Sir Nicholas Bacon, a favourer of the reformation, now raised to the office of lord keeper of the great seal, opened the business, declaring, that one object of their being called together was "to make laws for the uniting of the people of the realm in one uniform order of religion." The acts by which "the ecclesiastical revolution was accomplished" occupied the whole session until May. They first revived all the statutes of Henry VIII, against foreign jurisdiction. "All spiritual jurisdiction was by the same act expressly annexed to the crown, and the sovereign was empowered to exercise it by commissioners appointed under the great seal*." The ancient statutes against Lollardy were repealed, and the ecclesiastical commissioners were forbidden to declare any matter to be heresy, but such as had been decided to be so, either by the Scripture, or by any of the first four general councils. The next act, for re-establishing the Common Prayer Book of Edward VI, entitled "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer," met with some resistance, but it passed the House of Commons in three days, April 20, and the House of Lords on the 28th, against the opposition of nine prelates and nine temporal peers.

Uniformity in Common Prayer having been thus determined by act of parliament, measures were taken to enforce its observance. Only two important alterations were

* Ibid. p. 9.

made in the liturgy of King Edward, and those were intended to conciliate the papists: the *first* consisted in the omission of a prayer in the litany, to be delivered from "the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities:" the *second*, instead of the simple language of the Zuinglian reformers, who maintained that the Lord's supper was only a remembrance of the death of Christ, substituted words favouring the Lutheran notion of consubstantiation, and which might be used even by Catholics. At the delivery of the bread, King Edward's book directed the priest to say, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." Elizabeth's book says, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul." Elizabeth scrupled about the abolition of the honours shown to the statues and pictures of saints, and kept a crucifix in her own chapel: she also entertained strong prejudices against the marriage of the clergy, some of whom on that account endured her frowns.

This form of Protestantism was publicly restored by the use of the new liturgy at Midsummer 1559, and with that the administration of the oath of supremacy. Fifteen bishops refused the oath; being all the prelates then living, except Kitchen of Landaff, who is regarded as a mere time-server. Burnet states, that the visitors of the high commission having made their report to the queen, "it was found, that out of *nine thousand four hundred beneficed men in England, there were no more than fourteen bishops, six abbots, twelve deans, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty prebendaries, and eighty rectors of parishes, that had left their benefices on account of religion.* So compliant were the papists generally: and indeed the bishops after this time had the same apprehension of the danger into which religion was brought by the jugglings of the greatest part of the clergy, who retained their affection for the old superstition, that those in King Edward's time had *."

Some make the whole number of the priesthood that thus refused to take the oath of supremacy *one hundred and fifty,*

* History of the Reformation, vol. iii, p. 510.

and others *two hundred and twenty-nine* in England and Wales. Great moderation, however, characterized the conduct of the court towards the deprived bishops; for though they were at first put in prison, they were all soon released except Bonner, White, and Watson. Tonsal bishop of Durham, and Thirlby of Ely, were allowed to live in the palace at Lambeth, and the queen frequently visited Heath, late archbishop of York, at his house in Surrey*.”

Difficulties arose in filling the vacant episcopal seats. Cecil and Bacon, occupying chief offices in the government of Elizabeth, after waiting about twelve months to see if any of the old bishops would conform, nominated Doctor Parker archbishop of Canterbury, and laboured to satisfy him about a valid consecration. Sir James Mackintosh remarks, “The church of England then adopted, and has not yet renounced, the inconsistent and absurd opinion, that the church of Rome, though idolatrous, is the only channel through which all lawful power of ordaining priests, of consecrating bishops, or validly performing any religious rite, flowed from Christ, through a succession of prelates, down to the latest age of the world. The ministers, therefore, first endeavoured to obtain the concurrence of the Catholic bishops in the consecration; which those prelates, who must have considered such an act as a profanation, conscientiously refused. They were at length obliged to issue a new commission for consecrating Parker, directed to Kitchen of Landaff, to Ball an Irish bishop, to Scory, and Coverdale, deprived in the reign of Mary, and to two suffragans. Whoever considers it important at present to examine this list, will perceive the perplexities in which the English church was involved by a zeal to preserve unbroken the chain of episcopal succession. On account of this frivolous advantage, that church was led to prefer the common enemy of all reformation to those protestant communions which had boldly snapped that brittle chain: a striking example of the evil that sometimes arises from the inconsistent respect paid by reformers to ancient establishments†.”

* Ibid. p. 505.

† History of England, vol. iii, p. 16, 17.

Parker was consecrated in a plain manner, without any ceremonies except imposition of hands and prayer, December the 17th, 1559, and on the 21st the primate consecrated four bishops, Grindal, Cox, Sandys, and Merrick; and in January four others, Bullingham, Jewel, Young, and Davis. Several of the most eminent of the returned exiles, who were offered bishoprics, refused on account of the habits and ceremonies, among whom were Miles Coverdale, Bernard Gilpin, John Knox, Sampson, Whitehead, and others; and those who did accept those honours, did it with hopes of obtaining an amendment in the constitution of the church. In the course of the next year bishops were consecrated for all the sees, some of whom had been exiles for religion in the days of Mary, and they stood pledged to promote the Reformation by the rule of the Scriptures, and in a spirit of mutual charity.

"Thus," says Burnet, "were the sees filled, the worship reformed, and the queen's injunctions sent over England. Three things yet remained to be done. The first was to set out the doctrine of the church, as it had been done in King Edward's time. The second was to translate the Bible, and publish it with short notes. And the third was, to regulate the ecclesiastical courts. The bishops therefore set about these. And for the first, though they could not, by public authority, set out the articles of the church until they met in convocation, yet they soon after proposed them. And for the present, they agreed on a short profession of their doctrine, which all incumbents were obliged to read and publish to their people*." The Bible was divided into many parts, and given to the most learned divines, by whom it was completed, and printed in the year 1561†.

"As for the canons and rules of church government, they were not so soon prepared. These came out, some in the year 1571, and more in the year 1597, and a far larger collection of them in the first year of King James's reign." "Thus," Burnet adds, "did Queen Elizabeth again recover the reformation of religion: and it might have been expected, that, under such moderate and wise councils, things would

* History of the Reformation, vol. iii, p. 515, 516. † Ibid. p. 518.

have been carried with that temper, that this church would have united in its endeavours to support itself, and become the bulwark of the Reformation, and the terror of Rome. But that blessing was, by the sins of the nation, the passions of some, the interests of others, and the weakness of the greater part, in a great measure denied us. The heats that had been raised beyond sea were not quite forgotten; and as some sparks had been kindled about clergymen's habits in King Edward's reign, so, though Hooper and Ridley had buried that difference in their ashes, it broke out again concerning the vestments of the inferior clergy*."

Objections being urged by many of the most learned divines against various things retained from popery, a convocation was called for January 1562, to review the whole books of services. They began with the articles of religion. Cranmer had drawn them up in the reign of Edward VI, when they were ratified by parliament, in number *forty-two*. They were now reduced to *thirty-nine*, as at present, and were agreed to by the upper house of convocation, and subscribed Jan. 29, 1562. A remarkable clause, not found in Cranmer's articles, has been inserted in the *twentieth* article, as it now stands; but how it was added, or by whom, is not known. It is generally admitted, that it was not in the copy which passed the convocation, but subsequently added, as a piece of policy suited to the maxims of ecclesiastical synods. The clause is — "The church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith."

The rites and ceremonies of the church came next under review; and the Puritans determined, if possible, by petition and remonstrance, to get the popish customs removed. A paper was laid before the convocation, signed by *thirty-three* of the most eminent divines of that age, desiring a further reformation in the church, and specifying many customs which they wished to be laid aside, particularly "signing with the cross in baptism — kneeling at the Lord's supper — wearing such copes, caps, and gowns, as the enemies of Christ's gospel have chosen to be the special array of their priesthood

* Ibid. p. 519.

—the religious observance of saints' days—and the punishment of those who do not observe the ceremonies." This being rejected, another, signed by *forty-three* of the most learned clergy, and somewhat modified in its demands, was presented, on which there were several long debates*. "In conclusion," says Burnet, "the house was divided, and counted: *forty-three* voted for the propositions, and *thirty-five* against them, and that no change should be made in the Book of Common Prayer then established. But when the *proxies* were counted, those who were for the propositions were in all *fifty-eight*; and those who were against them were *fifty-nine*. So that they were agreed by a majority of *eight* of those who were present, and who heard the disputations; yet those were outvoted by a majority of one vote, by the *proxy* of an *absent person*†."

There was scarcely a divine of any note, even among those who received episcopal consecration at this period, who had not expressed his conviction of the objectionable character of the vestments and ceremonies in the strongest terms, and a wish to have them removed, not excepting archbishop Parker: but in vindication of their conformity, the prelates alleged, the necessity of the times, the queen's peremptoriness, the indifferent nature of the things complained of, and the fear of losing the whole reformation if they should desert their stations in the church; promising at first not to urge them upon their brethren who were not satisfied, and to endeavour to procure relief. Much correspondence also with the principal foreign divines had been carried on by some of the bishops, especially "the learned Jewel, the great ornament of the English episcopacy;" and they were particularly urgent for a further reformation, with forbearance towards those who could not conscientiously conform: but the bishops were now confirmed in their ecclesiastical authority and power, and they were pledged to comply with the will of the queen, whose inclinations strongly leaned to many things in the popish pageantry. Elizabeth, as Burnet remarks, "loved

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i, p. 150, 151.

† Hist. of the Reformation, vol. iv, p. 364.

magnificence in every thing ;” and the court reformers sought to gratify her wishes ; consequently there was a clause put in the Act of Uniformity, empowering the queen to “ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rites, as might be for the advancement of God’s glory, the edifying of his church, and the due reverence of Christ’s holy mysteries and sacraments *.”

BOOK VI.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PROTESTANTISM TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES I.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE DEATH OF GRINDAL.

Protestant principle abandoned—Subscription required—Conformity enforced—Severities on the Nonconformists—Their objections stated—Independent assemblies—Persecutions—Cartwright—First Presbyterian church in England—Two Dutch Baptists burnt—Courts of High Commission and Star Chamber—Geneva Bible—“Propheesyings”—Grindal offends Elizabeth, and is degraded.

PROTESTANTISM was indeed established in England under Queen Elizabeth, but the ruling clergy abandoned its fundamental principle—the exclusive authority of the Scriptures in religion. Hence arose innumerable miseries during a whole century inflicted upon the most conscientious and virtuous servants of Christ.

Conformity with the ceremonies we have seen was determined by a single proxy vote ; and measures were speedily taken to enforce it, though little was done the first year, on account of the plague raging in London. Evangelical religion seemed to engage little of the anxiety of the prelates ; and it being reported to the privy council that a diversity of ceremonies and habits was used in public worship, the queen commanded the archbishops and bishops to confer about enforcing ecclesiastical uniformity. Pilkington, bishop of Durham, and Dr. Whittingham the dean, wrote to the earl of

* Ibid. p. 368.

Leicester to intercede with the queen for toleration, declaring that the habits were popish relics. Archbishop Parker presented to her majesty some articles, framed to accomplish the desired object; but the queen refused to sanction them. Presuming on his interest with the queen, Parker summoned several of the Puritan clergy to Lambeth, admonishing some and threatening others. Among these were Thomas Sampson dean of Christchurch, and Dr. Humphreys, regius professor of divinity at Oxford, men of great celebrity for learning and piety. They pleaded their consciences, and urged the most forcible reasons, both from antiquity and the Scriptures, as well as from the continental churches, in justification of their nonconformity: but the archbishop insisted on perfect conformity, and they were cast into prison*. Various sufferings were endured by these Oxford divines for many years, but the greatest severities fell upon Sampson. Fox, the venerable martyrologist, was first summoned of the London ministers, that the reputation of his piety might give a sanction to the proceedings of the commissioners: but when they required him to subscribe, he took from his pocket a Greek Testament, saying, "To this I will subscribe:" and refusing the canons, he said, "I have nothing in the church but a prebend in Salisbury, and much good may it do you if you take it from me†." Fox escaped; as they appear to have stood in awe of the man, whose reputation from his writings and character surpassed that of any living divine in the whole Protestant community.

On the 26th of March, 1564, the London clergy were brought before the archbishop and several bishops, to receive positive injunctions respecting clerical habits, when a Mr. Cole appeared in canonical habits. They were thus addressed by the lay-chancellor: "My masters, and the ministers of London, the council's pleasure is that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel, like this man as you see him: that is, a square cap, a scholar's gown, priest-like, a tippet, and in the church a linen surplice; and inviolably observe the rubric of the Common Prayer, and queen's majesty's injunctions, and the

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i, p. 168.

† Fuller, cent. xvi, book ix, p. 76.

book of convocation. Ye that will presently subscribe, write *Volo*. Those that will not subscribe, write *Nolo*. Be brief: make no words." Some having attempted to object, the reply was, "Peace, peace. Apparitor, call the churches. Masters, answer presently, *sub pena contemptus*, and set your names*."

After much persuasion and threatening, *sixty-one* out of a hundred were prevailed on to subscribe, fearing the ruin of their families; though some of them did it with expressions of extreme grief. But *thirty-seven* absolutely refused; among whom the archbishop acknowledged were the best, and some preachers. They presented in writing a learned and scriptural justification of their decision: to which the commissioners replied, their business was not to debate, but to execute the queen's injunctions: and Parker seemed to glory in this proceeding, in a manner worthy only of the persecuting spirit of bishop Gardiner in Mary's reign†. Grindal, bishop of London, relented; and Pilkington of Durham declared, that he would rather lay down his bishopric than suffer such proceedings in his diocese: but Parker increased in his zeal and severities. Many were therefore deprived of their livings, and some of them having families, were reduced to grievous distress: some were received into the families of noblemen as tutors, while others, like the persecuted apostles, continuing to preach to their people, were thrown into prison, whence some of them were translated to the kingdom of heaven. Even the pious and amiable bishop Jewel was induced to co-operate in these intolerant proceedings, losing much of his Christian spirit, and tarnishing his splendid reputation.

Generally the nonconforming ministers were far more cordially attached to the doctrinal articles of the church than the conforming clergy; and they complained not only of caps, surplices, and ceremonies, but that popery was still retained in the church, the authority transferred from his Holiness to her Majesty—that ministers were ordained and appointed to livings without regard to the choice of the people, provided they would swear to the queen's supremacy and promise con-

* Life of Abp. Grindal, p. 98.

† Neal, vol. i, p. 176.

formity—that lord bishops claiming and exercising power over their brethren, as well as deans, chancellors, archdeacons, and officials, were no part of scriptural Christianity—that those ministers who faithfully preached the gospel were imprisoned, unless in every punctilio they observed the bishop's injunctions—that spiritual courts were grievous tyranny—that kneeling at the Lord's supper, reading lessons from the Apocrypha, and cathedral singing of the prayers, were all contrary to the institutions of the New Testament, and subversive of pure Christianity.

Being in power, and blinded by their elevation, the bishops justified their severities by pretending that the discipline of the church was not to be directed by the Scriptures, but according to the practice of the fathers of the first four centuries; and that as the things against which the nonconformists objected were matters of an indifferent nature, the queen's authority was sufficient to establish them, to which they were bound as to the civil laws.

The nonconformists denied the justice of this reasoning; affirming that the things opposed by them were contrary to the Scriptures, and that compliance would be disobedience to Christ, whose word alone was binding upon them independently of any law, or the contradictory decisions of the fathers. They declared their ready cheerfulness in obeying the queen in all civil matters, but could not submit their consciences even to royal authority. The prelates then charged them with obstinacy deserving punishment: but they replied, that it was not founded in truth, any more than the same charge was true against the protestants by the papists, when the impositions of the pope were rejected; or than that of the pagans against the primitive Christians, when they were in like manner accused. They declared, therefore, that their firmness was only a sacred regard for the decisions of the Word of God, after the example of the apostles.

Power was with the prelates; and they employed it with more or less rigour, according to circumstances, or their individual tempers. Persecution continued even under the moderate Grindal, bishop of London, he being compelled to severities by the archbishop: still the people persevered in

their nonconformity, and many of them at length determined on separating from a church which allowed them no liberty of conscience, especially in regard to ceremonies which they believed to be antichristian and superstitious, as all parties acknowledged they were not enjoined in the Scriptures: Hence originated the modern Congregationalists or Independents in England.

Meetings for worship were held by these Dissenters as Providence afforded them opportunity, in private houses; or, like the Hebrews when persecuted, "in dens and caves of the earth," in fields or woods near the metropolis. In 1567, a congregation of about a hundred met at Plumber's Hall in London; but they were discovered while assembling for a sermon and the Lord's supper, and many of them were hurried to prison. Others were in confinement; and after more than a year's imprisonment in Bridewell, as "all the bishop's endeavours could not reclaim them" from the conviction of their scriptural conduct, "Grindal threatened them," as the chief priests did the apostles, "and let them go," the company consisting of *twenty-four men, and seven women**.

In the parliament of 1571, the "Articles of Religion" received a legal sanction: but the queen would not suffer any law to be made relating to ecclesiastical discipline, as the parliament seemed desirous of granting relief to conscientious nonconformists. "Hitherto," says Fuller, "the bishops had been more sparing in pressing, and others more daring in denying subscription: but now they began the urging thereof more severely than before, which made many dissenters keep their private meetings in woods, fields, their friends' houses," &c.†

Instead of the severities of the bishops preventing nonconformity, the numbers of its adherents were increased, as they became more decided in their conviction of the unscriptural character of the hierarchy. Thomas Cartwright, B. D. Margaret Professor of Divinity of Cambridge, was now their principal advocate. Beza said of him, "he thought there was

* Grindal's Life, p. 136.

† Church History, book ix, p. 102.

not a more learned man under the sun ;” and his popularity was so great, that when he preached at St. Mary’s, they were forced to take down the windows. In his Lectures, he particularly specified six blemishes of the English hierarchy : that “ the names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be abolished, as having no foundation in Scripture — the offices of the lawful ministers of the church, *viz.* bishops and deacons, ought to be reduced to the apostolical institution ; the bishops to preach the word of God and pray, and the deacons to take care of the poor — the government of the church ought not to be entrusted with bishops’ chancellors, or the officials of archdeacons ; but every church should be governed by its own minister and elders — ministers ought not to be at large, but every one should have the charge of a certain flock — bishops should not be created by civil authority, but ought to be fairly chosen by the church*.” These opinions were reported to the bishops, who declared they were untrue, dangerous, and tending to the ruin of learning and religion ; and Dr. Whitgift became the agent of the court in contriving the ruin of Cartwright. Whitgift succeeded ; though more than *five and thirty* of the most considerable persons in the university testified, in letters to the secretary of state, the orthodoxy and exemplary character of Cartwright. That nobleman left him to his enemies ; who first denied him his degree of doctor in divinity, then forbade his reading public lectures, and at last deprived him of his fellowship, and expelled him the university†. Cartwright suffered a long series of persecutions and imprisonment on account of his adherence to the Scriptures ; while Whitgift secured an interest at court, and by his time-serving ambition obtained a succession of preferments, until he was made archbishop of Canterbury.

Perceiving no probability of ecclesiastical reform, some of the leading nonconformists of London formed a presbytery at Wandsworth, about five miles distant. Several of the clergy and many considerable laymen constituted this association, Nov. 20, 1572, and their offices were described in a book entitled,

* Neal, vol. i, p. 212.

† Ibid. p. 232 242.

"The Orders of Wandsworth." This was the first Presbyterian church in England : though such was the national church of Scotland. But the agents of the prelates were soon aware of it, and reported it to the court ; when a royal proclamation, and new injunctions were issued, to prosecute with rigour all dissenters ; and it was proposed in council to require a bond of 200*l.* from every one admitted to holy orders, as the most effectual means of obliging the clergy to yield conformity.

The year 1575 is distinguished by a transaction, which reflects imperishable dishonour on the prelates and the queen. A congregation of Dutch Baptists being discovered on Easter-day, near Aldgate ; their house was entered by the bishop's officers, and *twenty-seven* of the worshippers were seized and committed to prison. *Four* recanted ; and, according to the popish custom, *they were required to bear faggots during sermon at Paul's Cross, as a token of their deserving the flames ! Ten of the men and one woman, were condemned to the stake by the ecclesiastical consistory :* but the woman was induced to recant ; while *eight* of those who could not be convinced of error were banished, and *two* were sacrificed in the flames !* On this occasion, the Dutch residents in London, who were allowed to hold their meetings for religious worship according to the general plan of their nation, interceded with the queen for their mistaken countrymen ; but she gave them a positive refusal to their request. John Fox, who was in favour with her majesty, on account of his Martyrology, made an application to her on their behalf, in an elegant Latin letter ; but, though his arguments appear sufficient to convince the most perverted judgment, and his appeals to her compassion as a woman, calculated to melt the hardest heart, they availed nothing with the virgin queen ! A clergyman of our times asks, "What are we to think of those evangelical prelates, who sat in the High Commission Court and at the council table, a part of whose office it was to advise the queen ! Alas ! that none could be found, who, on such an emergency, would give her correct information respecting the will of Christ, and assure her, 'He, the Son of

* Collier, vol. ii, p. 549.

Man, was not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them ! ' A deathlike silence reigned, and the law took its course."

British Christians of our times must feel astonished, that any professing to be disciples of the Prince of Peace, having his gospel in their hands, his examples before their eyes, and avowedly governed by his holy word, should, in palpable opposition to every thing Christian, become persecutors ! Especially that they should oppress men, whom they acknowledge to be conscientious and pious, and persecute them for a difference of opinion on the mere ceremonials of religion, and these not enjoined in the Scriptures ! Archbishop Parker continued a cruel persecutor of the nonconformists ; and his successors employed the most dishonourable methods to hunt out and imprison them, hiring unprincipled characters as spies and informers, and making new articles, contrary to the laws of England, for their more certain conviction before the ecclesiastical courts. Two "Courts," justly styled as "infamous," should be better known to young Christians in Britain, that they may regard intolerance with holy abhorrence, and prize our civil and religious liberties, which are the fruits of the prayers and sufferings of the nonconformists.

"THE STAR CHAMBER" originated in the reign of Henry VII, and under Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, it sat constantly : its decisions and punishments were of so unmerciful a character, that the nation generally exclaimed against it as a mark of the vilest slavery. This tribunal consisted of certain noblemen, bishops, judges, and counsellors nominated by the crown, and they decided in all cases without the intervention of a jury.

"THE COURT OF HIGH COMMISSION" was erected by Elizabeth, for the express purpose of discovering, as well as of punishing the nonconformists. These commissioners were principally bishops, and assumed the power of administering an oath *ex officio*, by which the prisoner was obliged to answer all questions put to him, and even to accuse himself, or his dearest friend. Many refused to take the illegal oath, choosing rather to suffer imprisonment, which was determined, not according to any law, but the will of the commissioners. A detail of the miseries endured by con-

scientious clergymen under the High Commission Court would require volumes; their *principles*, and many of their *practices*, being precisely those of the execrable ROMISH INQUISITION.

Several of the Puritan exiles did not at first return to England, but remained at Geneva, finishing their translation of the Bible, begun in the late reign. The translators were Coverdale, Goodman, Gibbs, Samson, Cole, Whittingham, and John Knox of Scotland. They compared Tindal's old English Bible, first with the Hebrew and Greek, and then with the best modern translations, dividing the chapters into verses, which former translators had not done. This was denominated the "Geneva Bible," it being published in that city: but it was not allowed to be printed in England, or even used, until the death of archbishop Parker, in 1575; because in its notes, some reflections were made upon the English hierarchy. This translation, however, was chiefly used in families: and such was the demand for it, on account of its division into verses, and marginal readings, annotations, and other helps, that more than *thirty* editions of it were printed in as many years.

Religion, in this part of Elizabeth's reign, was far from prosperous: it flourished chiefly among the Puritans, who, though so grievously persecuted, increased considerably. The nonconforming ministers were generally men of sound learning, evangelical in doctrine, and sincere in their piety; familiar with the Scriptures, and not dissenting from the political church from mere caprice, but from a sacred regard to the authority of Christ. Several of the bishops were indeed men of genuine godliness; and these were distinguished by their moderate principles. By these good men many of the Puritan ministers were protected and licensed as lecturers, to whose ministry the people flocked in crowds for the bread of life: yet this holy policy sometimes occasioned themselves both trouble and disgrace.

Such was the case with the pious and moderate Grindal. He succeeded Parker as archbishop of Canterbury in 1575: but two years after he was suspended from his archiepiscopal functions, for refusing to obey the queen's order to suppress

Prophesyings. These were social meetings, held in several counties, not only by the puritans, but by some of the conformists, for the purpose of promoting scriptural knowledge and piety among both clergy and laity. His enemies prevailed; and the queen, with whom her royal advisers agreed, disliking preaching, supposing that common prayer, and sometimes a homily, with the appointed ceremonies, were sufficient for the people, commanded the archbishop to put them down. Grindal replied in a long letter to her majesty:—"Surely I cannot marvel enough, how this strange opinion should enter your mind, that it should be good for the church to have few preachers. Alas! Madam, is the Scripture more plain in any thing than that the gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached? If the Holy Ghost prescribeth especially, that preachers should be placed in every town, how can it then well be that three or four preachers may suffice for a shire? Public and continual preaching of God's Word is the ordinary means of salvation to mankind. Some there be also that are mislikers of the godly reformation in religion now established; wishing, indeed, that there were no preachers at all; and so, by depriving ministers, impugn religion. But God forbid, madam, that you should open your ears to any of these wicked persuasions, or any way to diminish the preaching of Christ's gospel. I continue in the same mind I was when I attended upon your majesty: the reading of homilies has its commodities, but it is nothing comparable to the office of preaching; the godly preacher is learned in the gospel who can apply his speech to the diversity of times, places, and hearers, which cannot be done in homilies; besides, homilies were devised by godly bishops in your brother's days, only to supply necessity by want of preachers, and are by the statute not to be preferred, but to give place to sermons wheresoever they may be had, and were never thought in themselves to contain alone sufficient instruction for the church of England.

"Now for the second point, which is concerning the learned exercises and conferences amongst the ministers of the church, I have consulted with divers my brethren, the bishops, who think as I do,—a thing profitable to the church,

and therefore expedient to be continued; and I trust your majesty will think the like, when your majesty shall have been informed of the manner and order thereof. The time appointed for this exercise is once a month,—the time of this exercise is two hours,—some text of Scripture before appointed to be spoken, is interpreted in this order,—prayer and a psalm follow. Afore there were not three ministers able and meet to preach at Paul's Cross; now thirty, forty, or fifty besides, able to instruct their own cures. I am enforced with all humility, and yet plainly, to profess, that I cannot, with safe conscience, and without the offence of the majesty of God, give mine assent to the suppressing of the said exercises; much less can I send out any instruction for the utter and universal subversion of the same. If it be your majesty's pleasure for this, or any other cause, to remove me out of this place, I will, with all humility, yield thereunto. Remember, that in God's cause, the will of God, and not the will of any earthly creature, is to take place: it is the anti-christian voice of the pope, '*Thus I will—Thus I order—My will is reason sufficient!*'"

Grindal's mode of arguing was precisely that of the protestants against the papists—of the puritans against the prelates—and of the apostles against the rulers of the Jews: nothing has ever so offended usurped authority, either in the sovereign or the priesthood, as an appeal to the Holy Scriptures. Grindal continued in disgrace, though he was permitted till his death in 1583 to retain his dignity as archbishop of Canterbury.

CHAPTER II.

ELIZABETH AND ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

Archbishop Whitgift's intolerance — The council remonstrance — State of religion — Giles Wigginton — Nonconformists increase — Brownists increase — Udall — Prisoners for religion — Barrowe and Greenwood martyred — Elizabeth relents — Whitgift's more severe act — Attorney Morrice — Bishop Aylmer — Bancroft's doctrine of episcopacy — Elizabeth dies — Her character — Spanish Armada.

DR. WHITGIFT having secured his interest at court, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury on the decease of pious

* Fuller, book xix, p. 123—130.

Grindal. Being thus elevated, he published *three* articles for every clergyman to subscribe, declaring from his heart, his approbation of the whole Common Prayer; and the manner of ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons; and that he will use no other than the prescribed prayers. Besides these, the archbishop drew up *twenty-four* articles to be used in examining those who were brought before the bishops.

Great numbers of pious clergymen were deprived through these impositions: among whom were *sixty-four* in Norfolk, *sixty* in Suffolk, and *thirty-eight* in Essex; besides those in other counties. A letter sent to the archbishop and the bishop of London, Sep. 20, 1584, signed by Lord Burleigh, the Earls of Warwick, Shrewsbury, and Leicester, Lord Charles Howard, Sir James Crofts, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, complaining that, hearing of great numbers of zealous and learned preachers suspended from their cures in Essex; that there is no preaching, prayers, or sacraments, in most of the vacant places; that those appointed were notoriously unfit, most for lack of learning, and many chargeable with enormous faults. To substantiate their complaints, these members of the council sent a list of names: one column of learned ministers deprived; a second of unlearned and vicious persons continued; and a third of pluralists and non-residents. "Against the latter," say they, "we have heard of no inquisition; but of great diligence and extreme usage against those that were known to be diligent preachers; we therefore pray your lordships to have some charitable consideration of their causes, that people may not be deprived of their diligent, learned, and zealous pastors, for a few points ceremonial which entangled their consciences*."

Whitgift, sheltered by the queen's prerogative, was unmoved in his course; and having granted a conference to two of the nonconformists in the presence of the council, he would yield nothing, but appeared rather confirmed in oppressive determinations.

Suspensions of the nonconforming ministers, when it was

* Neal, vol. i, p. 341, 342.

found they omitted any of the habits or ceremonies in performing public worship ; fines and imprisonments of them for that offence, continued with such rigour, that in a survey made by order of parliament in 1586, it was found there were no more than *two thousand* ministers, to serve nearly *ten thousand* parishes ; and few of those ministers were capable of preaching. Many churches, even in London, were shut up for want of ministers, to the great grief of pious men, and the inexpressible pleasure of the papists, who exulted at seeing the reformers weakening their own hands, by silencing such numbers of the most useful and popular preachers, while the country was so seriously in want of them.

“ It was the opinion of the queen, that learning was pernicious to the laity ; and she said that two or three preachers were sufficient for a whole county.” Bishop Sandys, in a sermon before the queen, told her majesty, that “ many of the people, especially in the northern parts, perished for want of saving food.” “ Many there are,” says he, “ that hear not a sermon in *seven* years, I might safely say in *seven-teen*—their blood will be required at somebody’s hands *.” The bishop of Bangor declared that he had “ but *two* preachers in all his diocess.”

Among the very numerous cases of prelatical oppression, that of Giles Wigginton, the laborious vicar of Sedburgh in Yorkshire, may serve as an example. After having suffered many hardships in prison, for his nonconformity to the ceremonies, his health being greatly impaired, he was deprived of his living. But having gained his liberty and a partial renovation of his health, he visited his beloved flock, preaching to them from house to house the gospel of Christ. He was again apprehended and imprisoned in Lancaster castle. From this place he wrote to his patron, Sir Walter Mildmay, one of the privy council, intreating his influence to procure his release, and the farther reformation of the church. He says, “ I was arrested at Burroughbridge by a pursuivant, and brought to this place, a distance of *fifty* miles, in this cold winter. I am here within an iron gate, in a cold room, among felons and

* Ibid. p. 177.

condemned prisoners, and, in various ways, worse used than they, or recusant papists *." Three things he mentions as lying near his heart, and as indispensable to the best interests of his countrymen. *First*, that faithful ministers may not be silenced by the prelates. *Second*, that real Christians may not be brought into trouble for rejecting the inventions of men. *Third*, that a godly minister may be appointed to every congregation.

Wigginton's anxieties will appear justified from a notice of the injunctions of the bishop of London this year to his clergy. 1. That every parson should have a Bible in Latin and English. 2. That they should have Bullinger's Decads. 3. That they should have a paper book, and write in it the quantity of a sermon every week. 4. That such as could not preach themselves should be taxed at four sermons a year†. "What a miserable state of things," adds Neal, "was this! when many hundreds of pious and conscientious preachers were excluded the church, and starving with their families for want of employment! ‡"

Several efforts were made in parliament to impose a check on these oppressions, which yet were illegal: but the bishops prevailed, especially in the House of Lords. On one occasion, lest the queen should yield any thing to the Puritans, archbishop Whitgift threw himself on his knees before her majesty, and implored her to uphold the sinking church, and not suffer any alteration that would give men reason to say that she had maintained an error! Notwithstanding all the terrors employed against them, and the sufferings which were endured by surprising numbers, the nonconformists greatly increased, including most of the population who were seriously disposed.

Diversity of opinion as to the order of worship and church discipline distinguished the nonconformists, and this gave the bishops a great advantage in appearance; for this they reproached them, vainly assuming that external uniformity was necessary, which is not inculcated in the Christian Scriptures.

* Ibid. p. 377, 378.

† Life of Aylmer, p. 128.

‡ History of the Puritans, vol. i, p. 383.

But the Independents had become very numerous in 1586, when Robert Brown, a young clergyman of high family, preached their doctrines fearlessly through the country. From this man they were called Brownists*. Many were the confessors and martyrs among the Independents. John Udall, one of their ministers, was tried in 1591, as the writer of a defence of their principles, entitled, "A Demonstration of the Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word, for the Church in all times and places, until the World's End." One of his judges telling him that his book was replete with sentiments inconsistent with established institutions, tending to the overthrow of the state, and the raising of rebellion; Udall replied, "My lords, that be far from me; for we teach that, reforming things amiss, if the prince will not consent, the weapons that subjects are to fight with, are repentance and prayers, patience and tears." The judge offered him his life if he would recant; and added, that he was now ready to pronounce sentence of death. "And I am ready to receive it," cried the magnanimous confessor, "for I protest before God, not knowing that I am to live another hour, that the cause is good, and I am contented to receive sentence, so that I may leave it to posterity how I have suffered for his cause."

Udall was condemned, as he would not sign the recantation of his doctrine; nor could any of the learned doctors move him in conference from his appeals to the Scriptures in proof of his positions. His fame was great; and James VI of Scotland interceded for his life, as did several lords of the council, and the archbishop seemed afraid of his being put to death in public. The Turkey merchants offered to employ him as one of their chaplains; but while the hard terms were

* Brown was educated at Cambridge, but became a nonconformist about 1580, and after officiating for some time to a congregation of Dissenters at Norwich, he went to Holland, and obtained leave to found an Independent church at Middleburgh. He returned to England in 1589, conformed, and obtained the living of Achurch, in Northamptonshire. He was a man of turbulent passions; and for an assault he was committed to the county gaol, in which he died, in 1630, aged 80 years, a dishonour to the name of Christian.

being arranged with Whitgift, who insisted on his leaving the country, Udall died in prison, from his long confinement and ill treatment. Fuller remarks, that "his wisest foes were well contented with his death, lest it should be charged as an act of cruelty on them who procured it." He also calls him "a person of worth, a learned man, blameless for his life, powerful in his praying, and no less profitable than painful in his preaching *."

Fifty-nine, in the different prisons of London, in 1592, petitioned lord treasurer Burleigh to be brought to trial; complaining that "many had died in the prisons, that they had been imprisoned contrary to all law and equity, many of them for the space of two years and a half, upon the bishop's sole commandment, in great penury and noisomeness of the prisons, debarred from any lawful audience from their honourable governors and magistrates, and from all benefit and help of the laws †."

Among these was Henry Barrowe, a barrister of Gray's Inn. He was apprehended when visiting his relative Greenwood, a nonconforming clergyman, who had been in prison a long time. These two were tried at the Old Bailey on a charge of "writing and publishing sundry books and pamphlets, tending to the slander of the queen and government;" when "they had written," as Neal remarks, "only against the church: but this was the archbishop's artful contrivance, to throw off the odium of their death from himself to the civil magistrate." Being condemned, endeavours were made to induce them to recant: but all in vain. They were even exposed under the gallows at Tyburn, March 31: but this produced no terror upon their pious minds, and they were executed April 6, 1592. John Penry, a Welch clergyman, and several others, were hanged for dispersing the writings, and several for attending the ministry of the Brownists.

Queen Elizabeth being informed, by Dr. Reynolds, who attended some of these martyrs for the Scriptures, of the calm piety which they displayed, and how they had blessed

* Church History, book ix, p. 222; Neal, vol. i, p. 406—415.

† Ibid. p. 432.

their sovereign, and prayed for her and their enemies, at their death, her heart was touched with remorse, and she expressed regret at having taken away their lives. But, urged forward by Whitgift, her haughty spirit soon rose to its usual elevation; and only a few months after their martyrdom, a severer law was passed against nonconformists, enacting, "that all persons above the age of sixteen years, refusing to come to church, or persuading others to deny her majesty's authority in causes *ecclesiastical*; or dissuading them from coming to church; or being found present at any conventicle or meeting under pretence of religion; shall upon conviction be committed to prison, without bail, till they shall conform and come to church." To this was added a form of recantation; which, if the offenders refused to subscribe, it was further enacted, "that within three months they shall *abjure the realm*, and *go into perpetual banishment*: and if they do not depart within the time appointed, or if they ever return without the queen's licence, *they shall suffer death without benefit of clergy* * !!"

Sir Walter Raleigh, with a few others, opposed this iniquitous bill in the House of Commons, stating his belief that there were nearly 20,000 Brownists in the country; "and when they are gone, who," he asked, "shall maintain their wives and children?" Notwithstanding, the law was made, for scarcely any one dared to make serious opposition to the wishes of the prelates and the queen. Mr. Attorney Morrice, having moved this year, 1592, in the House, for an inquiry into the proceedings of the bishops, and against the *ex officio* oath, in which he was supported by Sir Francis Knollys, and other distinguished persons, gave such offence to the queen, that she imperiously forbade the House to meddle with ecclesiastical matters, for they belonged to her as head of the church. She charged the speaker on his allegiance, not to read the motions! and Morrice, for his presumption, though a man of character, was arrested in the House by the serjeant at arms, deprived of his office in the court of the duchy of

* Collier, vol. ii, p. 637.

Lancaster, disabled from practice as a barrister at law, and for several years was imprisoned in Tutbury castle * ! ”

Dr. Aylmer, bishop of London, died in June 1594: in early life he entertained the principles of the Puritans; but on being elevated to a bishopric, he became a bitter persecutor of his former friends, lax in his morals, and profane in his language. Dr. Fletcher succeeded him; but marrying a second wife, the queen banished him from court, and he died the next year, and was succeeded by Dr. Bancroft, a still more determined adversary of the nonconformists, and a worthy colleague of Whitgift, to whom he had been chaplain, and one of his principal persecuting agents.

This ambitious divine, while chaplain to the archbishop, first published the notion of bishops being a superior order in the church, by divine right, above ordinary pastors; thus violating one of the great principles universally held by the reformers. Bancroft stated this doctrine in 1588, in a sermon at Paul's Cross: but it gave great offence except to the courtly clergy; yet even the archbishop had not the courage to declare it was scriptural, but “rather wished than believed it to be true.” The *spirit* of this groundless doctrine had been acted upon in the bishops' courts; and for nearly a century, this antichristian principle was the occasion of the most grievous affliction to England and Scotland: but Providence mercifully overruled these oppressions to found that wonderful empire in the New World, by the emigration of the persecuted nonconformists to America, which commenced under James I.

Severities towards the nonconformists increased as the queen and the archbishop advanced in years; yet the limited nature of this work will not allow a further detail. At length her majesty was called to render her account at the awful tribunal of God, March 24, 1602.

Elizabeth has justly been called a “great princess;” and considering her talents for government, and her policy in relation to foreign states, she certainly deserves that character.

* Neal, vol. i, p. 421—425.

She afforded efficient aid to the Protestant interest on the continent; especially to the Hugonots in France, the Reformers in Holland, and the Protestants in Scotland and in Germany; at the same time she would not tolerate that religion at home, which she supported abroad! She understood not the rights of conscience, and therefore was a persecutor of conscientious and virtuous men. More sanguinary laws were made in her reign than in that of any of her predecessors; and her hands were stained with the blood of both Papists and Puritans; the former for denying her supremacy, and the latter for nonconformity.

Dr. Warner, an episcopal historian, remarks, "The severity with which she treated her Protestant subjects by her high commission court, was against law, against liberty, and against the rights of human nature—she understood her prerogative, which was as dear to her as her crown and life: but she understood nothing of the rights of conscience in matters of religion; and, like the absurd king her father, she would have no opinion in religion, acknowledged at least, but her own. She restored the Reformation, it is true, and I believe restored it upon principle: but where her interest called upon her to neglect the reformed religion, she did it without scruple. She differed from her sister in this, that she would not part with her supremacy upon any terms; and as she had much greater abilities for governing, so she applied herself more to promote the strength and glory of her dominion, than Mary did; but she had as much of the bigot and tyrant in her as her sister, though the object of that bigotry was prerogative, and not religion*."

Elizabeth's reign derived glory from the destruction of the "Spanish Armada," which the Pope had blessed and pronounced "*Invincible*." This consisted of a fleet of 160 ships, carrying 8,000 sailors, and 20,000 soldiers, to invade England. Providence manifestly interposed; and the instruments for torturing the English, as taken from the captured vessels, may still be seen in the Tower of London, evidences of the superstitious barbarity of the Romish religion.

* Warner's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii, p. 474, 475.

CHAPTER III.

SCOTLAND, TO THE REFORMATION.

Progress of Popery — Corruption of the Church — Patrick Hamilton — Other martyrs — Reformers — John Knox — Wishart martyred — Knox called to the ministry — His captivity — Labours in England — Persecutions at Frankfort — Retires to Geneva — Solemn Covenant — Walter Mill martyred — Knox returns — Establishes the Reformation — Its principles — Knox dies — His character — Policy of James VI.

SCOTLAND, for many years, retained a considerable measure of scriptural knowledge, after England was brought under the Romish hierarchy. But ecclesiastical ambition prevailing in England, the same principles at length triumphed in the north; and “about the year 904, King Gregory, in a convention of the states at Forfar, granted to the clergy exemption from all taxes, from service in war, and from subjection to civil courts; besides authority to exact tithes, enact ecclesiastical canons, and to be judges in matrimonial and testamentary causes*.” From this period to the close of the *fifteenth* century, the religion of Scotland seemed to consist in the mere performance of the popish ceremonies; while the priests “spent their strength in fierce contentions about pre-eminence†.”

Dr. M'Crie states, “The corruptions by which the Christian religion was universally depraved before the Reformation, had grown to a greater height in Scotland than in any other nation in the pale of the Western Church. Superstition and religious imposture, in their grossest forms, gained an easy admission among a rude and ignorant people. By means of these, the clergy attained to an exorbitant degree of opulence and power; which were accompanied, as they always have been, with the corruption of their order, and of the whole system of religion. The full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy. Avarice, ambition, and the love of secular pomp, reigned among the superior orders. Bishops and abbots rivalled the first nobility in magnificence, and preceded them in honour, having long engrossed all the principal offices of state. The bishops never on any occasion conde-

* Brown's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i, p. 7.

† *Ibid.* p. 9.

scended to preach ; indeed, I scarcely recollect an instance of it mentioned in history, from the erection of the regular Scottish episcopacy down to the era of the Reformation. Monasteries, those nurseries of superstition and idleness, were notoriously become the haunts of lewdness and debauchery, and it was deemed impious and sacrilegious to reduce their number, abridge their privileges, or alienate their funds. The ignorance of the clergy was as gross as the dissoluteness of their morals. Even bishops were not ashamed to confess that they had never read any part of the sacred Scriptures, except what they met with in their missals. Learning was branded as the parent of heresy ; and if any person began to hint dissatisfaction with the conduct of the clergy, he was stigmatized as a heretic ; and unless he secured his safety by flight, he was immured in a dungeon or committed to the flames*.”

Evangelical light, however, derived from the German reformers, penetrated the darkness of Scotland. “ Patrick Hamilton, a youth of royal lineage, obtained the honour, not conferred upon many of his rank, of first announcing its glad tidings to his countrymen, and sealing them with his blood†.” Born in the year 1504, he was designed for the church, and made abbot of Ferne while yet a child. As early as 1526, divine truth, by some theology imported from Germany, penetrated his mind, when he set out to confer with the famous Luther. By the recommendation of him and Melancthon, he repaired to Marburg, to prosecute his studies under Francis Lambert, an eminent divine of that university ; and thus receiving the knowledge of the Scriptures, he determined on returning, to preach the gospel to his countrymen, notwithstanding the danger of death.

Hamilton’s zeal was soon rewarded according to the true spirit of popery. Decoyed by the clergy to St. Andrew’s, under pretence of a conference, in a consistory of bishops and abbots, with archbishop Beatoun at their head, he was summoned, condemned, and burnt, on the same day, Feb. 28, 1528 ! Though not *twenty-four* years of age, he was a Chris-

* Life of Knox, vol. i, p. 14—24.

† Ibid. p. 30.

tian of rare piety and uncommon attainments, as appears by his theological writings, published since his martyrdom.

Hamilton was reputed a martyr for Christ, and many cherished the principles for which he died. "Strict inquisition was made after heretics; the flames of persecution were kindled in all quarters of the country; and, from 1530 to 1540, many innocent and excellent men suffered the most inhuman death. Henry Forrest, David Straiton, Norman Gourlay, Jerom Russel, Kennedy, Kyllor, Beveridge, Duncan Sympson, Robert Forrester, and Thomas Forrest, were the names of these early martyrs, whose sufferings deserve a more conspicuous place than can be given to them in these pages*."

The good seed of divine truth had thus been effectually sown in Scotland; and the writings of the reformers, and copies of the Scriptures, were imported and circulated. "One copy of the Bible, or the New Testament," says Dr. M'Crie, "supplied several families. At the dead hour of night, while others were asleep, they assembled in one house. The sacred volume was brought from its concealment, and while one read, the rest listened with mute attention. In this way the knowledge of the Scriptures was diffused, at a period when it doth not appear that there were any public preachers of the truth in Scotland†." Several noblemen of piety and zeal now arose, affording protection to those who embraced the reformed doctrine. Among these was the famous John Knox, whom the priests sentenced as a heretic in 1542, and pronounced his degradation from the priesthood: but he was preserved in the family of Douglas, as tutor, and in this situation his labours were useful in forming the characters of several men of future fame. The earl of Arran, being appointed regent to the infant queen Mary, consented to a translation of the Scriptures, by means of which the gospel became extensively known.

George Wishart, a brother of the laird of Pittarow in Mearns, was an eminent instrument in diffusing the knowledge of Christ. He was banished by the bishop of Brechin, for teaching the Greek Testament in Montrose, and he resided

* Ibid. p. 31.

† Ibid. p. 33.

for some years at Cambridge; but returned in 1544. "Seldom do we meet, in ecclesiastical history, with a character so amiable and interesting as that of George Wishart. Excelling all his countrymen at that period in learning, of the most persuasive eloquence, irreproachable in life, courteous and affable in manners; his fervent piety, zeal, and courage in the cause of truth, were tempered with uncommon meekness, modesty, patience, prudence, and charity. In his tour of preaching through Scotland, he was usually accompanied by some of the principal gentry; and the people, who flocked to hear him, were ravished with his discourses*."

Wishart was soon apprehended, loaded with irons, and thrown into prison; and in a manner the most brutal, he was condemned by David Beatoun, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and burnt at the stake in 1546 before his window; the prelate, who was also a cardinal, beholding the sufferings of this servant of Christ. But this turbulent priest fell a victim to the revenge of several gentlemen, who had been vexed with his tyranny, and his carcass was thrown from the same window, and lay unburied for some months.

Evangelical truth still continued to prevail by the circulation of the Scriptures and the writings of the reformers, though every possible effort was made for its suppression. Knox entered upon the work of tuition in the castle of St. Andrew's at Easter 1547, where he found Sir David Lindsay, Henry Balnaves†, and John Rough, men of distinguished influence in promoting the reformation, and at whose urgent request he commenced public preaching, and was solemnly called to the ministry by the elders in the midst of a large congregation‡. Knox triumphed in a public disputation with the popish clergy, denouncing the pope as antichrist, and maintaining "that in the worship of God, and especially in the administration of the sacraments, the rule prescribed in the Scriptures is to be observed, without addition or diminution; and that the church has no right to devise religious ceremonies, and impose significations upon them§."

* Ibid. p. 41, 42.

† See British Reformers, by Tract Society.

‡ M'Crie's Knox, vol. i, p. 52—58.

§ Ibid. p. 62.

St. Andrew's being taken by the French, in 1547, Knox, with many others, was made to serve in chains on board their galleys until 1549, when, gaining his liberty, he was well received in England, and made one of the six preaching chaplains of King Edward. His ministry in the north of England was crowned with the Divine blessing; and he was one of those divines by whom the Common Prayer and Articles of Religion were compiled. Knox, however, would not accept of a living in the English church, and refused a bishopric, "declaring the episcopal office to be destitute of divine authority," and that many things were retained from popery, with which he could not comply, especially the indiscriminate admission to the Lord's supper, and kneeling at that ordinance, an invention of men, contrary to the perfect example of its institution by Christ*.

In the reign of Mary, Knox fled to Geneva, where he was received with affection by Calvin, and in a short time he was invited to become the pastor of the English exiles at Frankfort, licence being granted for them to assemble for public worship in a building allotted to the French. They were required to perform their service as nearly as possible to the manner of the French, and they agreed unanimously to "omit the use of the surplice, the litany, the audible responses, and some other ceremonies prescribed by the English liturgy, which in those reformed churches would seem more than strange, superstitious, and superfluous†." Some urged the use of King Edward's liturgy, part of which was at length adopted, and unanimity was restored. "But this agreement was soon after violated, in the most wanton and scandalous manner. March 13, 1555, Dr. Cox, with others, came to Frankfort, and the first Sunday they broke through the established order, by answering aloud after the minister in the time of divine service. Being admonished by some of the elders to refrain from that practice, they insolently replied, 'That they would do as they had done in England; and they would have the face of an English church.' On the following Sabbath, one of this number intruded himself into the pulpit,

* Ibid. p. 98 — 101.

† Ibid. p. 143.

without the consent of the pastors or the congregation, read the litany, while Dr. Cox and the other accomplices echoed the responses. Knox lectured in the afternoon, and complained of their intrusions, declaring his belief, that one cause of the Divine displeasure against England, was the slackness to reform religion. He adverted to the troubles of Hooper for objecting to the ceremonies, and to the well-known fact, that *three, four, or five* benefices had been occupied by one man, to the depriving of the flock of Christ of their necessary food. This free reprimand was highly resented, as some of them had held pluralities in England." However, "the Coxian faction prevailed, and determined to get rid of Knox. To accomplish this, they had recourse to one of the basest and most unchristian arts ever employed to ruin an adversary. Two of them, in concurrence with others, went privately to the magistrates, and accused Knox of HIGH TREASON against the Emperor of Germany, his son Philip, and Queen Mary of England; putting into their hands a copy of a book which he had lately published. The magistrates were satisfied of the malice of Knox's enemies, but advised his privately retiring from Frankfort*."

Knox withdrew to Geneva, and soon afterwards returned to Scotland to visit his wife, where he found that the cause of Christ had considerably advanced, and by his counsels several of the reformers made a formal separation from popery. Their cause increased under the patronage of *Archibald, Lord Lorn, Lord James Stewart, and John, Lord Erskine*, with whom others soon united; and early in 1556, a great number made profession of the reformed religion, by sitting down at the Lord's table; and entered into a solemn and mutual covenant, renouncing the popish communion, to maintain under Providence the faithful preaching of the gospel. This was the first of those engagements, which are known in the history of Scotland, by taking the solemn league and covenant.

France had a powerful interest in Scotland, as a princess of Guise had been wife of James V, and his daughter Mary,

* Ibid. p. 140—156.

the celebrated queen of Scots, was married to the dauphin. Popery, therefore, had the support of that nation to preserve it, under the influence of some powerful nobles. Knox being persecuted, and burnt in effigy by the papists, withdrew again to Geneva, and laboured with others in the improvement of the translation of the Bible. But the cause of Christ increased even through persecution. Walter Mill sealed the truth with his blood, Aug. 28, 1558, uttering in the flames,—
"As for me, I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones. I trust in God I shall be the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause."*

Knox, being earnestly invited by the "lords of the congregation," as the Protestant nobles were called, returned to Scotland in May 1559, where he continued his zealous apostolical labours, and by his well-earned authority succeeded in establishing the Reformation in his native country. The national church of Scotland, disallowing episcopal prelacy as unscriptural, was formed according to the Presbyterian model, and similar to the churches of the Protestants on the continent.

The *first* General Assembly of this national church, consisting of *twelve* ministers, and *thirty-two* ruling elders, met Dec. 20, 1560; but it was a long period before the form of ecclesiastical polity was perfected in Scotland, as many attempts were made to re-establish prelacy, or to retain the popish dignities with the more scriptural system.

Dr. M'Crie judiciously remarks, "The reformation of religion, it is well known, was established on very different principles in England and in Scotland, both as to worship and ecclesiastical polity. In England, the 'papal supremacy was transferred to the prince; the hierarchy, being subjected to the civil power, was suffered to remain; and after removing the grosser superstitions, the principal forms of the ancient worship were retained: whereas in Scotland, all of these were discarded, as destitute of divine authority, unprofitable, burdensome, or savouring of popery; and the worship and

* Ibid. p. 234.

government of the church were reduced to the primitive standard of scriptural simplicity. The influence of Knox, in recommending this establishment to his countrymen, is universally allowed; but, as he officiated for a considerable time in the church of England, and on this account was supposed to have been pleased with its constitution, it has usually been said that he afterwards contracted a dislike to it during his exile on the continent, and that, having then imbibed the sentiments of Calvin, he carried them along with him to his native country, and organized the Scottish church after the Genevan model. This statement is inaccurate. His objections to the English liturgy were increased and strengthened during his residence on the continent, but they existed before that time. His judgment respecting ecclesiastical government and discipline was matured during that period; but his radical sentiments on these heads were formed long before he saw Calvin, or had any intercourse with the foreign reformers. At Geneva he saw a church, which, *upon the whole*, corresponded with his idea of the divinely-authorized pattern; but he did not indiscriminately approve, nor servilely imitate, either that or any other existing establishment*."

Knox died Nov. 24, 1572, exhibiting the genuine spirit of his profession as a believer in Jesus Christ; and leaving behind him the character of a man of extraordinary powers, alike distinguished for intrepidity, zeal, and disinterestedness; of uncommon sagacity, of sound theological knowledge, and considerable biblical learning, sanctified by eminent scriptural piety. His life was an illustration of his holy doctrine; in which he substantially agreed with all the reformers. Regardless of the distinctions of rank, in matters of religion, he uttered his admonitions from the Word of God, with a vehemence suited to the genius of that unpolished age, and to his own peculiar circumstances.

Knox, as well as Luther, has been charged with almost every bad quality, by his enemies: but Dr. M'Crie, in his valuable "Life" of that great reformer, has demonstrated his *integrity, piety, and benevolence*, against every slanderer.

* Ibid. p. 100—102.

Principal Smeton testified, "I know not if ever so much piety and genius were lodged in such a frail and weak body. Certain I am, that it will be difficult to find one in whom the gifts of the Holy Spirit shone so bright, to the comfort of the church of Scotland. None spared himself less in enduring fatigue of body and mind: none was more intent on discharging the duties of the province assigned to him *." Earl Morton, regent of Scotland, attended the funeral of Knox, and pronounced his eulogium in these words, "Here lies he who never feared the face of man!"

Scriptural religion continued to prosper in Scotland, notwithstanding the assistance of France and Spain to enable the popish party to preserve their ecclesiastical usurpations. Queen Elizabeth aided the Protestants; and their cause prevailed: but the reformation was greatly hindered by court intrigue, and the rapacity of the nobles, who had seized a large portion of the church revenues.

James VI, born June 19, 1566, succeeded his dethroned mother, the unfortunate Mary, being crowned when only a year old. James was educated by the celebrated George Buchanan, in the doctrines of the reformed church of Scotland; for that establishment he sometimes appeared zealous; and to maintain which he publicly subscribed the "Solemn League and Covenant" against popery and prelacy. Before the General Assembly at Edinburgh, taking his bonnet from his head, and lifting his hand towards heaven, he exclaimed, that "he praised God that he was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place as to be king of such a church, the sincerest kirk in the world." Adding, "As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English: they want nothing but the liftings. I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I forsooth, *as long as I brook my life*, shall maintain the same †."

James, however, contrary to his most solemn declarations,

* Ibid. p. 238.

† Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 266.

endeavoured to restore episcopacy, that he might more easily secure his accession to the throne of England, on the anticipated death of Elizabeth!

CHAPTER IV.

JAMES I—ENGLAND.

Character of James, by Dr. Warner and Bishop Burnet — Puritan's Petition — Hampton Court Conference — Dr. Barlow's account — Church Canons — Persecutions — Gunpowder Plot — Translation of the Bible — Arminianism — Book of Sports — The last two burnt at the stake — Puritans originate the American Republic — Death of James I.

JAMES VI of Scotland succeeded Elizabeth on the English throne. Having interceded with the queen for relief to the persecuted puritans, whose principles were those of the church of Scotland, the bishops in England carried on a correspondence with their anticipated sovereign, for the purpose of securing his interest in their favour, and by policy they succeeded.

While in his native country, James appeared sober and attentive to the ordinances of religion; and having had Buchanan for his tutor, he had acquired a considerable share of learning, so as to make a version of the Psalms, which was commended even by Pope. But being enthroned in "the promised land," as he called England, the excessive flattery of the court prelates so intoxicated his vain mind, that he abandoned his boasted religious principles, and gave himself up to luxury and pleasure. By his corrupt court, therefore, real piety was seriously injured, immorality prevailed, and the nation was degraded.

The circumstances of his reign, as they affected the true church of Christ in Britain, require a more particular notice of James's character, which is drawn in various colours. Perhaps Dr. Warner's is the most just: that discriminating clergyman says,—"James was naturally mild, humane, and affable, without affectation, easy of access, and without pride or cruelty. His generosity was profuse, not flowing from reason or judgment, but from whim, or benignity of humour, to such as could make themselves agreeable to him in his

loose and jovial hours. These hours he certainly had; in which he generally forgot his dignity, and let himself down, not only with freedom and familiarity, but with great indecency of language and behaviour.—As to his religion, he may be said to be neither papist nor protestant; it was a motley faith, peculiar, I believe, to himself. Properly speaking, James had no other religion than what flowed from a principle which he called ‘Kingcraft.’ The sequel of his reign will illustrate and prove what I say*.”

Bishop Burnet, on a review of his character, remarks, “It is certain no king could die less lamented or less esteemed than he was. His reign in England was a continued course of mean practices. The great figure the crown of England had made in queen Elizabeth’s time, who had rendered herself the arbiter of Christendom, and was the wonder of the age, was so much eclipsed, if not quite darkened during this reign, that the king James was become the scorn of the age; and while hungry writers flattered him out of measure at home, he was despised by all abroad, as a pedant without true judgment, courage, or steadiness, subject to his favourites, and delivered up to the councils or rather corruptions of Spain †.”

Papists, episcopalians, and puritans, respectively sent addresses to their new sovereign, expressive of their loyalty. The papists reminded him, that his parents were of the Romish church, and sought his favour. The puritans petitioned the king for relief from absolute conformity with the ceremonies, and from the various grievances arising from the exorbitant powers of the bishops, and their oppressive courts. The bishops, in their excessive flattery, declared, and the vain prince believed it as certain truth, that the preservation of the hierarchy in its existing powers was essential to monarchy, slandering the puritans as factious, seditious, and aiming at the subversion of all government.

Nothing beneficial was gained by the petitions of the puritans, though one of them was signed by *eight hundred* of the

* Warner’s Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii, p. 477—509.

† Life and Times, vol. i, p. 29, edition 1823.

clergy: the insinuations of the prelates prevailed with the king, so that within nine months after his arrival in England James adopted his favourite maxim, "No bishop, no king." Influenced by the prelates, James now determined to break off with the church of Scotland, and to annihilate the cause of the puritans: he therefore appointed a conference at Hampton Court. "The puritan representatives, who were only *four* in number, and persons selected, not by their brethren, but by the sovereign, were afterwards confronted with their ecclesiastical opponents, including *nine* bishops, and the *same number* of dignitaries, the king being seated as moderator, the privy council and a crowd of courtiers being convened as auditors*." Patrick Galloway of Perth, was appointed to represent the church of Scotland.

The ribaldry and abuse on which James was pleased to found his pretensions to a "signal victory †" over the puritans, is manifest from the account published by Dean Barlow. Galloway's account was not allowed to see the light, until it had been submitted to the king.

Sir John Harrington, who was not a puritan, says, "The bishops came to the king about the petitions of the puritans. I was by, and heard much discourse. The king talked much Latin, and disputed with Dr. Reynolds at Hampton; but he rather used upbraidings than argument, and told the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christ again, and bid them away with their snivelling. * * * * * The bishops seemed much pleased, and said his majesty spoke by the power of inspiration. I wist not what they mean, but the spirit was rather foul-mouthed: it seemeth the king will not change the religious observances. There was much discourse about the ring in marriage, and the cross in baptism; but if I guess aright, the petitioners against one cross will find another."

On the first day, with the bishops alone, the king is said to have "played the puritan," which brought the prelates on their knees, craving "with great earnestness that nothing might be altered, lest popish recusants, punished by penal statutes for their disobedience, and the puritans, punished

* Professor Vaughan's *Stuart Dynasty*, vol. i, p. 106. † *Ibid.* p. 106.

by deprivation from their callings and livings for nonconformity, should say they had just cause to insult upon them, as men who had travelled to bind them to that which by their own mouths was now confessed to be erroneous*." On the second day the puritans were called in to state their objections; but they were frequently interrupted, insulted, and ridiculed by some of the prelates, as well as borne down by the frown of majesty. When they began to discuss the subject of the ceremonies, the king interposed, declaring, "I will have one doctrine, one religion, in substance and ceremony, in all my dominions; so speak no more of that point to me;" and closing his replies to the arguments of the puritans with his sage adage, "No bishop, no king." Dr. Reynolds expressed a wish that the clergy might be allowed to hold their meetings for their religious improvement, which archbishop Grindal so approved, called "prophesyings:" but his majesty refused, exclaiming, "If you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agrees as well with monarchy as God with the devil." The vain sovereign would not suffer his own decisions to be questioned, nor objections to be proposed; and terminated the second day's conference by threatening the defeated puritans, in a manner equally repugnant to justice and unworthy of a king.—"If this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harrie them out of the land, or else do worse." On the third day, after a consultation with the bishops, the puritans were called in to hear the few alterations that his majesty thought proper to make in the Common Prayer, and they were again admonished of the consequences of not yielding a full conformity.

Most historians have noticed the unworthy manner in which the puritans were treated by "the prelates, whose sycophancy on this occasion exhibited an amount of dishonesty and impiety, that had it not been reported by a partizan, would have been discredited as one of the foulest calumnies. Egerton, the chancellor, had never seen the king and the priest so truly united in the same person. Bancroft, the bishop of

* Calderwood's History, p. 474.

London, fell on his knees, exclaiming, "I protest my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God of his singular mercy has given us such a king, as since Christ's time hath not been." And when his majesty declared himself in favour of the oath *ex officio*, which, contrary to the humane maxims of the English law, compelled the accused to convict himself, Whitgift, the archbishop of Canterbury, affirmed with the same feeling of exultation, that his sovereign had assuredly spoken from the Spirit of God!*"

Dean Barlow's account of this conference was complained of by the puritans as representing them in a dishonourable point of view; and of this injury he is said to have repented on his death-bed. Still, as Dr. Harris remarks, "if Dr. Barlow has not represented the arguments of the puritans in as just a light, nor related what was done by the ministers as advantageously as truth required, he has abundantly made it up to them, by showing, that the bishops, their adversaries, were gross flatterers, and had no regard to their sacred characters; and that their mortal foe, James, had but a low understanding, and was undeserving the rank he assumed to himself in the republic of learning†."

James remembered his threatenings against the nonconformists, and fulfilled their import: for the next month a few alterations being made in the Common Prayer, without an act of parliament, he issued a proclamation, requiring immediate conformity. Bancroft drew up the Book of Canons, which breathed his violent spirit. Both clergy and laity, who refused compliance with the ceremonies, were excommunicated; and that terrible sentence excluded them from the congregation of the faithful, rendered them incapable of suing for their lawful debts, doomed them to imprisonment for life, or till they made satisfaction to the archbishop, and when they died, it denied them the burial of a Christian!

Whitgift dying in 1604, Bancroft was translated from London to Canterbury: on which Dr. Warner remarks, "As

* Vaughan's Stuart Dynasty, vol. i, p. 109.

† Life of James I, p. 87.

he had been the first man who had preached up the divine right of episcopacy in the church of England, so he was the first subject who attempted to raise the prerogative above the law*.”

The severities of the high commission court were now so aggravated, in persecuting the objects of prelatical dislike, as to induce even the parliament to vote that court “a most intolerable grievance,” and to petition the king on behalf of the puritans, who were bitterly suffering under its terrors. But the king having bishop Bancroft and men of a similar spirit for his counsellors, the petition was disregarded by his majesty; and to show his displeasure with the parliament for their interference, he dissolved the house, and took the fatal resolution to govern without them in future.

Church power, thus shockingly abused, obliged many learned ministers, with their followers, to retire to Holland; where they found refuge among their Presbyterian brethren, and enjoyed full liberty of conscience in that enlightened republic, forming churches, some Presbyterian, and others on the Independent model. Dr. Ames, the famous adversary of cardinal Bellarmin and the Arminians, settled with the English church at the Hague. Mr. Parker, the learned author of the ecclesiastical polity, retired to Amsterdam. Mr. Forbes, a Scotch divine, settled with the English church at Rotterdam, as many others did in different parts of the United Provinces. But the greatest number of those who left their native land were of the Brownists, or rigid Separatists. Among these was the celebrated Mr. Henry Ainsworth, famous for his knowledge of oriental literature and Jewish antiquities: and who published a most elaborate commentary upon the five books of Moses. He died in Holland, and was succeeded in his pastoral charge by Mr. Canne, author of the marginal references to the Bible. The famous Mr. Robinson, who at first was a rigid Brownist, but by conversing with Dr. Ames, and other learned men, became more moderate in his sentiments, was the father of the Congregationalists, or Independents. Mr. Jacob, who embraced

* Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii, p. 488.

Mr. Robinson's sentiments while in Holland, transplanted them into his own native country in 1616, and founded the first congregational community in England *.

Episcopal zeal was vigorously directed against the puritans, and grievous were their sufferings; while the papists were tolerated at the king's desire. Their different principles will in a good measure appear from the testimony of Matthew Hutton, the moderate archbishop of York. In a letter to Lord Cranbourne, he says, "The puritans, whose fantastical zeal I dislike, though they differ in ceremonies, yet agree with us in substance of religion; and I think *all*, or the *most part* of them, *love his majesty and the present estate*, and I hope will yield conformity. But the papists are opposite and contrary in very substantial points of religion, and cannot but wish the pope's authority and popish religion established †."

Agreeably to their principles, the horrible contrivance called "Gunpowder Plot" was formed by the papists, with the design of extirpating the reformed religion from the country: but this atrocious purpose was defeated by a merciful Providence!

One good work was accomplished, at the request of Dr. Reynolds on the part of the puritans, in a new translation of the Scriptures, which was completed by a number of eminent divines in 1611; and it forms our present "authorized version" in England.

Arminianism, the peculiarities of which were a deviation from the general doctrines of the reformers, on the subjects of predestination and grace, began about this period to prevail extensively; and in 1618, the famous "Synod of Dort" was agreed upon, to be constituted of deputies from the several protestant kingdoms. Four were sent from England, by King James, and the new doctrines of Arminius were condemned as unscriptural innovations. Drs. Carlton, Hall, Davenant, and Ward, represented the church of England, and Mr. Balcanquhal, the church of Scotland.

* Neal, vol. ii, p. 40—44.

† Vaughan's Stuart Dynasty, vol. i, p. 141.

James, in 1617, visited his native country, where, under the direction of Dr. Laud, he conducted himself with excessive haughtiness; and observing both in Scotland, and in England among the puritans, a strict regard to the Lord's day, he ordered bishop Moreton to draw up a "royal declaration," recommending, that after service on Sundays, those who came to church twice, should "recreate themselves, by dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, may-games, whitsun-ales, morrice-dances, may-poles, and other sports of a like kind." This declaration, called "The Book of Sports," was ordered to be read in all the churches in England: but some of the clergy, and Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, would by no means yield compliance with the king's commands, so repugnant to the principles of the gospel, and so pernicious to the interests of godliness. James intended by this unwise measure to oppose a check to the progress of puritanism; and to conciliate the papists, by silencing their objections against what they called "the rigid strictness of the reformed religion."

Grievous were the sufferings of many of the nonconformists under Bancroft, and for some time after his decease; and truth requires us to state the names of the last two who suffered at the stake in England on account of religion. Bartholomew Legate, of Essex, was condemned as a heretic, and burnt in Smithfield, March 18, 1612; and Edward Wightman, of Burton-upon-Trent, was condemned by Dr. Neile, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and burnt at Lichfield, April 11, 1612. They are both said to have been Arians, and Baptists; and they were charged with many absurd opinions: but it is admitted that they were exemplary in their morals, and refused to recant even at the stake. Popular favour seemed to sympathize with the sufferers, and it was judged expedient that others should rather linger out a miserable existence in Newgate*.

Puritanism, however, increased; and in 1620, a congregation of the persecuted servants of God, to enjoy the ordinances of Christ in peace, emigrated across the Atlantic

* Fuller's Church History, book x, p. 63, 64; Neal, vol. ii, p. 84, 85.

ocean; and though several attempts had previously been made to colonize America, Mr. Brewster and his congregational church, consisting of *one hundred and twenty* persons, were the originators of that vast republic, "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA." They landed at Cape Cod, in November 1620, and called it *New Plymouth*: half of them died during the first winter; but crowds of the persecuted servants of Christ followed these "pilgrim fathers." Taking with them the sacred principles of liberty, and being influenced by the doctrines of Christ, religion, learning, and liberty flourished among them, as they have continued to do, in a manner unparalleled in the history of the world, to the astonishment of all nations,

Dr. Abbot succeeded Bancroft as archbishop of Canterbury, in 1611; and being a man of decided piety, his aim was to promote genuine religion rather than its forms: he countenanced the Puritan clergy, as being the most truly orthodox in doctrine, and the greatest promoters of godliness.

Calvinistic doctrines had hitherto been professed as the principles of the church, by all the chief divines both in England and Scotland, from the period of the Reformation: but "some years previously to his death, the Calvinistic creed of the English monarch was relinquished for that of Arminius; an attachment to the doctrines of Calvinism became in consequence a badge of puritanism, and one quite as offensive to the court as a dissatisfied feeling in reference to the established ceremonies. This, however, will excite less surprise, when it is remembered, that the Arminianism of the dignified clergy was generally connected with an adherence to the maxims of arbitrary power, while the tenets of the Genevan reformer, as retained by the parochial priesthood, were as commonly associated with an attachment to the principles of civil liberty*." Hence arose the distinction of *doctrinal puritans*, as latitudinarian opinions prevailed at court under the Arminian denomination.

"The death of Bancroft took place fourteen years before

* Vaughan's Stuart Dynasty, vol. i, p. 341—346.

the death of the king, and from that period the true state of religion in the country became more apparent. In every parish where the puritan clergy continued to labour, they were indefatigable in the office of preaching, in catechising the young, in visiting the sick, and in the discharge of those functions which were adapted to produce in the people a rooted preference of that severe protestantism of which these devoted men were the advocates*.” The king was partly aware of this, and, during the latter half of his reign, the thought of crushing the nonconformists was abandoned by him as a hopeless case.

James died March 1625, “not without some anxious thoughts with regard to the future; and his character, viewed with regard to religion, affords but too much ground for painful apprehension.”—Vaughan adds, “This much applauded theologian was a man whose word had no value, and one whose recorded oath was not found to impose any certain restraint. He was not disposed to licentious pleasure, but could descend to minister to it in others, even in its grossest forms. With the view of raising himself to the place of the Almighty’s vicerent, and for the purpose of clothing the opponents of his personal inclinations with the guilt of impiety, he could appeal to every thing solemn in the sanctions of religion; and, at the same time, could profane the sacred name of God with a frequency and a vulgarity that is almost incredible. Hence, there is no court in our history, if we except that of Charles II, so unblushingly dissolute as that of James I; nor is there another reign in which the administration of justice became so systematically corrupt. The sovereign winked at licentiousness, and his dependents drank of it to the full. The breast of the king was not the place of truth; and with the men nearest to his person, truth became a matter of convenience†.”

Dr. Mosheim, a foreign ecclesiastical historian, remarks, “In the year 1625 died James I, the bitterest enemy of the doctrine and discipline of the puritans, to which he had been in his youth most warmly attached; the most ardent friend

* Ibid. p. 347.

† Ibid. p. 343, 344.

of the Arminians, in whose ruin and condemnation in Holland he had been singularly instrumental; and the most zealous defender of episcopal government, against which he had more than once expressed himself in the strongest terms. He left the constitution of England, both ecclesiastical and civil, in a very unsettled and fluctuating state, languishing under intestine disorders of various kinds *."

CHAPTER V.

SCOTLAND UNDER JAMES I.

Changes in England affect Scotland — Ecclesiastical constitution in Scotland — Prelacy inimical — James labours for its subversion — Bishops restored — High Commission — Four new articles — James visits Scotland — Imperiousness of the King — Five new articles — Persecution of the clergy — Death of James.

SCOTLAND being virtually united with England, by the succession of its king, James VI, would necessarily be affected, in a considerable degree, by all its changes, especially in matters of religion. Vital godliness prevailed very powerfully among the Scotch, by the diligent zeal of their ministers, from the period of the Reformation; but the tyrannical bigotry of the Stuart kings and the English priesthood, was severely felt by them, in a long series of grievous persecutions, similar to those endured by the puritans in England.

James had left the church of Scotland, as established at the Reformation, when he removed from his native country to ascend the English throne. That communion, it will be remembered, had rejected prelatical episcopacy, as having no foundation in the Scriptures; as being an essential part of popery, and pernicious to the interests of genuine piety. Presbyterian equality in their pastoral bishops had been adopted, as the manifest institution of Christ and his apostles, and the protestant nobles and ministers had repeatedly signed their national "solemn league and covenant," against popery and prelacy.

Ecclesiastical arrangements so simple and decided could not possibly have cordial friends among the popish clergy; and

* Ecclesiastical History, vol. v, p. 391.

they were equally disliked by the ruling priesthood in England; especially from the year 1588, when Dr. Bancroft published his unscriptural doctrine of the *divine right of diocesan bishops*. When, therefore, James arrived in England, being surrounded by that order of dignitaries, whose flattery of the vain monarch has become proverbial in history, and having adopted his boasted maxim, "No bishop, no king," he formed the determination, under their direction, to subvert the national church of Scotland, and in its stead to establish an episcopal hierarchy.

James's hypocrisy and meanness were evident in the manner of his proceeding to overturn presbyterianism, and establish prelacy in Scotland. Besides having repeatedly declared his conviction, that the church of Scotland was the purest upon earth, that unprincipled monarch, on leaving his native country, solemnly uttered and published his resolution not to alter its constitution, when at that very time he was corresponding with bishop Bancroft to effect its subversion! The Scots were soon aware of the king's intention, and he was obliged to proceed with caution. However, in 1606, his ministers secured a majority in the Scottish parliament, in favour of an act for restoring the popish dignity of the thirteen bishops; against which the General Assembly published this solemn protest:—"In the name of Christ, and in the name of the kirk in general, whereof the realm hath reaped comfort these forty-six years; also in the name of our presbyteries, from which we received our commission; and in our own names, as pastors and office-bearers within the same, for discharging of our necessary duty, and for the disburdening of our consciences; we except and protest against the erection, confirmation, or ratification of the said bishoprics and bishops by this present parliament; and humbly pray that this our protestation may be admitted and registered among the records*."

A convention of the nobles, however, agreed afterwards, that the bishops should be perpetual moderators in ecclesiastical assemblies; declaring at the same time, that it was not

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 74, 75.

intended to alter the church discipline; and a general assembly was convened to sanction these new measures. To increase the power of the bishops, in February 1610, the high commission was, contrary to law, put into their hands; and to give them a spiritual character, three were sent for to London, to receive consecration from the English bishops, that they might convey the mysterious authority to their brethren in Scotland. Thus was the Scotch national church overthrown, by the base Kingcraft of the hypocritical sovereign, and the ambitious archbishop Bancroft.

James was not satisfied with the mere constitution of bishops. In contradiction of his own royal word, and the solemn declarations of his ministers, the king was determined on compelling his subjects to observe a complete conformity, in religious ceremonies, throughout his dominions. To accomplish this, four new articles were drawn up, and sent to the general assembly of Scotland for their adoption: these were, "*first*, the Holy Communion should be received kneeling: *second*, the Eucharist should not be denied to the sick: *third*, Christmas, Easter, Ascension-day, and Whitsunday, should be observed as holidays; and *fourth*, Confirmation should be practised in a prescribed manner when the children were eight years old *."

These articles were rejected by the general assembly, as innovations, not founded on the Word of God; but the king resolved to enforce compliance by his august presence, and for this purpose, after *fourteen* years, James visited his "old kingdom." He issued a proclamation, declaring his intention, "not to alter the civil and ecclesiastical state, but to reform certain abuses in the church and commonwealth." He appointed commissioners to "settle the affairs of religion;" and they obtained the sanction of the parliament to this article, "*That whatsoever his majesty should determine in the external government of the church, with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the strength of a law* †."

Having thus far succeeded, the king ordered the bishops

* Rapin, vol. ii, p. 194, folio edition.

† Ibid. p. 194.

to summon the ministers to meet him at St. Andrew's; when he reproached them for their rejection of his "*four articles*," saying, "*I mean not to do any thing against reason; and on the other part, my demands being just and religious, you must not think that I will be refused, or resisted.*" Rapin remarks, "He spoke these last words knitting his brows, and looking at them with a majestic and stern eye, which made them all fall down on their knees." Then continuing his speech he said, "*It is a power innate, and a special prerogative which we that are Christian kings have, to order and dispose of external things in the polity of the church, as we by advice of our bishops shall find most fitting. And, Sirs, for your approving or disapproving, deceive not yourselves, I will never regard it, unless you bring me a reason which I cannot answer.**"

Such was the supercilious haughtiness with which James treated the venerable body of the clergy of Scotland; and such the imperious and irrational manner in which the king began to destroy the national church. The next general assembly at Edinburgh, however, refused to confirm the *four articles*, by which the king was highly provoked, and ordered a year's salary to be withheld, as a fine upon the ministers: but by the management of the courtiers, another was convened at Perth, Aug. 15, 1618, when *five articles* were carried, subversive of the discipline of the church; and which, after much court intrigue, and many threats from the king, were ratified in 1621, in the parliament at Edinburgh.

Still the clergy of Scotland refused to publish the new articles, which they denounced as illegal, contrary to the sense of the nation, and unscriptural: great numbers of them therefore were suspended, imprisoned, fined, and driven into exile, under the tyrannical court of high commission. During these violent proceedings, however, James was called from his dishonoured throne to the righteous tribunal of God, leaving his native country full of distractions, the consequence of his imprudence and intolerance; and the bitter fruit of his perfidious "*kingcraft*" was reaped by his unfortunate son and successor Charles I.

* Ibid. p. 194.

CHAPTER VI.

ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES I.

Character of Charles — He marries a papist — **Character of the Court Clergy** — Archbishop Abbot suspended — Laud the ecclesiastical chief — **Persecutions** — **Sufferings of Mr. Prynne, Dr. Bastwick, Dr. Burton, Bishop Williams, Dr. Leighton** — **Laud's bigotry** — **Religion** — **Progress of the Revolution** — **Parliament convened** — **Their redress of grievances** — **Archbishop Laud executed** — **Violence of the king** — **Civil war** — **Execution of the king** — **Authors of his death** — **State of religion** — "Assembly of Divines."

ENGLAND was still more grievously afflicted in the reign of Charles I, who succeeded his father James on the British throne. But to understand the true state of religion in this reign, it will be necessary to review the character of the sovereign, and that also of the ruling prelates.

Intelligent and discriminating writers have commended Charles I, as naturally of a mild disposition; temperate, sober, and regular in his religious duties; while his character as a king is estimated, by the most judicious, exceedingly low. This, however, may justly be attributed in a great degree to the pernicious principles of his father. Unhappily he was educated in all his lofty notions of the royal prerogative towards both church and state; and he seemed to look down upon all, except a few favourites, as inferior beings, created for the purpose of rendering homage and service to their sovereigns. Regardless of his professed protestantism and the wishes of his subjects, James had sent his son to Madrid, to complete a matrimonial alliance with a princess of that popish court: but happily, after much dissembling on both sides, the object failed, through the duke of Buckingham, the prince's unprincipled favourite. This visit, however, as Dr. Lingard states, produced "a baneful influence on the character of Charles. He was taught to intrigue, to dissemble, to deceive, and to employ misrepresentation and falsehood to vindicate his conduct in the eyes of the English public*."

According to bishop Burnet, Charles "affected, in his behaviour, the solemn gravity of the court of Spain, suited to his natural temper, which was sullen even to moroseness. He

* History of England, vol. ix, p. 293.

loved high and rough measures, but had neither skill nor height of genius to manage them. His whole reign, both in peace and war, was a continued series of errors. He was out of measure set upon following his humour, but unreasonably feeble to those whom he trusted, chiefly to the queen and to his clergy. He had a firm aversion to popery, but was much inclined to a middle way between protestants and papists, by which he lost one without gaining the other *."

Upon his majesty's accession, and before his father's funeral, he married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV, and sister of Louis XIII, then king of France. The queen was a bigot to her religion; and her conscience was directed by her confessor, a catholic bishop, assisted by the pope's nuncio, and numerous priests and Jesuits. Bishop Kennet considers "the king's match with this lady was a greater judgment to the nation than the plague which then raged in the land; for, considering the malignity of the popish religion, the imperiousness of the French government, the influence of a stately queen over an affectionate husband, and the share she must needs have in the education of her children (till thirteen years of age), it was then easy to foresee, it might prove fatal to our English prince and people, and lay in a vengeance to future generations †."

Dr. Abbot, the pious and moderate archbishop of Canterbury, retained his dignity for eight years after the accession of Charles I: but Dr. Laud, the leader of "the court clergy," had the chief direction in ecclesiastical matters. His ambition had been dreaded, even by James I; but on his death, he was greatly preferred: in 1628 he was made bishop of London, and on Abbot's decease, he was elevated to the high dignity of primate.

Abbot's influence was very inconsiderable at court, he being but little skilled in political intrigue. His sincere piety was offensive to the licentious courtiers; and refusing to license Dr. Sibthorp's assize sermon, the principles of which he regarded as both unchristian and unconstitutional, at the instigation of his enemy, the abandoned Buckingham, then

* Life and Times, vol. i, p. 34. † History of England, vol. iii, p. 4.

prime minister, with Dr. Laud, he was suspended from his archiepiscopal office. Unprincipled courtiers persecuted this holy prelate, as they had done his worthy predecessor, Dr. Grindal.

Dr. Montague and Dr. Mainwaring, royal chaplains, preached in favour of popery and arbitrary power, ridiculing "the saint-seeming, Bible-bearing, hypocritical puritans," as they termed those who manifested a strict regard to religion: but though the parliament took cognizance of their publications, and fined Mainwaring 1,000*l.* and the king expressed his disapprobation of their principles, the authors were rewarded with bishoprics, in direct contradiction to the royal word! *

Laud exercised an almost unlimited authority in ecclesiastical affairs, introducing many new ceremonies into the public service of the church, so as to make them as nearly as possible to conform to the Romish ritual. Many of the court clergy inculcated many doctrines utterly at variance with the principles of the Reformation: they declared that the church of Rome was a true church, and the pope the chief bishop in christendom: that images in churches were lawful, and that there was a real presence of Christ in the eucharist: that transubstantiation was harmless, being merely a scholastic nicety: that confession to a priest, with his absolution, was proper: and that the good works of men were meritorious before God. Laud bitterly persecuted those who held the Calvinistic sense of the *thirty-nine* articles of the church, which had been so interpreted by all the pious divines from the Reformation, whether conformist or nonconformist; and the venerable bishop Davenant was frowned upon and disgraced at court, for preaching on the doctrine of the *seventeenth* article.

Religion suffered by Laud's intolerant policy: for a royal edict, in 1629, prohibited all lecturers at the different churches, though supported by voluntary contributions. An association had been formed to place serious preachers in all the principal towns; 6,000*l.* had been collected, and *thirteen* lay impropriations had been purchased: but Laud interposed,

* Vaughan's Stuart Dynasty, vol. i, p. 425—431.

charging the association with the mal-practice of preferring nonconformists, and the impropriations were forfeited to the king*. Many of the lecturers were in fact nonconformists; but zealous preachers of the gospel of Christ, and on that account greatly beloved by the people.

Laud was the chief supporter of the high commission and the star chamber, in prosecuting the nonconformists. Such measures were pursued by those arbitrary courts, oppressing numbers of the most virtuous men in the nation, as called forth expressions of general indignation, especially from the clergy of Scotland, by whom several tracts were published against prelacy. In these they not only exposed the various cruelties of the ruling bishops, but showed the unscriptural character of the lordly episcopacy. It will be necessary to record a few instances of their merciless severity.

Mr. Prynne, a barrister, was accused before the star chamber, of having written against stage-plays, masquerades, and dances; and though his counsel made a learned vindication of his publication, he was sentenced to have his book burnt by the common hangman—to be excluded from the bar, and from Lincoln's Inn, and to be for ever incapable of exercising his profession—to be degraded at Oxford—to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside—to lose both his ears, one in each place—to pay a fine of 5,000*l.*—and to be imprisoned during life!

Dr. Bastwick was a physician, of Colchester in Essex: for publishing a treatise, in which he contended against the divine institution of episcopal prelates, and asserted the official equality of all Christian pastors, he was fined 1,000*l.*, suspended from the medical practice, excommunicated from the church, and imprisoned for two years!

Dr. Burton, chaplain to Charles when prince of Wales, was convicted of the same offence; and together with Bastwick, who had published while in prison a vindication of his treatise, was brought before the star chamber. They were adjudged to pay a fine—to stand two hours in the pillory—to lose their ears—and to be imprisoned during life!

* Stuart Dynasty, vol. i, p. 506.

Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, who had been Laud's patron, and who with difficulty prevailed on King James to advance him to a bishopric, being averse to the severities of that tyrannical prelate, "the warmest professions of friendship were succeeded by the most deadly enmity." Laud caused an information to be lodged against him in the star chamber, for revealing the king's secrets; which failing, he originated another for tampering with the king's witnesses, and Williams was fined 10,000*l.* to the king, 1,000*l.* to Sir John Mounson, and committed to the Tower during the king's pleasure. All his property being seized, his private papers were presumed to contain some reflections on Laud; and again he was prosecuted, and sentenced to pay 5,000*l.* to the king, and 3,000*l.* to the archbishop. "Laud's thirst of revenge outweighed his fear of reproach *."

Dr. Leighton, however, appears to have been the most remarkable victim of Laud's vindictive bigotry. His case has been selected by a clergyman † for his "BEAUTIES OF SENTIMENT," as the most striking illustration of "CRUELTY" furnished by history.

That learned presbyterian clergyman, indignant at the intolerance of the archbishop and his episcopal colleagues, published "An Appeal to the Parliament, or Zion's Plea against Prelacy." Few copies were circulated, as it was printed abroad; but some being obtained, the author was condemned in the star chamber; and while sentence was being pronounced, Laud removed his cap from his head, and rendered audible and solemn thanks to Almighty God for the decision! The illegal sentence was executed upon Dr. Leighton, and the archbishop was found to have made a record in his diary thus:—"Nov. 6. 1. He was severely whipped before he was put in the pillory. 2. Being set in the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off. 3. One side of his nose slit. 4. Branded on the cheek with a red hot iron, with the letters S. S. On that day seven night, his sores upon his back, ear, nose, and face, being not yet cured, he was

* Stuart Dynasty, vol. i, p. 476, 477; Neal, vol. ii. † Stretch.

whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside, and had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of his nose, and branding the other cheek."

Probably the diary of no other man, in any age or nation, ever contained such a record with his approbation; and every rational, feeling person will conclude, that the wretch who could make such memoranda, with satisfaction, in his private journal, must be a monster in human form! Yet apologists are still found, among the advocates of the hierarchy, in favour of archbishop Laud, representing Leighton as a man of bitter spirit. But what language could be employed sufficiently strong, to reprobate the worse than mortal cruelties, illegally exercised, and that in the abused name of the Prince of Peace?

Leighton bore his sufferings with the meekness and courage of an apostle. "But the fortitude of the sufferer marred the policy of his oppressors. It brought upon *them* the execrations of the people, and vested *him* with the honours of martyrdom*:" while every Briton ought to hold the star chamber in execration, to cherish a grateful recollection of these sufferers, who thus laboured to secure our civil and religious liberties.

Scriptural Christianity grievously declined under the dominion of these intolerant ecclesiastics. Under the excellent archbishop Abbot, and the pious bishops Hall and Davenant, who are the glory of the English episcopacy, many of the nonconforming clergy laboured with great success, and not a few truly devout people were to be found in different parts of the country. Yet the evangelical efforts of these holy prelates were seriously impeded by a large majority of ambitious irreligious dignitaries, by whom they were not exempted from persecution. Bishop Hall himself was brought upon his knees before his haughty episcopal brethren several times, and subjected to much vexation from their tyranny. By such severities, and encouraging immorality by

* Stuart Dynasty, vol. i, p. 469—471; Neal, vol. ii, p. 188, 189.

means of the "Book of Sports," the court prelates drew upon themselves the abhorrence of the virtuous part of the population.

Baxter's testimony as to the state of things at this period, seems most worthy of regard : that eminent man says,—“I cannot forget, that in my youth, when we lost the labours of some of our conformable godly teachers for not reading publicly the Book of Sports, and dancing on the Lord's day, one of my father's own tenants was the town piper, hired by the year for many years together, and the place of the dancing assembly was not a hundred yards from our door. We could not, on the Lord's day, either read a chapter, or pray, or sing a psalm, or catechise, or instruct a servant, but with the noise of the pipe and tabor, and the shoutings in the street continually in our ears. Even among a tractable people we were the common scorn of all the rabble in the streets, and called puritans, precisians, and hypocrites, because we rather chose to read the Scriptures, than to do as they did ; though there was no savour of nonconformity in our family. And when the people by the book were allowed to play and dance out of public service time, they could so hardly break off their sports, that many a time the reader was fain to stay till the piper and players would give over. Sometimes the morris-dancers would come into the church in all their livery, and scarfs, and antic dresses, with morris-bells jingling at their legs ; and as soon as common prayer was read, did haste out presently to their play again.”

A brief review of those steps which led to the revolution in this reign, will be considered necessary in this place. James I, as we have seen, became so inflated with the flattery of the court prelates as to set himself above all law ; and being taught by them that it was sedition to dispute his right to take the money of his subjects, without the votes of parliament, he determined on governing without that inconvenient assembly. Charles I, adopting this fatal policy of his father, and having like him bishops for his chief ministers, the imperious bigotry of Laud led him to attempt the overthrow of the church of Scotland, when that nation, roused to assert its rights against the oppressions of the illegal courts, demanded

the assembling of a parliament, as the only means of removing the intolerable evils under which the people of both nations groaned. The next chapter will show the memorable circumstances under which this parliament was called by Charles.

This assembly, composed principally of moderate churchmen, yet fully aware of the prelatical tyranny, entered upon their duties with a fixed determination to remove the national grievances; and from their sitting for *ten* years, they are known in history as "The Long Parliament." The unconstitutional courts of high commission and star chamber, were immediately abolished; and Dr. Leighton, on petitioning the house, was set at liberty. The reading of his petition, describing a series of sufferings during eleven years, unparalleled perhaps in English history, affected many of the members to tears; and when released from prison, the venerable man could hardly walk, or see, or hear! * Parliament allowed this injured man a small pension till his death, about four years afterwards, in 1644, in the 76th year of his age. All who had been imprisoned by those courts on account of religion, were liberated; and Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, were met by an immense multitude, and conducted several miles in triumph to London.

Williams, bishop of Lincoln, a clergyman remarks, "who had been exposed to that unjust and severe persecution under the tyranny of Laud, and was then confined in the Tower, was made archbishop of York. Hall, whose piety and learning all parties acknowledged, was translated to Norwich. Archbishop Usher, driven from Ireland by the rebellion, had a seat given him on the English bench. The last two of these prelates defended the episcopal government with great ability, but with that temper, and with a disposition to yield so much respecting the limits of the bishop's power, in order to reduce the English hierarchy more to the model of episcopacy in the primitive ages, that the moderate of all parties would probably have been satisfied." But "the court bishops" would yield nothing, expecting continued support

* Neal, vol. ii, p. 189, 190—193.

from the crown; on which account crowds surrounded the House of Lords, threatening the prelates with personal violence. Archbishop Williams then prevailed on his brethren to absent themselves from parliament, and to protest against the validity of all acts passed during their absence! They were, in consequence of this protestation, impeached of high treason, and ten of them sent to the Tower; the two others who had signed it, Moreton of Durham, and Hall of Norwich, on account of age were committed to the custody of the black rod, with 5*l.* per diem for their expenses. They were never brought to trial; as an act was soon after passed, excluding the bishops from the House of Lords. Charles signed this bill; but violated the privileges of the House of Commons, entering it with a large body of armed men to seize five of its most patriotic members: this procedure precipitated his ruin.

The parliament, being encouraged by addresses from all parts of the country, impeached archbishop Laud, and the earl of Strafford, of treason, as the authors of all the national disorders, and they were beheaded. Petitions being presented respecting the sad condition of the church from pluralities, nonresidents, and immoral clergymen, inquiry was made: such were dismissed by the authority of parliament, a portion of the revenues being allotted for their maintenance. A committee of thirty, called "Triers," was appointed to examine candidates for the sacred office, to fill the vacant churches with suitable pastors. Piety and preaching talents were the chief considerations; many of the nonconformists were promoted; and the parish pulpits were furnished with a larger number of learned, wise, and holy ministers, than had ever been possessed by the church of England.

The king was highly provoked with the proceedings of parliament, and raised an army to overthrow their measures; but being aware of his designs, they armed in their own defence. Here, however, a detail of the changes of this unhappy reign cannot be given: in short, the king, with the prelates, making every possible opposition against the parliament, the parties became incensed; a civil war resulted, and the popular party prevailed. All the king's concessions seemed to

be characterized by insincerity, which led, not only to the abolition of diocesan episcopacy, but to the overthrow of monarchy, with the dreadful crime of regicide, and the formation of a republic.

Tory and high-church writers generally represent Dissenters as the authors of Charles's death, and the king is called "A Martyr." Justice, however, requires it to be recorded here, that while only *two* ministers, Drs. Gauden and Hammond, episcopalians, remonstrated against the king's trial for his life, more than eight hundred nonconforming ministers in the country, and *sixty* in London, besides the presbyterians of Ireland and Scotland, opposed it by petitions, and by their firm protestations! * Dr. Warner, with much judgment, remarks, "I see no pretence for giving King Charles the title of a martyr. The protestant religion in opposition to popery was never the thing in question; and there was too great a complication of causes which brought him to the scaffold to ascribe it solely or principally to religion. But should it be allowed that religion was the only cause of his execution, we must then distinguish it away to episcopacy and the liturgy, and say that he died a martyr to the church of England; and yet at the treaty of Newport, he had reduced and suspended episcopacy and the liturgy for three years, and in a great degree given them up. If he was a martyr to any thing it was to monarchy, which is absurd: the truth is, he properly fell a sacrifice to the rage and enthusiasm of some fanatic leaders in the army, who proceeding from one licentiousness to another, had arrived at an implacable, republican, virulent spirit, regardless of all laws divine and human †."

Religion in these distracted times was grievously depressed: for the king, by his royal declaration accompanying the Book of Sports, encouraged Sunday wakes and diversions.

* Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, 4 vols.; Vaughan's Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty, 2 vols.; Neal's History of the Puritans, 5 vols.; Orme's Life and Times of Dr. Owen, 1 vol.; and of Richard Baxter, 2 vols.;—are worthy of consultation on these subjects.

† Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii, p. 577.

The Lord's day, therefore, was shockingly profaned, practical godliness being ridiculed as puritanism, and those attached to the king, with a few honourable exceptions, were generally distinguished for their licentiousness, which greatly accelerated his lamentable fate. Faithful to their sovereign were several prelates eminent for learning, piety, and moderation, especially Drs. Hall, Taylor, and Usher; and if Charles could have taken their advice, he would have been a more virtuous man and a better monarch; while their Christian counsels would have blessed the nation: but their principles being regarded as favouring puritanism, the other infatuated prelates prevailed to their own overthrow.

Patriotism was professed by the parliament; and their adherents were generally distinguished by sobriety of life and the observance of the forms of religion. Fanaticism and hypocrisy are charged upon them by party writers; and in some instances with reason, as their most ardent admirers cannot deny; still, though oppression had caused many thousands of the pious puritans to emigrate to America during the administration of Laud, this class had considerably increased under several denominations; among whom were to be found many, both of the clergy and laity, whose imperishable writings remain the monuments of their learning, talents, and piety.

At an early period the famous "Westminster Assembly of Divines" was convened by an "ordinance of the Lords and Commons in parliament, for settling the government and liturgy of the church of England." It consisted of *sixty* laymen, and a *hundred and twenty* clergymen, chosen from the most learned and pious in the nation. Mr. Baxter, who knew many of them, says, "They were men of eminent learning, godliness, ministerial abilities, and fidelity: as far as I am able to judge by the information of history, and by any other evidences, the Christian world, since the days of the apostles, had never a synod of more excellent divines than this and the synod of Dort*."

Neal gives the names of these great men, and an extended

* Life and Times, by Orme, vol. i, p. 86.

account of their labours; which, being directed by a majority in favour of a presbyterian establishment, similar to the church of Scotland, were rendered ineffectual, partly by the dread of another exclusive church, partly by the general toleration afterwards insisted on by Cromwell, and especially by the restoration of episcopacy with monarchy by Charles II. Their "Larger" and "Smaller Catechisms," however, constitute the standard of doctrine in the church of Scotland; and the smaller catechism is used for the instruction of children by a large portion of the Dissenters in Great Britain and America.

CHAPTER VII.

SCOTLAND UNDER CHARLES I.

Conduct of the bishops — Charles labours to overthrow the national church — He is crowned in Scotland — Laud's haughty conduct — He sends a liturgy for the Scotch — They reject it — Charles threatens them with an army — He is obliged to concede — The Scotch abolish prelacy and the oppressive courts — Charles repents and raises a second army — He is obliged to yield — Visits Scotland and conforms to its church — The bishops reproach him — And occasion his ruin.

CHARLES, inheriting the principles of his misguided father, adopted his despotic policy with regard to Scotland. Bishops had been nominated to the thirteen popish sees by James, and the high commission put into their hands. Expecting support from Charles, and being elated with their new dignity, the prelates behaved with arrogancy towards their presbyterian brethren, at which the people were filled with indignation. Various oppressive measures were adopted by the bishops to establish their elevation, and the first Lord's day in every month was generally observed by the ministers and people in special prayer and humiliation before God, on account of the prevailing disorders, which arose from the new order of things. In these services the evils of a lordly prelacy were frequently urged upon the attention of the people, contrasted with the benevolent institutions of Christ in the zealous and pious simplicity of their own pastoral bishops. Episcopal domination, therefore, felt as a grievance, was not only regarded as unscriptural, but increasingly abhorred in Scotland.

Charles was far from being satisfied with the appointment of bishops, while the ecclesiastical system was incomplete : under the direction of Laud, therefore, and in violation of promises made by his father to the Scotch, and of his own general promises not to alter religion, as left by the late king, he took the earliest opportunity to attempt the subversion of the church of Scotland, by establishing episcopacy in its complete form, and the imposition upon the people of a liturgy resembling that of the English Common Prayer.

Laud accompanied Charles to Scotland, and directed his coronation at Edinburgh, June 18, 1633 ; when the parliament assembled ; and the king being present, two motions were carried, one relating to the king's prerogative, and the other the apparel of churchmen. The lords denied that there was a majority for the motions ; but the threatnings of the king prevented a scrutiny of votes *. Laud preached before the king in the royal chapel, chiefly insisting on the utility of ceremonies in religious worship, making it the occasion of affronting the presbyterian clergy, whom he was unwilling to own as brethren.

Dr. Abbot dying soon after the king's return, Laud was appointed to succeed him as archbishop of Canterbury. He now sent articles to Scotland for the observance of the English liturgy and ceremonies in the royal chapel, "as a pattern for all cathedrals, chapels, and parish churches in that kingdom." Thus, Neal remarks, "were the liberties of the kirk of Scotland invaded by an English bishop, under the wing of the supremacy, without consent of parliament or general assembly." Early in 1637, the archbishop transmitted a new service-book to Scotland, requiring its adoption by all the congregations, to commence on Easter-day. This was regarded as a national insult, and the populace rose against the attempt : which being reported by an express to the king, he was advised by the headstrong archbishop to yield nothing ; and he returned the messenger to make known the royal determination. But the people were equally resolved ; and they would not submit to the unconstitutional

* Neal, vol. ii, p. 207.

impositions. Petitions against them, however, were answered by menaces from the king; on which account the nation generally, in *four tables*, or classes, the nobles, the gentry, the clergy, and burgesses, formed a union, binding themselves by a solemn covenant to maintain the independence of their scriptural religion, against prelacy, popery, and superstition. A general assembly being called, episcopal prelacy was abolished as contrary to the Scriptures, and the covenant was required to be signed by the whole nation. In consequence of this extraordinary proceeding, Charles declared his Scotch subjects, "*rebels*;" and yielded to the counsel of the archbishop to advance against them with an army of 20,000 foot, and 3,000 horse, and a fleet with 5,000 mariners, to compel them to adopt the liturgy and submit to episcopacy.

National enthusiasm in favour of their religion fired the bosoms of the Scots; who being aware of the king's preparations, raised an army for their own defence, and hastened to meet their sovereign, justifying their rejection of his illegal impositions. The two armies met on the frontiers: but though the royal forces were by far the most numerous, the Scotch were confident of victory should their troops engage, they being animated with one spirit; and regarding their cause as involving the honour of God and truth, they inscribed on their colours this motto, — "For Christ and his Covenant."

Many of the English favoured the cause of the Scotch, having felt the oppressions of Laud and the prelates; and Charles perceiving he could not depend on his troops, acceded to the propositions which were humbly proposed by his opponents. By this wise concession a dreadful slaughter was prevented — both armies were immediately disbanded — and the Scots called a General Assembly. This convocation voted away the service-book and new canons, and the high commission, unanimously determining that episcopal prelacy is unlawful and unscriptural, and not to be allowed in the church of Scotland.

Charles could not be expected to be sincere in regarding the petition of the Scotch, and in granting this pacification, only from dire necessity; and all the favourite schemes of

the archbishop being thus defeated, the king repented, and ordered his commissioners to object against their decisions. Laud, at the same time, corresponded with Wentworth, lord lieutenant of Ireland, who united in recommending the king to set aside the pacification, and vigorously renew the war. With this counsel, they engaged to furnish money, and an army of Irish; and the king approving the ambitious project, immediate preparations were made to carry forward "the episcopal war," as it was denominated by bishop Pierce.

The Scotch were not ignorant of the designs of the king; and they arose a united people to defend their national church. Many of the English nobles also, vexed with the unconstitutional measures of Charles and his ministers, as carried forward by the courts of star chamber and high commission without the sanction of parliament, by their letters, encouraged the Scotch in their righteous cause, promising them assistance; as they perceived that the contest involved the liberties and honour of both nations. In 1640 the two armies met a second time; but neither the mercenaries from Ireland, nor the English soldiers of the king, possessed zeal for their master's unworthy cause; while the Scots, united in heart, drove the royal army before them, and advanced into England, forwarding a humble petition to the king, requiring him to recal his proclamation which styled them "rebels"—to ratify their acts of parliament, and to call an English parliament for the establishment of peace in both kingdoms.

Reduced to this most humiliating dilemma, Charles was obliged to sacrifice his favourite despotism, in governing without parliaments according to the advice of his ambitious counsellors, and yield to the mortifying condition to call that national assembly. The English parliament proceeded vigorously in the reform of abuses, as noticed in the last chapter; and the king made a second visit to Scotland to meet its parliament, Aug. 19, 1641. Charles conducted himself with remarkable moderation towards his Scotch subjects. "Accordingly his majesty allowed of their late proceedings in opposing the English liturgy, and erecting tables in defence of their liberties; he confirmed the acts of their assem-

bly at Glasgow, which declared, that "the government of the church by archbishops and bishops was contrary to the Word of God, and was therefore abolished." All parties were so well pleased, that it was said, when his majesty left the kingdom, that "he departed a contented king from a contented people."

Charles on his return from the north was painfully subjected to the rebukes of the English prelates. They presumed to reproach their sovereign for having acknowledged the unscriptural character of their dignities, and for having conformed in public worship with the rites of the national church of Scotland! Again the king is said to have repented: but it was impossible to prevail by an armed force. And thus the unhappy monarch was agitated as by every wind. Flattered and bewildered by weak and wicked ministers who had set law at defiance, and by an imperious popish queen, the feeble king adopted, practised, or relinquished, the most pernicious principles, as his power prevailed or declined: and while he sought to gratify the ambition of lord Wentworth and archbishop Laud, he tarnished his royal honour by violating his most sacred engagements—sacrificed his peace of conscience—and involved the nation in a series of calamities, which brought his two favourite counsellors, and ultimately himself, to terminate their lives on the scaffold, as related in the last chapter on ENGLAND!

CHAPTER VIII.

IRELAND.

Scotch Presbyterians and English Puritans colonize Ulster—Revival of religion—Articles—Usher's wise measures—They offend bishop Laud—Complaint of the bishops—Bishop Bedell's—Laud's intolerance—Irish Massacre—Memoir of Usher—of Bedell:

IRELAND had partially received the protestant faith in the reigns of Henry VIII, and Elizabeth: but during the seventeenth century, there was no great advancement of religion. Nevertheless the seeds of divine truth were sown in different parts of the island, and these brought forth fruit unto life eternal.

Ulster, at the beginning of this century, was colonized by protestants, through the noble efforts of some public-spirited citizens of London, chiefly puritans. In accomplishing this they purchased large tracts of land, and invited over great numbers of the Scotch. These were glad to find an asylum from the increasing persecutions in their own country; and with them were united many of the oppressed English puritans. Their ministers were chiefly presbyterians; and their churches were formed after the plan of discipline in Scotland: but they submitted to ordination by the bishops, the objectionable parts of the service being exchanged for others of their own choice. Having entered on their office, they held monthly meetings for prayer and conference, for the advancement of personal piety, and the extirpation of popery*. Quarterly communions also were held by them, by which fraternal union was cherished among the protestants, zeal for the glory of Christ was inflamed, many of the Irish were civilized, and not a few were converted from popery, becoming true Christians.

Several judicious measures were adopted with a view to perpetuate this good work. Articles of religion were thought desirable to promote the stability of the Protestant doctrine in Ireland; and the ministers having drawn up a Confession of Faith, the draught was referred to the eminently learned Dr. Usher, under whose direction it passed the convocation and the parliament, and was ratified in the king's name by the lord lieutenant Chichester. The articles were worded as suggested by the puritans at the Hampton Court conference, so as to compromise the difference between that body and the church of England. Presbyterian ordination was acknowledged as valid; there seemed to be a comprehension between the two parties, Dr. Usher affording his countenance and approbation. When bishop of Meath, and archbishop of Armagh, this truly excellent prelate encouraged the ministers in every good work; while, in exchanging religious services, officiating for each other in their different places of worship, they advanced the cause of Christ among the people.

* Neal, vol. ii, p. 88—90.

Catholic liberality like this, in relation to the externals of religion, was not likely to be approved by the court clergy in England. The ruling prelates were provoked with archbishop Usher adopting measures, which were essentially the same as they were waging war against in their English dioceses. They knew that the reformation in Ireland had been erected on a puritan foundation, though episcopacy was established by law: when Laud, therefore, was raised to the bishopric of London, the papists were countenanced, but the puritans were persecuted; yet he employed his influence with the king in favour of the Irish episcopal revenues. Popery increased, while the church of Ireland sunk into a grievous condition, as was testified by a protestation, signed, Nov. 26, 1626, by archbishop Usher and eleven of his brethren. This was disregarded; and April 1, 1630, Dr. Bedell, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, forwarded the following melancholy statement. "The popish clergy are more numerous than those of the church of England; they have their officials and vicars-general for ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and are so hardy as to excommunicate those who appear at the courts of the protestant bishops. Almost every parish has a priest of the Romish communion; masses are sometimes said in churches, and excepting a few British planters, not amounting to the tenth part of the people, the rest are all declared recusants. In each diocese there are *about seven or eight of the reformed clergy well qualified; but these being English, and not understanding the language of the natives, cannot perform divine service, nor converse with their parishioners to advantage, and consequently are in no capacity to put a stop to superstition* *."

Laud being promoted to the archiepiscopal dignity in 1633, the restless spirit of this haughty priest could not be satisfied without perfect conformity in Ireland with the ceremonies of the English church. He contrived, therefore, not to remedy the evils complained of by bishop Bedell, but to have the articles of the Irish church, which included archbishop Whitgift's articles and a requisition for the strict observance

* Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii, p. 750.

of the Lord's day, set aside, and the thirty-nine articles of the church of England adopted in the convocation of Dublin in 1634, and ratified by the parliament. Uniformity was required to be enforced; and thus the pious harmony of the churches of Christ in Ireland was broken; the protestants were divided and weakened, popery increased, and the train was thus laid for the dreadful massacre of 1641. It will be necessary to give in this place a brief detail of that terrible catastrophe.

Implacable hatred to scriptural knowledge was cherished by the papists of Ireland: yet the well-directed zeal of the truly Christian archbishop Usher strengthened the protestant interest for a long time, by the encouragement he afforded to ministers of piety and talents, without binding them down to the strict observance of rites and ceremonies. But Laud's zeal for an external uniformity, impeded the progress of pure Christian truth, originated his innovations in 1634, and produced that division, which almost paralyzed the services of the few active and pious protestant ministers, and the people were alienated from a hierarchy, which could afford them scarcely any instruction in their own language, and yet oppressed them by various exactions.

The papists beheld with satisfaction their principal opponents silenced and weakened: and, maturing their own plans, especially after Charles I had procured about ten thousand catholics to be armed and trained for the purpose of assisting him in England against the parliament, they seized the opportunity, and attempted, by means of these armed papists, to exterminate protestantism in Ireland. This massacre commenced October 23, 1641: the protestants were hunted in all directions; and, according to the calculations of some, no less than 150,000 were destroyed upon this occasion, by every species of brutal cruelty!

Ireland is greatly indebted to the piety and labours of two most worthy prelates; whose noble services in the cause of Christ, were yet grievously hindered by the ecclesiastical system, of which they were indeed its greatest ornaments; a few notices further must therefore be given of them.

Dr. James Usher, the first student in the university of

Dublin; and in which he became a popular preacher, at an early period. In 1620 he was raised to the bishopric of Meath; and in 1625 he was promoted to the archbishopric of Armagh. His diligence in study enabled him to acquire an extraordinary degree of learning; and he was no less remarkable for his piety and Christian moderation: by those qualifications he rendered essential service to the cause of Jesus Christ, conducting himself wisely towards the Scotch presbyterians and the English puritans in his province. His usefulness, however, was grievously impeded by Laud's policy, especially after his subversion of the Irish church, by his contriving the imposition of the new articles, and the enforcing of uniformity. Despairing to accomplish any beneficial improvement, he came to England, a short time before the Irish rebellion; and the massacre, with its consequent disorders, prevented his return. Usher died in 1655 in England.

Dr. Bedell also was truly eminent both as a Christian and as a minister. He obtained, in 1629, the bishopric of Kilmore and Ardagh, and applied himself with zeal to reform the abuses of the church, and the shocking disorders that prevailed in his diocese, treating the papists with Christian mildness. After he was *sixty* years of age, he learned the Irish language, into which he translated the Common Prayer, which was read every Sunday in his cathedral. Archbishop Daniel having translated the New Testament into the Irish, Bedell procured a translation of the Old Testament, of which an edition was printed at the expense of the honourable and truly generous Robert Boyle. When the dreadful rebellion of 1641 broke out, his was the only house in Cavan that was not violated. But through affording shelter to many protestants at that time, the bishop was seized and imprisoned in a castle for three weeks: respect for his virtues prevented his being put in chains. Bedell died in 1642, aged *seventy-two* years; and the Irish honoured him at his funeral: the rebel chiefs assembling their forces to accompany the procession to the churchyard, firing a volley at his interment, when a Romish priest is said to have exclaimed, "*Requiescat in pace, ultimus Anglorum*" — Let him rest in peace, he is the last of the English!

BOOK VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES I TO THE REVOLUTION
UNDER WILLIAM AND MARY.

CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND DURING THE COMMONWEALTH.

Infidel cavils — Prevalence of religion — Learned patronized by Cromwell — His character — Religious liberty — Zeal for religion — Eminent divines — Baxter's testimony — The Independents — The Quakers.

"RELIGION in England during the Commonwealth" is regarded by many as an absurdity. They consider that it had no existence. But few things in British history seem to have been more grievously mistaken and misrepresented, than the state of religion during the Commonwealth. Infidel and irreligious writers, and some of whom better things may be hoped, characterize it as "the age of ignorance, fanaticism, and hypocrisy."

Truth requires the admission, that hypocrisy, fanaticism, and cant, disfigured the annals of that age: but at the same time, it is manifest that religion, sincerity, and learning, were cherished in the highest degree during the interregnum. Mr. Orme remarks, "Judging from certain external appearances, and comparing them with the times which followed, the opinion must be highly favourable. Religion was the language and the garb of the court; prayer and fasting were fashionable exercises; a profession was the road to preferment: not a play was acted in all England for many years; and from the prince to the peasant and common soldier, the features of puritanism were universally exhibited. Judging again from the wildness and extravagance of various opinions and practices, which then obtained; and from the fanatical slang, and hypocritical grimace, which were adopted by many, merely to answer a purpose — our opinion will necessarily be unfavourable. The truth, perhaps, lies between the extremes of unqualified censure, and undistinguishing approbation. Making all due allowance for the infirmity and sin

which were combined with the profession of religion; still, we apprehend, an immense mass of genuine religion will remain. It is freely admitted, that no religion was necessary to make a man talk about seeking God; or to lead him to hear many sermons, and even to make long prayers. All these things were done by many, whose conduct discovered that their pretensions were more than questionable. But when we find along with these, fervent zeal for the fruits of righteousness, the glory of God, and the spiritual and temporal well-being of men; active labours in preaching the gospel, or patient suffering on account of it, the aspect of religious profession becomes very different. It is impossible to doubt the sincerity of such persons. Yet such were multitudes in the days of Cromwell, who are reckoned fanatical precisians, or designing knaves. These very persons became, in the days of the Second Charles and James, confessors and martyrs for the truth. The two thousand ejected ministers, and the ten thousands of the people who suffered the loss of goods and of liberty — of country, and even life itself, were, for the most part, the generation of the Commonwealth. Their conduct, perseverance, and sufferings show, that they were not the sickly dreamers, and visionary enthusiasts, they have been reckoned, but men of elevated and scriptural piety*.”

Learning never had patrons more zealous for its advancement than at this period, in which two works especially were produced, which have immortalized the names of their authors: one was a “Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews,” by Dr. Owen, still called “the prince of theologians,” and to whom it is said “the original languages of the Scriptures were as familiar as his mother tongue;” the other was an edition of the “Polyglot Bible,” by Dr. Walton. “The Biblia Polyglotta Waltoni, is by far the most valuable and important biblical work which ever issued from the British press; which has rendered immense service to the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures, and conferred immortal honour on its projectors and editor.” Se-

* Life of Dr. Owen, p. 185—187.

veral Polyglots had been published by "Catholic princes, prelates, or private individuals. None of the Protestant princes or patrons of learning had yet attempted any work of this nature. It was reserved for England to wipe away this reproach; and that, not during the reign of her royal 'Defender of the Faith,' and under the auspices of her richly beneficed bishops; but during the reign of fanaticism, and under the patronage, though his name was afterwards ungraciously blotted out, of the prince of fanatics—**OLIVER CROMWELL!**"*

Correctly to determine the character of that extraordinary man, appears extremely difficult, from the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed—from the high commendations of his admirers on the one hand, and on the other from the unmeasured censures of his determined enemies. Cromwell was ambitious, as all allow: but it is remarked that his ambition was in a great degree defensive. All parties agree in testifying the strict morality of his private life, his temperance, and chastity: his munificent patronage of science and religion; his public and private devotion; his reverence for the Protestant faith, and his uniform respect for the rights of conscience. "The services which he rendered to his country and to religion are not unknown; and whatever may be thought of his motives, those services were neither few nor small. To the last, his private morals remained untainted; his public regard for religion, and for religious persons, was maintained; and he died with a prayer, becoming a Christian, and not unworthy of the Protector of England.†"

During the Commonwealth no system of church government can be considered as having been properly or fully established. The Presbyterian, if any, enjoyed this distinction. But the ministers who occupied the parish churches, were of various denominations. Many of them were secret friends to the old episcopacy and the liturgy. Many were for a reformed episcopal government. Some were Independents, and a few were Baptists. Cromwell's policy en-

* Ibid. p. 206, 207

† Ibid. p. 184.

couraged this diversity ; as he dreaded the ascendancy of any one party. No sacrifice of conscience was demanded ; no encroachments on religious liberty were practised ; no bounds were prescribed to zealous exertion for the souls of men. Every man sat under his vine and his fig tree without fear. The word of the Lord had *free-course*, and was glorified *.

However that age may have been ridiculed by the profane despisers of the gospel, there are numerous circumstances which clearly indicate, not only a better state of things than is commonly imagined, but an extensive prevalence of scriptural knowledge and genuine piety. The statutes which enforced the strict observance of the Lord's day—the legal prohibition of theatrical exhibitions—the unprecedented circulation of the Scriptures—the vigorous efforts made to propagate Christianity in Wales, Ireland, and among the American Indians—the publication of learned theological works, replete with evangelical doctrine and practical piety—and the veneration which the people cherished for a large number of pious, learned, sober-minded, and laborious ministers, among whom were Drs. Goodwin, Owen, Manton, and Bates ; and Messrs. Flavel, Charnock, Poole, Howe, and Baxter, whose talents have never been surpassed by the ministers of Christ in any age, and whose imperishable writings still constitute an invaluable treasure, enriching the church of Christ—all these facts, besides the number of great men who were educated by the teachers of this generation, demonstrate that sound learning prevailed, and that the purest religion exerted a preponderating influence over the national character.

Baxter's testimony deserves the highest regard, as he was fully agreed with no party on the subject of church government. He says :—" I do not believe that ever England had so able and faithful a ministry since it was a nation, as it hath at this day ; and I fear that few nations on earth, if any, have the like. Sure I am the change is so great within these twelve years, that it is one of the greatest joys that ever I had in the world to behold it. O how many congregations are

* Ibid. p. 287.

now plainly and frequently taught, that lived then in great obscurity! How many able, faithful men are there now in a county, in comparison of what were then! How graciously hath God prospered the studies of many young men that were little children in the beginning of the late troubles, so that they now cloud the most of their seniors! How many miles would I have gone twenty years ago and less, to have heard one of those ancient, reverend divines, whose congregations are now grown thin, and their parts esteemed mean by reason of their juniors! I hope I shall rejoice in God, while I have a being, for the common change in other parts that I have lived to see; that so many hundred faithful men are so hard at work for the saving of souls. I know there are some, whose parts I reverence, who being in point of government on another mind from them, will be offended at my very mention of this happy alteration; but I must profess, if I were absolutely prelatical, if I know my heart, I could not but choose for all that to rejoice. What! not rejoice at the prosperity of the church, because men differ in opinion about its order! Should I shut my eyes against the mercies of the Lord? The souls of men are not so contemptible to me, that I should envy them the bread of life, because it is broken to them by a hand that had not the prelatical approbation. O that every congregation were thus supplied! *"

Liberty being allowed to all Protestants during the protectorate, to publish their own opinions on church government, several denominations besides the Presbyterians now began to make a figure in England, the Independents, the Baptists, and the Quakers.

The Independents arose with the Reformation, affirming, with the nineteenth article of the church of England, that "the visible church is a congregation of faithful men, in which the Word of God is faithfully preached, and the sacraments duly administered according to Christ's ordinance." They declared, that every congregation of believers is properly a Christian church, according to the institutions of the New Testament; and that it is in no respect subject to the pope, a

* Orme's Life of Baxter, vol. i, p. 191, 192.

prelate, or a king, in matters of religion: the institutions of Jesus Christ alone, as contained in the Scriptures, being binding upon Christians. Disallowing all responsibility to any human tribunal, in respect to spiritual affairs, they were called Independents, as already mentioned. After the martyrdom of Udall, in the last century, his principles increased, and the first modern Independent church was formed in England in 1607, of the Baptist denomination: the first modern Independent church admitting children to baptism, was formed in 1633; but their meeting was privately held on account of spies from the star chamber and high commission courts.

Perceiving the importance of exhibiting to the nation a statement of their principles, permission was obtained of the government, for the bishops and deacons of the congregational churches in England and Wales, to hold a public meeting for that purpose in London. "About *two-hundred* elders and messengers, from above *one hundred* churches, assembled at the Savoy, September 29, 1658, and continued together till October 12. Mr. Griffiths was chosen clerk, and Drs. Owen and Goodwin, Messrs. Nye, Bridge, Caryl, and Greenhill, were appointed a committee to prepare the heads of agreement, which were brought in every morning, discussed, and the statement to be adopted unanimously agreed to. The whole was afterwards published, entitled, "A Declaration of the Faith and Order, owned and practised in the Congregational churches in England; agreed upon and consented to by the elders and messengers in their meeting at the Savoy, October 12, 1658." At this period the Congregational, or Independent, churches in England and Wales amounted to nearly *two hundred*, including about *seventy* Baptists.

The Quakers arose during the Commonwealth. By their peculiarities, and their unconquerable zeal in preaching several of the great doctrines of the gospel, they gained many adherents. Their founder was George Fox; a man of obscure family, but possessing sincere piety; persevering in labours, unwearied in his benevolent exertions, and of invincible patience in suffering for Christ. His enthusiasm at

first led him and some of his followers into various irregularities, and intolerable extravagancies, which are not justified even by his advocates. "Seekers after truth" was the title they at first assumed, and afterwards the more appropriate appellation of "Friends," which they still use; but their enemies, as a term of reproach, from some of them trembling when brought before the magistrate on account of their zeal in preaching, gave them the denomination of "Quakers."

CHAPTER II.

SCOTLAND DURING THE COMMONWEALTH.

Scotland enjoys prosperity — Religion flourishes — Charles II crowned in Scotland — Bishop's testimony concerning the Presbyterian clergy — Reflection.

SCOTLAND, during the Commonwealth, enjoyed its own forms of religious worship and government. Its national church remained entire, though party-spirit was not quite extinct. Still, as Burnet remarks, "There was good justice done, and vice was suppressed and punished; so that we always reckon those eight years of usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity*."

So far from approving the usurpation of Cromwell, they made several attempts to restore monarchy by elevating the young prince. They sent for him from the continent and crowned him at Scone, as Charles II, requiring him to take their "solemn league and covenant." Their efforts, however, were defeated by the army of Cromwell.

Religion prospered surprisingly in Scotland at this period; as is testified by bishop Burnet, who was at that time a minister in that country. Referring to this state of the church, after the restoration, and contrasting it with its wretched condition on the establishment of episcopacy by Charles II, he says, "The former incumbents were a grave and solemn sort of people. Their spirits were eager, and their tempers sour: but they had an appearance that created respect." Considering the persecutions which they had endured under James I and Charles I, it would be natural to expect they

* Life and Times, vol. i, p. 93, 12mo. edition.

would be men of *solemn gravity*, being made more alive to the awful and glorious realities of death, judgment, and heaven. "They were related," that prelate adds, "to the chief families of the country, either by blood or marriage; and had lived in so decent a manner, that the gentry paid great respect to them. They used to visit their parishes much, and were so ready at extempore prayer, that from that they grew to practise extempore sermons. For the custom in Scotland was after dinner or supper to read a chapter in the Scriptures: and where they happened to come, if it was acceptable, they on the sudden expounded the chapter. They had brought the people to such a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and servants would have prayed extempore. I have often heard them at it: and though there was a large mixture of odd stuff, yet I have been astonished to hear how copious and ready they were in it. Their ministers generally brought them about them on the Sunday nights, where the sermons were talked over, and every one, women as well as men, were desired to speak their sense and their experience, and by these means they had a comprehension of matters of religion, greater than I have seen among people of that sort anywhere. The preachers went all in one track, of raising observations on points of doctrines out of their text, and proving them by reasons, and then of applying those, and showing the use that was to be made of such a point of doctrine, both for instruction and terror, for exhortation and comfort, for trial of themselves upon it, and for furnishing them with proper directions and help: and this was so methodical, that the people grew to follow a sermon quite through every branch of it. To this some added, the resolving of doubts concerning the state they were in, or their progress or decay in it; which they called Cases of Conscience.—They lived in great familiarity with their people, and used to pray and to talk oft with them in private; so that it can hardly be imagined to what a degree they were loved and revered by them *."

Probably it would be difficult to conceive how any one could furnish a more honourable testimony in favour of a

* Ibid. p. 253—255.

body of Christian ministers, than is here given by bishop Burnet. And as to any "sourness," if they really manifested such a temper, which seems a little contradictory, it may fairly be attributed to the injuries which they had sustained from the courts of high commission, and the intolerant proceedings of the court and the prelates of England.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES II.

Monarchy restored—Character of Charles II—State of the country—Religion—Puritans conform—Savoy Conference—Act of Uniformity—Ejected clergymen—Their character—Sufferings—Authors of the Act—Bishops Sheldon and Ward—New clergy—Conventicle Act—Its rigours on the Nonconformists—Five Mile Act—The Great Plague—The Great Fire of London—Numbers of the ruined Nonconformists—Thomas Gouge—The Mon. Robert Boyle.

CROMWELL dying Sept. 3. 1658, his son Richard succeeded him as Lord Protector of England: but about *eight* months after, he relinquished that high station, and retired to private life, as more congenial with his habits and inclinations. General Monk, with a powerful army, marched into England, where contentions had arisen between the royalists and republicans: the general acceded to the request for a parliament to be called, and this voted the return of the king. Charles II arrived in London, May 29, 1660, and though he was indebted to the presbyterians for his restoration, he sacrificed all his most solemn promises, "that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." But in forming an opinion concerning the state of religion in England during this reign, it is necessary especially to consider the character of the sovereign.

Charles II was thirty years of age at this period, a complete gentleman in his manners, possessing a brilliant wit and a most engaging affability. But as a prince he inherited all the faults of his ancestors, together with a detestable vice almost peculiar to himself, a total want of sincerity. He regarded religion as an engine of state, and his professions on this sacred subject were the most grossly hypocritical. His court was the theatre of extravagance, profaneness, and

debauchery; in all which the king himself exhibited the most distinguished example. Bishop Burnet says, "He had a softness of temper that charmed all who came near him, till they found how little they could depend on good looks, kind words, and fair promises; in which he was liberal to excess, because he intended nothing by them, but to rid off importunities, and to silence all farther pressing upon him. He seemed to have no sense of religion: both at prayers and sacrament he, as it were, took care to satisfy people, that he was in no sort concerned in that about which he was employed. So that he was very far from being an hypocrite, unless his assisting at those performances was a sort of hypocrisy, as no doubt it was: but he was sure not to increase that by any the least appearance of religion. *He once said to myself, he was no Atheist*, but he could not think God would make a man miserable only for taking a little pleasure out of the way. He disguised his popery to the last.—He had a very ill opinion both of men and women; and did not think that there was either sincerity or chastity in the world out of principle.—The duchess of Cleveland was his first and longest mistress, by whom he had five children. She was a woman of great beauty, but most enormously vicious and ravenous; foolish but imperious, very uneasy to the king*."

"With the restoration of the king," Burnet remarks, "a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety: all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overrun the three kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted their morals. Under the colour of drinking the king's health, there were great disorders and much riot everywhere: and the pretences of religion, both in those of the hypocritical sort, and of the more honest but no less pernicious enthusiast, gave great advantages, as well as they furnished much matter to the profane mockers of true piety. Those who had been concerned in the former transactions thought, they could not redeem themselves, from the censures and jealousies that those brought on them, by any method

* Ibid. p. 147, 148, 12mo. edition.

that was more sure and easy, than by going into the stream, and laughing at all religion, telling or making stories to expose both themselves and their party as impious and ridiculous *."

Religion in England during the reign of such a sovereign, may reasonably be thought to have been seriously affected; and men of scriptural piety were persecuted with every possible circumstance of intolerance, with more severity than in the preceding reigns of Charles I, or James I.

At the restoration, particularly on the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, a considerable number of the non-conforming divines were induced to conform. Among these were some of the brightest luminaries that ever adorned the church of England; as will be manifest from a few of their names. Barrow, Bull, Cudworth, Gurnall, Leighton, Lightfoot, Pocock, Reynolds, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Wallis, Ward, Whichcot, and Whitby. These were generally men of moderation, desiring to comprehend the whole of their brethren within the enlarged pale of the church; but their benevolent wishes were defeated by the demon of bigotry.

Charles, both before and after his restoration, sent forth "declarations," stating his intention to restore episcopacy in the church of England, but pledging himself to restrain within due limits the power of the hierarchy; to reform the liturgy, to allow the use or omission of ceremonies as things indifferent, and to grant liberty of conscience to those who could not conform. The "Savoy Conference" was therefore called, April 15, 1661, between *twelve* of the new bishops with *nine* assistants, and as many of the presbyterian divines. Episcopacy, according to the plan drawn by archbishop Usher, was proposed by the presbyterians as the basis of their cordial union with the church: but the bishops, directed by Dr. Sheldon, bishop of London, having determined to make no concessions, the result was, increased mutual dissatisfaction; and the prelates, having the countenance of the irreligious court, succeeded in deciding the controversy in favour

* Ibid. p. 145, 146.

of episcopacy as in the previous reigns, and ceremonial uniformity, enforced by several intolerant acts of parliament.

Besides several other statutes, which reflect imperishable dishonour on the ruling powers under Charles II, the most injurious and infamous were the "Act of Uniformity," the "Conventicle Act," and the "Five Mile Act."

The "Act of Uniformity" originated with bishop Sheldon, and was made in the most shameful violation of the royal declarations. It required all ministers to declare their unfeigned assent and consent, to all and every thing contained in the "Book of Common Prayer," and to subscribe to the doctrine of passive obedience, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters: its consequences must ever be deplored, though God, in sovereign mercy, overruled them for infinite advantage to his church. The act took effect on St. Bartholomew's day, Aug. 24, 1662, occasioning an exhibition of holy integrity without a parallel in the whole history of the world. On that memorable day, after preaching "farewell sermons" to their weeping congregations, more than *two thousand* of the clergy, faithful to their religious convictions, peacefully relinquished their preferments, rather than violate their consciences by subscribing declarations which they disapproved.

In forming an estimate of the propriety of this decision on the part of this multitude of clergymen, their character should be considered. No immorality, heterodoxy, or ignorance, was alleged against them; neither were they accused of neglecting their ministerial duties, nor of disaffection to their sovereign: and though it cannot be affirmed that they were equally eminent as Christian pastors, many of them possessed the rarest ministerial talents and sound biblical learning, and were distinguished for their Christian virtues. "Among the churchmen of the day, there were none superior, as scholars and divines, to Calamy, Bates, Owen, Howe, Baxter, and many others. They were as capable of forming enlarged and comprehensive views of truth and duty, as Pearson, Gunning, Morley, or any other of their episcopal adversaries; while, as it regards the evidences of Christian character and devoted-

ness, there are few of the class from which they seceded, who will admit of being compared with them *."

Bishop Burnet testifies, "Many of these were distinguished by their abilities and zeal. They cast themselves upon the providence of God and the charity of their friends, which had a fair appearance, as of men that were ready to suffer persecution for their consciences. This begot esteem, and raised compassion: whereas the old clergy, now much enriched, were as much despised†." This caused a grievous outcry over the nation.

Mr. Locke, who knew many of those noble confessors, says—"The Bartholomew day was fatal to our church and religion, in throwing out a very great number of worthy, learned, pious, and orthodox divines, who could not come up to several things in the act." "They were shamefully ejected from the established church," says that Christian patriot, Mr. Wilberforce, "in violation of the royal word, as well as the clear principles of justice."

Burnet remarks, "The act was passed by no great majority, making no provision for the maintenance of those who should be so deprived: a severity neither practised by queen Elizabeth in the enacting of her liturgy, nor by Cromwell in ejecting the royalists; in both which a fifth part of the benefice was reserved for their subsistence. St. Bartholomew's day was chosen, that if they were then deprived, they should lose the profits of the whole year, since the tithes are commonly due at Michaelmas. Some few, and but few of the episcopal party, were troubled at this severity, or apprehensive of the very ill effects it was like to have. Here were many men, much valued, some on better grounds, and others on worse; who were now cast out ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, provoked by much spiteful usage, and cast upon those popular practices that both their principles and their circumstances seemed to justify, of forming separate congregations, and of diverting men from the public worship,

* Orme's *Life of Baxter*, vol. i, p. 287.

† *Life and Times*, vol. i, p. 315.

and from considering their successors as the lawful pastors of those churches in which they served *."

These conscientious confessors of Christ became, in this immoral and profane age, the subjects of raillery even in the pulpit! They were exposed to public ridicule upon the stage, and to the gross insults of the licentious rabble in the streets. Some sought an asylum in foreign Protestant countries; others became tutors in noble families; and others employed their talents in the professions of medicine and the law. Some, having property, retired to live upon their estates; but not a few were obliged to endure a series of the most painful privations. Many, like the persecuted apostles, dared not refrain from preaching Jesus Christ; by which they became obnoxious to the severest sufferings.

Though few of the conformists sympathized with these men of God, one writer of that class states, "It is impossible to relate the number of the sufferings both of ministers and people; — the great trials, with hardships upon their persons, estates, and families, by uncomfortable separations, dispersions, unsettlements, and removes; disgraces, reproaches, imprisonments, chargeable journeys, expenses in law, tedious sicknesses, and incurable diseases, ending in death; great disquietments and affrights to the wives and families, and their doleful effects upon them. Their congregations had enough to do, besides a small maintenance, to help them out of prison, or maintain them there. Though they were as frugal as possible, they could hardly live: some lived on little more than brown bread and water; many had but eight or ten pounds a year to maintain a family, so that a piece of flesh has not come to one of their tables in six weeks' time; their allowance could scarcely afford them bread and cheese. One went to plough six days, and preached on the Lord's day. Another was forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood. The zealous justices of peace knew the calamities of the ministers, when they issued out warrants upon some of the hearers, because of the poverty of the preachers †."

* Ibid. p. 302—304.

† Conformist's Plea, part iv, p. 43.

Mr. Baxter, one of their number, states, "Many hundreds of them, with their wives and children, had neither house nor bread. The people they left were not able to relieve them; nor durst they, if they had been able, because it would have been called a maintenance of schism or faction. Many of their ministers, being afraid to lay down their ministry after they had been ordained to it, preached to such as would hear them, in fields and private houses; till they were apprehended, and cast into jail, where many of them perished."

"The ministers," says Dr. Bates, "fell a sacrifice to the wrath and revenge of the old clergy, and to the servile compliance of the young gentry with the court, and their distaste of serious religion." Almighty righteousness will render a due reward to the originators of these inhuman laws, but their names deserve to be exhibited to posterity as the chief enemies of Christianity, of which they hypocritically pretended to be the chief ministers!

Sheldon, bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was the principal agent in procuring the terrible laws of this reign, aided indeed by lord Clarendon; though but few of the prelates were so debased in principal and character as to enter fully into his measures, except Ward, bishop of Salisbury.

Bishop Burnet says, "Sheldon was esteemed a learned man before the wars: but he was now engaged so deep in politics, that scarcely any prints of what he had been remained.—He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all: and spoke of it most commonly as of an engine of government, and a matter of policy. By this means the king came to look on him as a wise and honest clergyman*."

"Ward," says Burnet, "was a man of great reach, went deep in mathematical studies, and was a very dextrous man, if not too dextrous; for his sincerity was much questioned. He had complied during the late times, and held in by taking the covenant: so he was hated by the high men as a time-server. But the lord Clarendon saw, that most of the bishops were men of merit by their sufferings, but of no great ca-

* Ibid. p. 289.

capacity for business. So he brought Ward in, as a man fit to govern the church; and Ward, to get his former errors forgot, went into the high notions of a severe conformity, and became the most considerable man on the bishop's bench. He was a profound statesman, but a very indifferent clergyman *."

After the expulsion of those excellent confessors for Christ, the measures taken to supply their vacant churches was worthy of the guilty policy of that pernicious procedure. Some arose from the instructors of the late period, shining examples of learning and piety; especially those who had been induced to conform, whose names have been given: but many parishes were left destitute; the courtly divines receiving each the revenues of several livings, while others were occupied by inexperienced youths, ordained before they had finished their course of study. Burnet's testimony will probably have most authority in this respect. He states, that "the bishops, by renewing leases of the church estates, raised in fines about a *million and a half* of money. In some sees *forty or fifty thousand pounds* were raised, and applied to the enriching of the bishops' families.—What the bishops did with those great fines was a pattern to all the lower dignities, who generally took more care of themselves than of the church. The men of merit and service were loaded with many livings, and many dignities. With this great accession of wealth, there broke in upon the church a great deal of luxury and high living, on the pretence of hospitality; while others made purchases, and left great estates, most of which we have seen melt away. And with this overset of wealth and pomp, that came on men in the decline of their parts and age, they who were now growing into old age, became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the church: they left preaching and writing to others, while they gave themselves up to ease and sloth. In all which sad representations some few exceptions are to be made; but so few, that, if a new set of men had not appeared of another stamp, the church had quite lost her esteem over the nation †."

* Ibid. p. 316.

† Ibid. p. 305, 306.

In 1664 the "Conventicle Act" was passed: this was designed to prevent the total desertion of the parish churches, and effectually to silence ejected ministers, to whom the people still adhered with singular affection. This act subjected to heavy penalties those who either attended or officiated at any meeting held for religious purposes, in which the worshippers did not exclusively use the forms of the Common Prayer: it empowered all magistrates to levy a fine of 5*l.* upon each person, or to imprison for three months, for the first offence: a fine of 10*l.*, or to imprison for six months, for the second offence; and a fine of 100*l.*, or to be transported for seven years, for the third offence; and in case of returning or escape, to the suffering of death without benefit of clergy!

Papists, denying the people the use of the Scriptures, and assuming infallibility in their ecclesiastical decisions, might plead consistency in such a procedure: but what can be said for Protestants, with the Bible open before them, making such intolerant laws, alike repugnant to both the letter and spirit of Christianity? This terrible Act was rigorously enforced by the bishops, to whom archbishop Sheldon sent orders to return the names of all the nonconformist ministers, with their places of abode and manner of life, with the view of enforcing the laws against them with all severity. By these measures the jails throughout the country were quickly filled with the nonconformists. Some of the ministers, after attending public worship at church, were disturbed for delivering a short exhortation to a few of their parishioners; their houses were burst open, and those assembled taken into custody: warrants were issued for levying 20*l.* on the minister, the same sum on the house, and 5*l.* on each of the hearers. If the money were not immediately paid, a seizure was made of goods or cattle, which were sold for less than their value; and if the proceeds did not equal the amount of fine, the minister and people were hurried to prison for three or six months: the informers being encouraged by the ruling clergy, their base but lucrative employment was followed by multitudes.

Irreligious magistrates proceeded in a manner so arbitrary

and severe, that many were afraid to pray in their families, or even to say grace at meals, if five visitors were present. But the pious people, to avoid this cruel law, like the primitive Christians, when persecuted by the pagans, assembled frequently in the night, and in the most private places, even "dens and caves of the earth," to worship God; yet the "spies" often discovered them and dragged them to prison, which they never resisted, yielding to the soldiers or officers like their blessed Lord and Master.

Inhuman bigotry, however, had not yet exhausted its ingenuity in the infamous "Conventicle Act;" nor had it extinguished the spirit of pious nonconformity: other means were soon employed, worthy only of infernal malignity.

Sheldon and Clarendon, in 1665, obtained the "Oxford Five Mile Act." This imposed upon them an oath, which, as some nobleman declared, "no honest man could take," and in case of refusal, it restrained all dissenting ministers from coming within *five miles* of any city, corporate town, or any place where they had exercised their ministry; and from teaching any school, on the penalty of 40*l.* for every such *offence*, one third to be paid to the king, another to the poor, and the rest to the informer!

This year, 1665, the "great plague in London" happened, when nearly 10,000 of its inhabitants died *weekly*! and in the year following, 1666, the dreadful conflagration, by which 13,000 houses and 89 churches were destroyed! During these awful visitations of Providence, the ejected ministers exemplified their pious zeal and Christian benevolence, to their everlasting honour; but they were recompensed by additional persecutions for their disinterested labours! When, in the time of the plague, nearly the whole of the churches were deserted by the conforming clergy, and crowds of people, in the most fearful alarm, flocked to the sanctuary of God to seek the way of salvation and the consolations of the gospel, the ejected ministers ascended the vacant pulpits of the metropolis, preaching to the terrified population the unsearchable riches of Christ; disregarding the persecuting statutes, supposing the extraordinary case would afford a justification. In like manner, after the calamitous fire, they

fitted up many large rooms, of wood, which they called "Tabernacles," in which vast numbers received the word of life. These labours of pure Christian charity were, however, regarded as officious, and violations of the law, and rewarded therefore, in many instances, with grievous fines and ruinous imprisonment!

Language would fail to describe and detail the sufferings of those noble confessors for Christ: the earl of Castlemain truly remarked—"It was never known that Roman Catholics persecuted, as the bishops do, those who adhere to the same faith with themselves; and established an inquisition against the professors of the strictest piety among themselves: and however bloody the persecution of queen Mary, it is manifest that their persecution exceeds it; for under her there were not more than two or three hundred put to death; whereas, under their persecution, above treble that number have been rifled, destroyed, and ruined in their estates, lives, liberties; being, as is most remarkable, men for the most part of the same spirit with those Protestants, who suffered under the prelates of queen Mary's time!" No reflections could be more natural than those of that Catholic nobleman, while they indicate the dreadful malignity of that bigotry which influenced the ruling prelates, professed ministers of that religion whose essence is love to God and man! Christianity! dishonoured name! angels, if possible, must weep in reviewing the injuries it has thus sustained!

How many suffered under these cruel statutes, it is not possible correctly to ascertain. The losses in lives and property endured by the Puritans under Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, were immense beyond computation. Still it was calculated by well-informed persons of those times, that the Dissenters under the persecuting acts of Charles II and James II, to the number of about 70,000 families, were ruined in England, while 8,000 of them died in prison. Records of the names of about 60,000 persons, who had suffered on account of religion, were collected by Mr. Jeremiah White, more than 5,000 of whom had died in prison, in the reign of Charles II. James II heard of the manuscript of Mr. White, and offered to purchase it for a *thousand guineas*! but he

refused to part with it, and reflecting on the consequences of its publication, he generously committed it to the flames, for which it is probable it was wanted by that prince.

Notwithstanding these shocking proceedings against the faithful disciples and ministers of Christ, and the general departure from the spirit of his holy religion, all the conforming clergy were not destitute of genuine godliness. Still, as bishop Burnet testifies, "the number of sober, honest clergymen was not great." Those of the clergy who were averse to the severe policy of the court were denounced as enemies to the church: they were therefore obliged to be silent. These holy men were but few in number, and of inconsiderable influence, but they became the chief ornaments of the church of England after the Revolution.

Two characters especially of extraordinary excellence and usefulness require a record here; Mr. Thomas Gouge, and the Honourable Robert Boyle: their exertions to promote the knowledge of Christ among men, have rendered their names immortal.

THOMAS GOUGE, one of the ejected ministers, was educated at Cambridge, and for *twenty-four* years the vigilant and faithful pastor of St. Sepulchre's, London. His personal piety, charity, humility, and zeal for his Saviour, were extraordinary. His ample estate he devoted to the glory of God and the benefit of men. He made an annual tour through Wales, where he established *three or four hundred* schools, and preached the gospel until he was excommunicated by the bishops. Still he obtained the co-operation of several conformists, as well as nonconformists; and printed, chiefly at his own expense, *eight thousand* Bibles in Welsh, *one thousand* of which were given, and the others were sold at a low rate, to the poor, besides many good books for gratuitous distribution.

This great man died in 1681, aged 77, in the full assurance of glory; and though a Dissenter, Dr. Tillotson, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, preached his funeral sermon, testifying of his departed friend—"All things considered, there has not been, since the primitive times of Christianity, many among the sons of men, to whom that glorious cha-

racter of the Son of God might be better applied, that 'he went about doing good.'"

The Honourable ROBERT BOYLE was distinguished equally by birth, genius, and learning: but still more so by unfeigned and fervent piety. He was a son of the earl of Cork, and educated at Oxford, where he fixed his permanent residence, collecting around him a circle of men devoted to science and philosophy. This association, styling themselves "The Philosophical College," originated "The Royal Society of London." Mr. Boyle wrote various treatises on philosophical, critical, moral, and religious subjects: but his enlarged and diffusive piety was that which most distinguished him, as it led him to esteem as Christian brethren, both the excellent nonconformists, and the pious among the conformists, with whom he held the most sacred communion. Missions to the heathen, which had been commenced among the American Indians, received his generous support; and he contributed about *three hundred* pounds a year, to aid the labours of John Eliot and his colleagues among that wretched people; and when the Long Parliament incorporated a society for the promotion of Christianity among the Indians, Mr. Boyle was elected president. A translation of the New Testament into the Malayan tongue, was made at his expense, an edition circulated in the East Indies. By his influence also the East India Company were induced to countenance these labours for the heathen. He procured a translation of the New Testament into the Turkish language; he contributed largely towards an edition of the Welsh Bible, and gave 700*l.* towards an edition of the Bible in Irish. He founded a "Lecture" in defence of the Gospel, against the rising Deists in England during the reign of Charles II; and, as bishop Burnet stated in his funeral sermon, he devoted more than a *thousand pounds a year* to advance the interests of Christianity. Gouge and Boyle, and men of their spirit, are the glory of their age and nation, adorning the doctrine of God their Saviour.

Charles II terminated his ill-spent life in 1685, under circumstances of hypocrisy and criminality, illustrative of his principles and character; but which excite the abhorrence

of every serious mind, while contemplating the pernicious influence of his example on the nation, and the righteous tribunal of God!

CHAPTER IV.

SCOTLAND UNDER CHARLES II.

Restoration of episcopacy—Manner of its restoration—Sharp's character—New bishops—Leighton—Disapproves the pageantry of his colleagues—Patronage restored—Ministers ejected—Character of the new clergy—Persecutions—Leighton resigns his bishopric—He is made archbishop of Glasgow—Resigns his archbishopric—His piety—Archbishop Sharp murdered:

SCOTLAND was equally affected with England by the restoration of Charles II. That unprincipled prince was restored on his making a solemn oath, and signing a declaration to support the national church of Scotland. The same he afterwards promised, in a letter of September 1660, to the presbytery of Edinburgh*. Notwithstanding "the way for the subversion of presbytery was proposed by one of the most extraordinary and unprincipled statutes which was ever sanctioned by a legislative assembly—it was at length resolved, and resolved amidst the riot and debauchery which disgraced those to whom the king had entrusted the settlement of the nation, that all the parliaments held since the year 1640 should be declared null and void, thus rendering invalid those acts in confirmation of presbytery as the established religion, to which the late king had assented †."

Honour and truth were sacrificed in the most flagitious manner by those also who were the agents in setting up episcopacy in Scotland: of these the chief was James Sharp, who, as Dr. Cook remarks, "had openly betrayed his trust—who had often acted with the vilest hypocrisy—who, during the usurpation, had bowed the knee to Cromwell, and abjured the family to which he now professed the most fervent loyalty ‡." Bishop Burnet, who knew him, speaks of him as being without principle. Being a man of a restless spirit, he

* Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. iii, p. 229.

† Ibid. p. 233.

‡ Ibid. p. 256.

obtained from the earl of Glencairn a recommendation to the court, "as the only person capable to manage the design of setting up episcopacy in Scotland, on which he was received into great confidence. Yet as he had observed very carefully the success of Monk's solemn protestations against the king and for a commonwealth, it seems he was so pleased with the original that he resolved to copy after it, without letting himself be diverted from it by scruples: for he stuck neither at solemn protestations, both by word of mouth and by letters (of which I have seen many proofs), nor at appeals to God of his sincerity in acting for the presbytery, both in prayers and on other occasions; joining with these many dreadful imprecations on himself if he did prevaricate. He was all the while maintained by the presbyterians as their agent, and continued to give them a constant account of the progress of his negotiation in their service, while he was indeed undermining it*."

Sharp was the author of the king's letter to the presbytery of Edinburgh, designed to deceive the presbyterians: on which Burnet remarks, "It seemed, that Sharp thought it not enough to cheat the party himself, but would have the king share with him in the fraud. This was no honourable step to be made by a king, and to be contrived by a clergyman†."

Episcopacy having been resolved for Scotland, and this being published in a proclamation from the king, "Sharp was ordered to find out proper men for that office. That care was left entirely to him, and the choice was generally bad. Fairfoul, designed for the see of Glasgow, was a pleasant and facetious man, insinuating and crafty. His life was scarcely free from scandal; and he was eminent in nothing that belonged to his own function: but he had passed his whole life long for one of the cunningest men in Scotland. Hamilton was a good-natured, but weak man. The fourth was Robert Leighton, then at London, on his return from Bath, where he had been for his health. He was accounted a *saint* from his youth up: a master both of Greek and He-

* Burnet's Life and Times, vol. i, p. 144, 145. † Ibid. p. 174.

brew, and of the whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest was, he was possessed with the highest and noblest sense of divine things that I ever saw in any man*."

Sir Elisha Leighton, his brother, had secured this honour for his relative: he being secretary to the duke of York. "He was a papist, having changed his religion to raise himself at court; yet he was a very immoral, vicious man; and that perhaps made him the more considered by the king, who loved him and trusted him to a high degree†."

Sharp opposed this nomination: but the four prelates were consecrated at Westminster Abbey, Dec. 16, 1661; and in April following they travelled to Scotland all in one coach. "Leighton told me," says Burnet, "he believed they were weary of him; for he was weary of them. But he, finding they intended to be received at Edinburgh with some pomp, left them at Morpeth, and came to Edinburgh a few days before them. The lord chancellor, with all the nobility and privy counsellors then at Edinburgh, went out, together with the magistracy of the city, and brought the bishops in, as in triumph‡." On the 7th of May, "The two archbishops in the magnificent dress of their order, consecrated bishops for the different sees: the see of Edinburgh only being kept vacant, in the hope that Douglas, one of the most venerable and respected of the ministers, would be induced to accept of it, and to strengthen the new establishment by his talents and his virtues. On the following day, the second session of the parliament commenced. An act was immediately passed for the restitution of the ancient government of the church by archbishops and bishops; and being invited, they resumed their places in parliament, as one of the branches of the legislature§."

Episcopacy was in this manner set up in Scotland; as Dr. Cook remarks, "by a mere act of the prerogative." The people "were shocked by the manners of those who laid

* Ibid. p. 213—215.

† Ibid. p. 218, 219.

‡ Ibid. 230, 231.

§ Cook's History, vol. iii, p. 250, 251.

the foundation of the new establishment.—The earl of Middleton and the courtiers who attended him openly indulged in the most brutal intemperance: they were impious and profane. With that infatuation which marked the whole of this ecclesiastical revolution, the choice of bishops was such as would have estranged every conscientious man from the church over which they presided*.”

Patronage being restored with episcopacy, all the parochial clergy were required to take presentations from the patrons before Michaelmas, otherwise their churches were declared vacant. The proclamation was issued, “and above *two hundred* churches were shut up in one day; and above *one hundred and fifty* more were to be turned out for not obeying and submitting to the bishops’ summons to their synod†.” Sharp’s perfidy and hypocrisy had created an unconquerable aversion in the people towards the new establishment; but “all this,” says Burnet, “was out of measure increased by the new incumbents, who were put in the place of the ejected preachers, and were generally very mean and despicable in all respects. They were the worst preachers I ever heard: they were ignorant to a reproach: and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their orders, and the sacred functions; and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them, who arose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised. This was the fatal beginning of restoring episcopacy in Scotland; of which I myself observed what was visible‡.”

Particularly to detail the proceedings of the prelates in their high commission courts, and by various statutes similar to those adopted in England, and enforced with an army, this volume would not be sufficient: but a brief sketch shall be given from the elegant pen of the author of “The Course of Time.—“ Charles, advised by his English and Irish ministers, Clarendon and Ormond, and latterly by Lauderdale, secretary for Scotland, introduced the episcopal form of worship into Scotland. Patronage was renewed; and the clergy were

* Ibid. p. 254—256.

† Burnet’s Life and Times, vol. i, p. 251.

‡ Ibid. p. 267, 268.

required to procure a presentation from their patrons, and collation from their bishops,—to acknowledge their authority, and the spiritual supremacy of the king. The clergy in the northern districts complied without hesitation; but their more pious and zealous brethren in the west, however willing they might be to submit to and support the civil authority of the king, rejected his spiritual supremacy, refused submission to the episcopalian judicatories, and preferred rather to suffer the extremity of persecution, than to sacrifice what they deemed the truth and their duty to God. The people were no less averse from this encroachment on their religious privileges, and resolved to imitate their pastors, whose engaging familiarity, and sanctity of manners, had gained them the esteem and love of their flocks.

“But if they had determined to suffer rather than renounce the covenant and their beloved presbytery, the bishops, who had now got all power in Scotland into their hands, determined no less the destruction of both. Burnet, archbishop of Glasgow, and the apostate Sharp, primate of St. Andrew’s, with a cruelty little becoming mitred heads, prepared to carry this into effect. Ambulatory courts were established, on the principles of the Inquisition, in which the bishops were the judges of those whom they wished to destroy. No regard was had to remonstrance, or entreaty, or even to evidence. To these courts the military were subordinate, and instructed to carry their resolutions, which were often formed in the midst of riot and drunkenness, into execution. By this procedure, three hundred and fifty clergymen were ejected from their livings in the severity of winter, and driven, with their families, to seek shelter among the peasants. The most ignorant and vicious of their northern brethren, who scrupled at no compliance, were thrust, by the strong hand of power, into their places. The ignorance and shameful lives of these apostates from the covenant, who were now metamorphosed into curates, disgusted the people on whom they had been forced. Their doctrines had none of that heavenly relish which suited the taste of those who had been formerly taught by the best and most affectionate of men. Their churches were deserted; and the people went into the mountains in

search of that water of life, which no longer flowed from the pulpits.

“But this was only the beginning of their trials. Their pastors were soon forbidden to preach even in the fields, or to approach within twenty miles of their former charges; and all the people, as well as their pastors, who were not prepared to abjure their dearest rights, and to submit to the most galling and iniquitous civil and religious despotism, were denounced as traitors, and doomed to capital punishment. To admit any one who refused compliance into shelter,—to favour his escape, or not to assist in apprehending him,—subjected the person so convicted to the same punishment. To this, military persecution succeeded. They were both the judges and the executioners. The very forms of justice were now wholly abandoned. Gentlemen, and peasants, and ministers, were driven out to wander among the morasses and mountains of the country,—were crowded into jails,—sent into exile and slavery,—and multitudes were daily writhing in the torture, or perishing on the gibbet. Rapes, robberies, and every species of outrage, were committed by the soldiers with impunity.—The west of Scotland was red with the blood of its own inhabitants, shed by their own countrymen. The spirits of darkness seemed to have entered into the bosoms of the persecutors, and to actuate all their doings. They appeared to delight in cruelty, and in shedding the blood of the innocent. But the glorious sufferers, relying on the goodness of their cause, and hoping in the promises of God, opposed sanctity of life to licentiousness and riot; the spiritual weapons of truth to the swords of their enemies; patient endurance to fatigue, and want, and torture; and calm resignation to the most ignominious deaths. And, truly, they suffered not or bled in vain. God, at last, gave them the victory over all their enemies, and, through them* secured to us the religious privileges we this day enjoy*.”

Cruelties like these, could not but provoke the people against their episcopal oppressors; and some of them carried arms when they met for worship in desert places. Some of these fell into the hands of their enemies, who treated them

* “The Persecuted Family,” by Robert Pollok, A. M. p. 66—72.

with the severest punishments. The following may serve as an illustration : — “Two of those who were indicted to stand trial in a few days afterwards, were singled out as fit objects on which the council might exercise their cruelty. These were John Nielson of Corsack, and Hugh M’Kail, an amiable young preacher, whom the council ordered to be put to the torture, in order to extort from them a confession, that not prelatie oppression, but a determined spirit of rebellion, as Sharp had informed the king, had occasioned the late rising. Both, however, though shrieking with agony, could be forced to declare nothing but the truth, repeatedly affirming, to the confusion of their tormentors, who still called on the executioner to give another stroke, that the cruelties of the prelates alone had forced the people to arm in their own defence. Mr. Nielson was executed along with John Robertson, a young preacher, and George Crawford, who left their dying testimony against prelacy, and of firm attachment to the covenants and the work of reformation; rejoicing in the belief, that though the adversaries of the church ‘might be permitted to prevail for a season, yet God would arise and plead the cause, which was his own.’ Mr. M’Kail, together with John Woodrow, and four other martyrs, were executed, all of whom died rejoicing in the Lord. Mr. M’Kail, in particular, having addressed to the people a speech and testimony, which he had previously written and subscribed, bade adieu to the present, and welcomed the opening glories of a future state, in language truly sublime. ‘And now,’ said he, ‘I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn my speech to thee, O Lord? Now I begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations! Farewell the world and all delights; farewell meat and drink! Farewell sun, moon, and stars! Welcome God and Father! Welcome sweet Jesus, Mediator of the New Covenant! Welcome blessed Spirit of grace, and God of all consolation! Welcome glory! Welcome eternal life, welcome death! O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit; for thou hast redeemed my soul, Lord God of truth.’ While the people lamented the death of this amiable youth and his fellow-sufferers, they could not forbear expressing their just

indignation at Sharp, and the archbishop of Glasgow, who evidently acted the part of murderers, by concealing from the council, till after their execution, a letter from Charles, forbidding the shedding of any more blood *."

Leighton, who was truly a saint of God, and all that could be wished in a bishop, could not unite in such dreadful proceedings: and as he was unable to stem the torrent of licentiousness and cruelties in his prelatical colleagues, he repaired to London and begged leave to retire from his bishopric, that he might not be a participator in their guilt. The holy man declared, that he would not concur in planting Christianity itself, much less a form of church polity, by such atrocious means. Influenced by his representations, the king abolished the high commission, but persecution still raged. On the expulsion of Burnet, the worthless archbishop of Glasgow, Leighton was prevailed upon to accept that dignity in 1669, the king declaring that he was resolved to support episcopacy by a more tolerant policy: but the pious prelate was unhappy in his new elevation. He laboured to promote the cause of genuine godliness: but finding it impossible to bring his irreligious colleagues to unite with him in his healing measures, he resigned his archiepiscopal authority to the king in 1674, and spent the remaining *ten* years of his life as a parochial clergyman in Sussex. To the latest posterity, his Commentary on the First Epistle of Peter, will carry down the name of Leighton. Bishop Burnet declares, "He had the greatest elevation of soul, the largest compass of knowledge, the most mortified and most heavenly disposition, that I ever saw in mortal. I can say with great truth, that in free and frequent conversation with him, for above two and twenty years, I never knew him speak an idle word, that had not a direct tendency to edification; and I never once saw him in any other temper but that in which I wish to be in the last moments of my life."

Sharp, the unprincipled author of most of the miseries of his country, fell a sacrifice to his own intolerance, May 3, 1679.

* History of the Covenanters in Scotland. By the Author of the History of the Reformation, vol. i, p. 108—210. Edinburgh, 1830.

He had "employed in the suppression of conventicles, Carmichael, a man of abandoned character, who was guilty of the most shocking cruelty. His conduct at length so exasperated some of those whom it had filled with indignation, that a party of nine, amongst whom were several of respectable families, formed the resolution of either so terrifying him, as to make him leave the country, or of putting him to death *." Some of these desperate men met the primate in his carriage, and regardless of the entreaties of his daughter, who was with him, they brutally put him to death.

"This," says Burnet, "was the dismal end of that unhappy man. It struck all people with horror, and softened his enemies into some tenderness: so that his memory was treated with decency by those who had very little respect for him during his life."

CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND UNDER JAMES II.

Character of James — Sufferings of the Dissenters — Cruelties of Judge Jefferies — Mrs. Guant — Lady Lisle — Religion in England — Popish controversy — The King courts the Dissenters — The Prince of Orange engaged to conciliate them — THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION.

CHARLES II, leaving no legitimate children, was succeeded by his brother James on the throne of England. James was little better in his morals than his licentious predecessor, besides being revengeful, malignant, and sanguinary. He was an avowed papist; and while inheriting the same lofty notions concerning the absolute power of kings, he employed his prerogative to advance the cause of popery.

James began his reign with an open profession of his religion: for the first Sunday after his accession, he went publicly to mass, and obliged father Huddleston, the priest who attended his brother in his last hours, to declare to the world that the king had died a Roman Catholic.

Dissenters gained little by the accession of James II, for he indulged or persecuted them according as it appeared to

* Cook's History, vol. iii, p. 345.

advance popery or his absolute power. For some time after the death of Charles, meetings of the dissenters were allowed; but the parliament addressed his majesty, May 27, to issue his royal proclamation, to cause the penal laws to be put in force against the dissenters from the church of England. Persecution arose with great severity: all the meeting-houses of the Protestant dissenters were shut up; informers were numerous, and the spiritual courts were crowded with business. Private conventicles were disturbed in all parts of the city and country. If they surprised the minister, the constables or soldiers pulled him out of his pulpit, and, together with his people, carried him before a magistrate, who obliged them to pay their fines or be dragged to prison. Calamities innumerable were endured: "dissenting ministers could neither travel the road, nor appear in public but in disguise: nay, they were afraid to be seen in the houses of their friends, pursuivants from the spiritual courts being always abroad upon the watch for them *."

Perhaps the nature and degree of that persecution which the dissenters now endured, will be best understood from some statements in the address and petition of the Quakers in the year after the accession of James II. They say, "Now there remain in prison one thousand three hundred and eighty-three, of whom two hundred are women! Above three hundred and fifty have died in prison, since the year 1660, near one hundred of whom since the year 1680. In London, the jail of Newgate has been crowded within these two years, sometimes with near twenty in a room, whereby several have been suffocated, and others, who have been taken out sick, have died of malignant fevers within a few days †."

With their address, the Quakers gave a list of the names of their friends in prison in several counties, amounting to *one thousand four hundred and sixty*: not for immorality, but as nonconformists to the ceremonies of the church of England.

Judge Jeffries was the chief enemy to the dissenters: his ferocious brutality has become proverbial, and a few in-

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. v, p. 5.

† Ibid. p. 17.

stances of his cruelty will be proper in this place, partly to illustrate the temper of the king, and also to exhibit the miseries of that period. After the rebellion under the duke of Monmouth, Jeffries was sent into the western circuit to try the prisoners. Burnet says, — “His behaviour was beyond any thing that was ever heard of in a civilized nation. He was perpetually either drunk, or in a rage more like a fury than the zeal of a judge. He required the prisoners to plead guilty; and in that case he gave them some hope of favour, if they gave him no trouble: otherwise he told them he would execute the letter of the law upon them in its utmost severity. This made many plead guilty, who had a great defence in law. But he showed no mercy. He ordered a great many to be hanged immediately, *without allowing them a minute’s time to say their prayers*. He hanged, in several places, about *six hundred persons*. The greatest part of these were of the meanest sort, and of no distinction. The impieties with which he treated them, and his behaviour towards some of the nobility and gentry that were well affected, but came and pleaded in favour of some prisoners, would have amazed one, if done by a bashaw in Turkey. But that which brought all his excesses to be imputed to the king himself was, the king had a particular account of all his proceedings written to him every day; and he took pleasure in relating them in the drawing room to foreign ministers and at his table. As a reward, Jeffries on his return was created a baron and a peer of England *,” and was made lord chancellor.

“Two executions,” says Burnet, “were of such an extraordinary nature, that they deserve a more particular recital. There was in London one Guant, a woman that was an anabaptist, who had spent a great part of her life in acts of charity, visiting the jails, and looking after the poor of what persuasion soever they were. One of the rebels found her out, and she harboured him in her house; and was looking for an occasion to send him out of the kingdom. He went about in the night, and came to hear what the king had said :

* Burnet’s Life and Times, vol. iii, p. 1075, 1076.

so he, by an unheard-of baseness, went and delivered himself, and accused her that harboured him. She was seized on, and tried. There was no witness to prove that she knew that he was a rebel, but he himself: her maid witnessed only, that he was entertained at her house. But though the crime was her harbouring a traitor, and was proved only by this infamous witness, yet the judge charged the jury to bring her in guilty, pretending that the maid was a second witness, though she knew nothing of that which was the criminal part. She was condemned, and burnt as the law directs in the case of women convicted of treason. She died with a constancy, even to a cheerfulness, that struck all that saw it. She said, charity was a part of her religion, as well as faith: this at worst was the feeding an enemy: so she hoped, she had her reward with him, for whose sake she did this service, how unworthy soever the person was that made so ill a return for it: she rejoiced, that God had honoured her to be the first that suffered by fire in this reign; and that her suffering was a martyrdom for that religion which was all love. Penn the Quaker told me, he saw her die: she laid the straw about her for burning her speedily; and behaved herself in such a manner, that all the spectators melted in tears.

“The other execution was of a woman of greater quality: the lady Lisle.—She was a woman of great piety and charity. The night after the action, Hicks, a violent preacher among the dissenters, and Nelthorp, came to her house. She knew Hicks, and treated him civilly, not asking them whence they came: but Hicks told what brought them thither; for they had been with the duke of Monmouth. Upon which she went out of the room immediately, and ordered her chief servant to send an information concerning them to the next justice of peace, and in the mean while to suffer them to escape. But, before this could be done, a party came and took both them and her for harbouring them. Jeffries resolved to make a sacrifice of her; and obtained of the king a promise that he would not pardon her. She was brought to trial, and Jeffries affirmed to the jury upon his honour, that the persons had confessed that they had been with Monmouth; and though it was insisted on, as a point of

law, that till the persons found in her house were convicted, she could not be found guilty, yet Jeffries charged the jury in a most violent manner to bring her in guilty. All the audience was strongly affected with so unusual a behaviour in a judge : only the person most concerned, the lady herself, who was then past *seventy*, was so little moved at it, that she fell asleep. The jury brought her in *Not guilty*, but the judge in great fury sent them out again : yet the jury brought her in a second time *Not guilty*. Then he seemed as in a transport with rage, and upon that threatened them with an attaind of jury : so they, overcome with fear, brought her in the third time *Guilty*. The king would show no other favour, but that he changed the sentence from burning to beheading. She died with great constancy of mind : and expressed a joy, that she thus suffered for an act of charity and piety *.”

Religion in England must have been in a deplorable state during the reign of James II, though the nation generally was awfully sunk in profaneness. Still the power of godliness was considerable among some of the dissenters, and not the least among the Quakers, whose sufferings were the means of much spiritual benefit to that increasing denomination of Friends. And though the dissenters had been so oppressed, and many thousands of them had been ruined, they had rather increased than diminished in numbers.

James II being a papist, laboured to promote the Roman Catholic religion in England. Correspondence was carried on between the king and the court of Rome, and multitudes of the Jesuits were sent into this country. Various efforts were made to gain a footing for them in the universities, which excited great alarm. This opened the eyes of the clergy, who began a controversy against the errors of popery. “The chief writers were Dr. Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Jennison, Patrick, Wake, Whitby, Sharp, Atterbury, Williams, Aldrich, Burnet, Fowler, &c. men of great name and renown, who gained immortal honour, and were afterwards advanced to the highest dignities in the church †.” To further popery, the king ordered a declaration for liberty of conscience to be

* Ibid. p. 1079, 1080. † Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. v, p. 13.

published: but some of the prelates aware, of the policy, refused to read it in the churches, and seven of the bishops carried a petition to James against the order in council. "This flowed," they said, "from no want of respect to his majesty's authority, nor from any unwillingness to let favour be showed to Dissenters, in relation to whom they were willing to come to such a temper as should be thought fit, when that matter should be considered and settled in parliament and convocation *."

Dr. Warner remarks, "The wider and more desperate the war became between the king and the church, the more necessary his majesty found it to show kindness to the non-conformists. For this purpose he sent out agents to invite some of them to court, and to offer them the royal favour and all manner of encouragement, if they would concur with him in abrogating the penal laws, and test. Whilst his majesty was thus concerting openly with the Protestant sectaries at home, he was carrying on a correspondence secretly with the court of Rome. But at last the priests were resolved to strike a stroke which should put that matter past all reconciliation: they prevailed on the king to send an ambassador publicly to the pope, though it was high treason; and the earl of Castlemain was sent with great splendour, and at a vast expense †." Innocent XI saw the indiscretion of James, and dared not enter fully into his wishes, though in return he sent a nuncio to England, and in the royal chapel four catholic bishops were consecrated, and sent out as vicars apostolical to exercise their episcopal functions.

Although, in consequence of the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, the penal laws in ecclesiastical affairs were suspended, and the imprisoned nonconformists were released, few of the Dissenters expressed approval of the dispensing power. "The churchmen on their side," Dr. Warner states, "did all that lay in their power to establish a union, as the only possible means of their joint security. They published pamphlets from time to time, acknowledging their error in

* Burnet's Life and Times, vol. iii, p. 1234, 1235.

† Ecclesiastical History. vol. ii, p. 637, 638.

driving the Presbyterians to extremities; confessing that they were not enough upon their guard against the artifices of the court; and promising a very different behaviour on the re-establishment of their affairs. It must be owned," adds that candid churchman, "that this conduct was dexterous and sensible, as well as just: but it is no less true, that an accusation lies against them, of having forgotten this promise after the Revolution, as they did at the restoration of Charles the Second*."

Other means were adopted to secure the influence of the Dissenters in the preservation of the church of England: for "whilst the king was thus trampling on the religion, laws, and liberties of his subjects, many of the leading churchmen, spiritual as well as temporal, were carrying on a correspondence with the prince of Orange, who had married the king's eldest daughter. They had desired him to use all his credit with the Protestant nonconformists, to prevent their complying with the measures of the court; and sent over positive assurances to his Highness, of the same tenor with those they gave in England, that if the Dissenters would now stand firm to the common interest, the members of the church of England would in a better time agree in a comprehension of all who could be brought into conjunction with them, and in a toleration of the rest. The prince complied with their request; and gave directions to his agent, whom he sent to England, to press the Dissenters to stand off, and not to be drawn in by any promises the court might make them, to assist in the election of a new parliament†."

The Dissenters generally sacrificed the advantages of present liberty, which had been granted illegally, and aided the church in withstanding the unprincipled king: the clergy, "who had long concurred in the slavish doctrine of unlimited obedience and non-resistance, now found to their sorrow the destruction it was likely to bring on liberty and religion‡," and the good providence of God favouring the religion and liberties of these kingdoms, the king was permitted to deliver up himself implicitly to a few ignorant priests, who counselled

* Ibid. p. 639, 640.

† Ibid.

‡ Dr. Warner.

him in such precipitate and violent measures as speedily terminated in his own ruin. Events maturing under a merciful Providence, the Prince of Orange invaded England : the nation welcomed him as their deliverer ; and James, forsaken, fled from his throne, and escaped to the continent. Arrangements being made by the parliament, the magnanimous deliverer was invited to ascend the vacant throne : this royal honour he accepted with his consort Mary ; and thus under William III was accomplished, that which was in itself *bloodless* — the **GLORIOUS REVOLUTION** in Great Britain !

CHAPTER VI.

SCOTLAND UNDER JAMES II.

James in Scotland — Letter of the bishops to him — Persecutions continued — Drummond's cruelties — Graham of Claverhouse — His murder of John Brown — Cameronians — Dr. Charteris's testimony — The bishops hostile to Prince William.

JAMES, while duke of York, in July 1681, represented his majesty Charles II in the meeting of the estates of Scotland. His character and principles, therefore, had become well known, though, on his return to England, the following year, *seven* of the bishops signed a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, commending his zeal for their order, and requesting the archbishop to make their dutiful acknowledgments to his Royal Highness for all his princely favours to them, giving him the firmest assurance of their endeavours to serve him.

Dr. Cook remarks on this communication, "Even if they had steeled their hearts to humanity, and considered it as right to violate every law of God, and every privilege of their fellow-creatures, for giving security to their order, they must have been aware that the duke was odious to the greater part of the community : their language, therefore, evinces how little they valued integrity, and how far they disregarded the suggestions of honour and religion, provided they could gain the favour of a bigoted prince *."

Scotland continued to be grievously oppressed under

* History of the Church of Scotland, vol. iii, p. 375.

James II. But "to give the people some hope, that the change in the person of the sovereign would alleviate the severity with which all who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the prelates, or to the government, had been persecuted, an indemnity was published. It began by extolling the unparalleled clemency of the administration of the late king,— words which could be duly appreciated by men, who under it had been deprived of the comforts which should not be denied to the worst criminals; who were mourning over the friends who had been taken from them, who had perhaps been doomed to the excruciating agony of torture, or who had seen it undergone by those whom they revered and loved. But the chief movers of nonconformity were expressly shut out from the advantage: for pardon was extended only to those who were under the degree of heritors, wadsetters, life renters, burgesses of royal boroughs, and vagrant preachers. The same murderous system, which before the death of Charles had excited horror, was continued; the proceedings of the inquisitorial courts which had been established were sanctioned, and new instructions were given to these courts. Drummond, one of the generals who had executed the most sanguinary orders, received a commission to visit the southern and western parts of Scotland; to call and hold courts when he thought it expedient; to exact fines, and to inflict summary punishment upon all who had conversed with the rebels, had admitted them to their houses, or performed to them the most common acts of humanity. This in fact placed a great part of the country under military law, exposing it to all the excesses and devastation to be expected from savage or undisciplined men; and in the annals of this year are to be found the names of many, who, without a trial, without even having an opportunity of urging any thing in their defence, were barbarously murdered*."

Drummond was not the only leader in this horrible crusade, Graham of Claverhouse probably excelled him in acts of barbarity. Dr. Cook remarks of him, "Multitudes were

* Ibid. p. 400—402.

forced into banishment, many of them after their persons had been disfigured by torture; several were wantonly murdered in the fields; Graham, afterwards viscount of Dundee, and his officers, apparently exulting in the wretchedness of the Presbyterians. Under pretence that they had connived at the designs of Argyll, some of the best families were stripped of their possessions, and saw all the prospects upon which they had long dwelt blasted for ever *."

Graham's character, and the sufferings of Scotland under that monster, will be best illustrated by one fact. "He was mad for tyranny and slavery against all who favoured presbytery, and frequently shot those who fell into his hands, though they were unarmed, without any form of trial; and when his soldiers, sometimes shocked at the wantonness of his cruelty, hesitated in obeying his orders, he executed them himself. We have one striking example of this kind in the case of John Brown, in the parish of Muirkirk. Brown was a man of excellent character, by employment a carrier, and no way obnoxious to the government, except for nonconformity. On the 1st of May, 1685, he was at work in the fields near his own house, when Claverhouse passed on his road from Lesmahagow, with three troops of dragoons. It is probable that information of his nonconformity had been given to Graham, who caused him to be brought from the fields to his own door. After some interrogations, Claverhouse said, 'John, go to your prayers, for you shall immediately die.' Upon which the martyr kneeled down, and poured out his heart in language so affecting, that the soldiers, hardened and depraved as they were, were almost moved to tears. He was twice interrupted in his devotions by Claverhouse: and when he had finished, the cruel wretch ordered him to take farewell of his weeping wife and two infant children, who stood beside him. 'Now, Isabel,' said the martyr, 'the day is come of which I told you when I first proposed marriage to you.' 'Indeed, John,' she replied, 'I can willingly part with you.' 'Then,' he added, 'this is all I desired: I have no more to do but die: I have been in case to meet death for

* Ibid. p. 416.

many years.' After he had kissed his wife and children, 'wishing them all purchased and promised blessings,' Claverhouse ordered his soldiers to fire. But the prayers of the good man had made such an impression on their minds, that they decidedly refused to have any hand in his death. Irritated at the delay, Claverhouse shot him dead with his own hand, regardless of the tears and entreaties of the poor man's wife; and then, turning to the widow, asked her what she thought of her husband now? 'I ever thought good of him,' she replied, 'and as much now as ever.' 'It were but justice to lay thee beside him,' rejoined the murderer. 'If ye were permitted,' said she, 'I doubt not your cruelty would go that length, but how will you answer for this morning's work?' 'To man I can be answerable,' replied the hardened villain, 'and as for God, I will take him in mine own hand!' and immediately rode off. The poor woman then laid down her infant on the ground, gathered together the scattered brains of her beloved husband, bound up his head, covered up his body with the plaid, and sat down and wept over him! Say, reader, what must be the feelings of an historian who can attempt to eulogize such a man as Claverhouse! *"

Persecution in Scotland was less violent, though many of the pious Presbyterians were sacrificed, after the first year of James II; as the king laboured to promote popery, in effecting which he declared his wishes for religious liberty, and published his declaration for toleration. "Few availed themselves of this dispensation. The Cameronians, who had renounced their allegiance to a tyrannical sovereign, acted consistently when the indulgence was offered to them, and boldly refused to take advantage of what had flowed from so polluted a source. They openly declared that the sole design of the toleration was to secure the introduction of popery; they expressed just abhorrence of that absolute power by which the king dispensed with the fundamental laws of the kingdom; and they continued to meet for divine worship in conventicles, setting at defiance those parts of the indulgence which denounced vengeance against all who

* History of the Covenanters in Scotland, vol. ii, p. 256—258.

preached in the fields, and did not give security for their loyalty. Renwick, one of their most revered and intrepid preachers, was apprehended and publicly executed, Feb. 17, 1668, closing by his death that list of horrible murders, which under pretence of compelling religious conformity, had for many years disgraced the government of Scotland *."

These Cameronians arose in 1680, from the dreadful cruelties carried on under archbishop Sharp. "Driven to extremity, they boldly avowed maxims subversive of monarchy, and exposed themselves to sufferings upon which imagination cannot dwell without horror.—This party was much guided by Cargil, and by two brothers of the name of Cameron, from whom the title of Cameronians was applied to them. A considerable number of them having entered the village of Sanquhar, read, and afterwards affixed to the cross a declaration, in which they asserted, that the king, by his perjury, had forfeited all right to the throne, and they abjured him; and that, placing themselves under the standard of the Lord Jesus Christ, they would make war against such a tyrant and usurper, and against all who adhered to him †."

Perhaps none can justify all the principles of the Cameronians; still there is little difference between those on which they acted, and the principles of those who arose against James II, and succeeded in driving him from the throne.

Dr. Samuel Charteris, a clergyman of the church of England, has exhibited their principles and conduct with remarkable justice in his first "Centenary Discourse on the Revolution," preached at Wilton in 1788. Having portrayed the sufferings of the pious nonconformists in the time of Charles II, he says—"The principle of self-defence again was roused. 'The powers that were' had not only withdrawn protection, but in effect levied war against conscientious worshippers. Their meeting for worship in the fields was construed treason. Death was denounced against the preacher, and a price was set upon his head. It was matter of sport to the insolent and savage soldiery, to search them out, and

* Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. iii, p. 431.

† Ibid. p. 355.

to hunt them down. They at last assembled for worship with arms in their hands, to repel those insolent and rude attacks, to defend their own religious liberty, and to protect those ministers who put their lives in their hands, to serve them in the ministry of the gospel. Their resistance overawed the soldiers, and afforded a temporary protection to their worshipping assemblies. Though few in number, they lifted up the fallen standard of religious liberty, and generously devoted themselves. They would swear no oaths, subscribe no bonds, take no test, nor yield to any imposition on conscience. These they accounted 'snares and nets to catch men, and cast them down from their excellency;' for what is the excellency of man but uprightness? They would not pray for the king, because that might be construed as owning a title, which, in their judgment, he had forfeited; and they resolved, whatever it might cost, to be ingenuous and open, decisive and unembarrassed, both in word and in deed. If in some instances they ran to extremes, Solomon's saying will be remembered; 'Surely oppression maketh a wise man mad.' Notwithstanding their errors, the cause of liberty was greatly indebted to their exertions. This standard on the mountains of Scotland indicated to the vigilant eye of William, that the nation was ripening for a change. They expressed what others thought, uttering the indignation and the groans of a spirited and oppressed people. While lord Russel and Sidney, and other enlightened patriots in England, were plotting against Charles, from a conviction that his right was forfeited; the Cameronians in Scotland, under the same conviction, had the courage to declare war against him. Both the plotters and the warriors fell, but their blood watered the plant of renown, and succeeding ages have eaten the pleasant fruit."

William was preparing to invade England: but his fleet was driven back in a storm. On hearing of this, the bishops of Scotland wrote "a very indecent letter to the king, full of injurious expressions towards the prince, expressing their abhorrence of his design; and in conclusion they wished that the king might have the necks of his enemies. This was sent up as a pattern to the English bishops, and was printed

in the gazette. But they did not think fit to copy after it in England." The prince however succeeded, and justice triumphed over the prelates in Scotland *.

CHAPTER VII.

IRELAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH, CHARLES II, AND JAMES II.

Ireland distracted — Cromwell subdues it — Dublin university restored — Religion promoted — Restoration of the hierarchy — Deplorable state of religion — Bishop Taylor — Religion among the Presbyterians of Ulster.

IRELAND, after the massacre of 1641, was regarded with horror by the English. Its condition during the civil war was most truly deplorable; and in 1649, at the death of the king, the country generally was divided between two great parties, the royalists and Roman catholics, Dublin and Londonderry. Cromwell was commissioned to subdue that country with an army of 14,000 men, for which purpose he was appointed for three years lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Before the embarkation of the troops at Milford Haven, the army observed a day of fasting and prayer, in which, as Whitlocke relates, "after three ministers had prayed, lieutenant-general Cromwell himself, and the colonels Gough and Harrison, expounded some parts of Scripture excellently well, and pertinently to the occasion." Severe and regular discipline was observed in the army; not an oath was to be heard throughout the whole camp, the soldiers spending their leisure hours in reading their Bibles and religious conferences.

Cromwell was welcomed by crowds in Dublin, as their deliverer; and he addressed them from a rising ground, declaring he was "come to cut down and destroy the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish, with all their adherents; but that all who were for the Protestant religion, and the liberties of their country, should find suitable encouragement from the parliament of England and himself." Drogheda and Wexford were soon besieged and taken, and the garrisons

* Burnet, vol. iii, p. 1354.

put to the sword; the general threatening that he would "sacrifice all the Irish papists to the ghosts of English Protestants, whom they had massacred in cold blood *."

Ireland was subdued by Cromwell in a few months, such examples striking terror into the minds of all who were in arms: but many who had been concerned in the horrid massacre were tried and executed. Lord Clarendon states, that nearly 100,000 of the natives, called Tories, "were transported into foreign parts, for the service of the kings of France and Spain; double that number were consumed by the plague, famine, and other severities exercised upon them in their own country; the remainder were by Cromwell transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous parts of the province of Connaught. Thus they lived under all the infamy of a conquered nation, till the restoration of Charles II, a just judgment of God for their cruelties to the massacred protestants †."

Religion in Ireland had already received the anxious consideration of the parliament, who "invested all the manors and lands late of the archbishop of Dublin, and of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick, together with the parsonage of Trym belonging to the bishopric of Meath, in the hands of trustees, for the maintenance and support of Trinity college in Dublin, and for creating, settling, and maintaining another college in the said city, and of a master, fellows, scholars, and public professors: and also for erecting a free school, with a master, usher, scholars, and officers, in such manner as five of the trustees, with the consent of the lord-lieutenant, shall direct and appoint. The lord-lieutenant to nominate the governor, masters, &c. and to appoint their salaries; and the trustees, with the consent of the lord-lieutenant, shall draw up statutes and ordinances, to be confirmed by the parliament of England."

Dublin university being thus revived and placed upon a new footing, the parliament sent over six of their most acceptable preachers to give it reputation, appointing them

* Neal, vol. iv, p. 6; Mrs. Macauley's History of England, vol. v, p. 15.

† Neal, vol. iv, p. 6.

200*l.* a year out of the bishops' lands ; and till that could be duly raised, to be paid out of the public revenues ; and for their further encouragement, if they died in that service, they were assured of a provision for their families. By these methods learning began to revive, and in a few years religion appeared in a more prosperous state than it had done since the best days of archbishop Usher.

Charles II being restored, the papists arose and took possession of their estates, which had been confiscated through the rebellion and massacre, expelling their purchasers. This occasioned such commotions in that kingdom, that the king was obliged to issue a proclamation, commanding them to wait the determination of the ensuing parliament. Charles being known to be a papist in heart, the popish clergy of Ireland, by an instrument bearing date Jan. 1, 1660, signed and sealed by the chief prelates and officials of their religion, ventured to depute a person of their communion to congratulate his majesty on his restoration, and to present their humble supplications for the free exercise of their religion, pursuant to the articles of 1648. This delegate the king received very favourably, encouraging him to hope for the accomplishment of their request in due time.

The hierarchy was restored in Ireland ; and by his letters patent, in right of his power to appoint bishops to the vacant sees, Charles issued his royal mandate, that Dr. Bramhall, who had been bishop of Londonderry before the rebellion, should be elevated as archbishop of Armagh, and the pious Dr. Jeremy Taylor, who had been in Ireland with lord Conway, to be made bishop of Down and Connor : these prelates were commanded to impart the episcopal authority to others, by virtue of which they consecrated *two* archbishops and *ten* bishops in one day. His grace insisted on the reordination of those who had been ordained in the late times without the hands of a bishop, but with this softening clause in their ordination — “Not annihilating his former orders (if he had any), nor determining concerning their validity or invalidity, much less condemning all the sacred ordinations of foreign churches, whom we leave to their own

judgment, but only supplying what was wanting according to the canons of the church of England."

Without such an explication, few of the clergy of Ireland, it is believed, would have kept their stations in the church. The Irish church was completed, May 17, 1661, when the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament assembled in Ireland, declared their opinion and high esteem of episcopal government, and of the Book of Common Prayer, according to the use of the church of England.

Religion was but little advanced by all these ecclesiastical arrangements in Ireland; and on the accession of James II the cause of popery triumphed. James had a greater dependence on the Irish catholics for the accomplishment of his objects, than on any other class of his subjects, and he appointed colonel Talbot, earl of Tyrconnel, to be lord-lieutenant of that country, as a fit instrument to serve his purpose. Tyrconnel was a profligate officer, who scrupled no kind of barbarity and wickedness to secure his object: by degrees he discharged all the Protestant officers in the army, to make room for papists, and all offices, both civil and military, were placed in the hands of the most licentious characters. There was not a protestant sheriff left in the whole kingdom; the charters were taken away, and newly modelled in favour of catholics; the corporations were dissolved, and all things were managed with an arbitrary hand. Terror reigned, and many, imagining that the massacring knife was almost at their throats, abandoned the kingdom, some removing to England, and others transporting themselves to America.

Religion in Ireland continued in a most lamentable state through the reigns of Charles II and James II, few of the bishops and clergy being eminent for scriptural piety and zeal. Besides, the great mass of people were ignorant of the English language; so that whatever benefits might be supposed to be derived from the reading of the Common Prayer in the churches to the few who attended, the population could not be edified: they remained therefore sunk in ignorance and superstition, blindly attached to the popish priests, who seemed at least to seek their welfare.

Dr. Jeremy Taylor survived his consecration six years : but though his exemplary piety illustrated his celebrated treatise of "Holy Living and Dying," he contributed but little to the advancement of religion in Ireland.

Godliness evidently prevailed in a far superior degree among the presbyterians in the province of Ulster : they retained much of their simplicity and évangélical piety ; and though they were not in the most flourishing condition, they increased in intelligence, education being promoted among their youth ; and the use of the Scriptures was held sacred, as their puritan forefathers had practised in England and Scotland.

BOOK VIII.

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND UNDER WILLIAM AND MARY.

Character of William and Mary — Dissenters' Address to their Majesties — Opposition of the clergy — Act of Toleration — Nonjuring bishops — New bishops — The king wishes to comprehend the Dissenters — Review of the liturgy for that purpose — Alterations proposed — The convocation oppose the king — Preferment in the church bestowed by the queen — Religion hindered — Religious Societies — State of religion.

"THE Glorious Revolution" introduced a new series of things, as regards both politics and religion, in England. The liberty of the subject was now placed upon its proper basis by the "Bill of Rights," passed in the first year of William and Mary, securing him from the tyranny of ecclesiastical courts. Religion was partially recovered from oppression, and a foundation laid for its perfect emancipation from prelatical bigotry, by the famous "Act of Toleration."

William and Mary deserve the sincerest gratitude of all generations of Britons, for their generous services in these respects: but their personal characters must be understood, to form a right estimate of their immortal services for this country.

Mary was a daughter of James II; but a woman of opposite principles to those of her father: she was a person of rare and various excellencies, by which she adorned her royal dignity as queen of England. Bishop Burnet, from many years intercourse with both the king and queen, describes her as not merely amiable and a patron of religion, but endowed with every Christian virtue, a cordial believer in the gospel, and a sincere disciple of Jesus Christ.

William was altogether worthy of so excellent a queen. From the peculiar condition of Europe at that period, William was necessarily a martial prince: yet he presided over the Dutch republic with remarkable wisdom, and exercised his sovereign power in England with singular moderation, in circumstances most critical and extraordinary.

William was a decided Protestant; an enemy to persecution; and, as is evident, a man of personal piety. Burnet speaks of his principles and character in perfect agreement with the following testimony of the historian Belsham:—“He firmly believed in the truth of religion, and entertained a high sense of its importance. But his tolerant passions, and his indifference to the forms of church government, made him obnoxious to the great body of the clergy. He appeared born for the purpose of opposing tyranny, persecution, and oppression; and for the space of *thirty* years, it is not too much to affirm, that he sustained the greatest and most truly glorious character of any prince whose name is recorded in history. In his days, and by his means, the first firm and solid foundations were laid of all that is most valuable in civil society. Every vindication of the natural and unalienable rights of mankind was, till he ascended the throne of Great Britain, penal and criminal. To him we owe the assertion and final establishment of our constitutional privileges. To sum up all, his character was distinguished by virtues rarely found amongst princes—moderation, integrity, simplicity,

beneficence, magnanimity. Time, which has cast a veil over his imperfections, has added lustre to his many great and admirable qualities. His political views were in the highest degree laudable and upright. He had true ideas of the nature and true end of government, and the beneficial effects of his noble and heroic exertions will probably descend to the latest generations; rendering his name justly dear to the friends of civil and religious liberty, and his memory ever Glorious and Immortal."

Mr. Belsham's portraiture of the character of William, is confirmed by his wise policy regarding religion. In Holland he had witnessed the benefits of Christian union, the genuine fruits, not of compulsory uniformity enforced by grievous penalties, but of religious liberty. Having seen the harmony of different Christian communions under the same civil government in his own country, William avowed his determination, before accepting the throne of Britain, to protect all his subjects from the demon of bigotry.

Dr. Bates, in the name of the Dissenting ministers in and about London, who waited on their majesties with an "Address of Congratulation," desired his "majesty, by his wisdom and authority, to establish a firm union of his Protestant subjects in matters of religion, by making *the rule of Christianity to be the rule of conformity*:" adding, "We do assure your majesty, that we shall cordially embrace the *terms of union which the ruling wisdom of our Saviour has prescribed in his Word*.*" The king, in his answer, graciously promised, "*My power shall be employed for obtaining such a union*:" but his generous and enlightened purpose was defeated by the operations of ecclesiastical opposition to this divine rule of our blessed Saviour. Several propositions, submitted by the king's ministers for abolishing the Test and Corporation Act, his majesty opposing the prostitution of the Lord's Supper as the necessary qualification for civil office, were rejected.

Burnet says, "The clergy began now to show an implacable hatred to the nonconformists, and seemed to wish for an

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. v, p. 72, 73.

occasion to renew old severities against them*.” Though foiled in three plans to relieve the nonconformists, by the rigid episcopalians, who stigmatized the king and queen as Presbyterians in their hearts, the king yet brought forward the “Act of Toleration,” entitled, “An Act for exempting their majesties’ Protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws.” This was suffered to pass both houses, and received the royal assent, May 24, 1669, forming an epoch in the ecclesiastical annals of England, and deservedly considered as the religious Magna Charta of Great Britain.

Great and beneficial to the nation as the Act of Toleration doubtless was, considering the rivers of blood which had been shed by prelatical intolerance, it was imperfect, and a *dis-honour* to Britain. In our enlightened Christian country, *religion* is the only thing that is thus insulted and degraded, oppressed and persecuted! Nothing of the kind in the letter or spirit is found in the New Testament; and as a violation of the fundamental principles of the Reformation, and repugnant to the inspired institutes of Christianity, even this *comparatively* glorious Act of Toleration, might with great propriety have been called — “An Act to *permit* Almighty God to receive the worship of his creatures according to his own Word!†”

Bishop Kennet remarks, that “the archbishops and bishops, with many of the clergy, had been so addicted to the high notions of passive obedience, non-resistance, and the divine right of an hereditary monarchy, that they knew not how to reconcile the revolution to those bigoted principles‡.” Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, with seven bishops, retaining their high notions, refused to take the oath of allegiance to William, and hence they were called “Nonjurors.” Their vacant sees were filled with men of moderate principles. Dr. Gilbert Burnet, who had been an exile in Holland, being persecuted by James II, returned with William, was made bishop of Salisbury. Dr. Tillotson was promoted to the arch-

* Life and Times, vol. iv, p. 16.

† Brook’s Religious Liberty, vol. ii.

‡ History of England, vol. iii, p. 518.

bishopric of Canterbury, and Dr. Sharp to that of York; these being accounted the best preachers of their time in the church of England. Dr. Patrick was made bishop of Ely, Dr. More of Norwich, Dr. Cumberland of Peterborough, and Dr. Fowler of Gloucester. Fifteen bishops were made by the king in the course of two years; and they were esteemed the most learned, wise, and exemplary men that had ever sustained that high dignity. They constituted "the golden age of episcopacy in England;" and feeling the imperious necessity of rendering the establishment respectable in the eyes of the nation, that they might maintain its superiority over the Dissenters, whose ministers were men of great eminence, they submitted to become "preaching bishops," which was a happy and edifying novelty; though it exposed them to much vexation from the nobility, who denounced their pious zeal as a kind of puritanism!

Toleration merely did not satisfy the enlightened and generous mind of William: he desired to unite the Dissenters with the church, and while a special Act was under consideration, a commission was appointed consisting of *thirty* divines, ten of whom were bishops, "to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons, and such proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts, and to consider of such other matters as in their judgments may most conduce to the ends of good order, edification, and unity of the church of England."

Intolerant bigotry, the spirit of persecution through ages, defeated the benevolent purpose of the king. Bishop Burnet was one of the commission, of whom he says, "Great care was taken to name these so impartially, that no exceptions could lie against them. They sat closely to their work for several weeks, having before them all the exceptions, that either the puritans before the war, or the nonconformists since the restoration, had made to any part of the church-service. They had also many propositions and advices that had been offered, at several times, by many of our bishops and divines, upon those heads: matters were well considered, and freely and calmly debated: and all was digested into an entire correction of every thing that seemed liable to any just objection. We had some very rigid, as well as very learned men among

us; though the most rigid, either never came to our meetings, or they soon withdrew from us, declaring themselves dissatisfied with every thing of that nature; some telling us plainly, that they were against all alterations whatever. They thought too much was already done for the Dissenters, in the toleration that was granted them; and that they would do nothing to make that still easier. They said further, that the altering the customs and constitution of our church, to gratify a peevish and obstinate party, was like to have no other effect on them, than to make them more insolent; as if the church, by offering these alterations, seemed to confess that she had been hitherto in the wrong. They thought this attempt would divide us among ourselves, and make our people lose their esteem for the liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted correction*."

Burnet cannot be supposed to have misrepresented the case; and probably many will wonder that *Protestant* divines should reason so absurdly, making no reference whatever to the New Testament. *Popish infallibility* is the spirit of this agreement, in opposition to the essential principles of the reformation. But the particular alterations will naturally be a subject of inquiry, and they deserve a record in this place.

Dr. Nichols, in his "Defence of the Church of England," has noticed some of them. He says, "They began with reviewing the liturgy, and first they examined the calendar; in which, in the room of apocryphal lessons, they ordered certain chapters of canonical scripture to be read. Athanasius' creed, because of the damnable clause, was left to the ministers' choice to use it, or change it for the apostles' creed. New collects were drawn up, more agreeable to the Epistles and Gospels, for the whole course of the year; and these with that eloquence and brightness of expression, and such a heat and flame of devotion, that nothing could more affect and excite the hearts of the hearers, and raise up their minds towards God. They were first drawn up by Dr. Patrick: Dr. Burnet added to them yet further force and spirit: Dr. Stillingfleet afterwards examined them with great judg-

* Life and Times, vol. iv, p. 44, 45.

ment, carefully weighing every word in them; and Dr. Tillotson had the last hand, giving them some masterly strokes of his sweet and flowing eloquence. Dr. Kidder, who was well versed in the oriental tongues, made a new version of the Psalms, more agreeable to the original. Dr. Tennyson made a collection of the words and expressions through the liturgy, which had been excepted against, and proposed others in their room, that were clear and plain, and less liable to exception. Other things also were proposed, that were left to be determined by the convocation: as, first, That the cross in baptism might be either used, or omitted, at the choice of the parents. Second, That a nonconforming minister, going over to the church, should not be ordained according to the common form, but rather conditionally, much in the same manner as the baptizing of infants is ordered in the church, if there be not evidence of their being baptized before, with the addition of the episcopal benediction, as was customary in the ancient church, when clerks were received that had been ordained by heretics, of which way archbishop Bramhall had given a precedent, when he received some Scotch presbyters into the church in Ireland*."

Dr. Calamy gives these additional particulars:—That after the bishops of Winchester and Rochester, and Drs. James and Aldridge, withdrew dissatisfied, the rest proceeded unanimously, determining the following, among others; each article, as soon as agreed upon, being signed by the bishop of London.

"That the chanting of divine service in cathedral churches shall be laid aside, that the whole may be rendered intelligible to the common people.

"That if any refuse to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper kneeling, it may be administered to them in their pews.

"All high titles or appellations of the king, queen, &c., shall be left out of the prayers, such as "most illustrious,

* Nichols, pp. 95, 96; History of Dissenters, by Drs. Bogue and Bennett, vol. i, pp. 230, 231.

religious, mighty, &c. &c., only the word sovereign retained for the king and queen.

“The prayer which begins, ‘O God, whose nature and property,’ shall be thrown out, as full of strange and impertinent expressions, and besides not in the original, but foisted in since by another hand.

“If any desire to have godfathers and godmothers omitted, and their children presented in their own names to baptism, it may be granted *.”

Improvements as all these confessedly were, they were rejected, and the labours of this commission rendered fruitless by being referred to the convocation. That ecclesiastical assembly, as the king was assured, was inclined to favour the Dissenters: but this was a mere contrivance. Dr. Jane, by the intrigues of two noble lords who had been disappointed of places in the government, was chosen prolocutor, as a fit instrument for accomplishing their object in embarrassing the king’s ministers; because he had become an enemy of the king for refusing him the bishopric of Exeter. Influenced by their chairman, the convocation would not even consider the proposed alterations, to afford the least degree of favour to the Dissenters, though the church of England itself had recently been saved from destruction by a Presbyterian prince, and an army of 14,000 Hollanders holding their principles. Such was the triumph of bigotry, to the great mortification of the king.

Divine Providence, it is believed, overruled this event for the furtherance of true religion among the Dissenters: though “the alterations, amounting to *six hundred*, proposed and made in the standard services of the church, by such men as Tillotson, Burnet, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Sharp, Kidder, Beveridge, Tennison, Scott, Fowler, Williams, &c, justify the faults found with them by Dissenters, and stand to this day as a herald, incessantly proclaiming that there are many things in the church of England which stand in need of alteration and amendment †.”

* Calamy’s Abridgment, p. 452—455.

† Bogue and Bennet, vol. i, p. 235, 236.

Preferment in the church of England was bestowed principally by the queen : for, as Burnet remarks, "The king left the matters of the church wholly in the queen's hands, which she managed with strict and religious prudence. She consulted chiefly with the archbishop of Canterbury, whom she favoured and supported in a most particular manner. She saw what need there was of it ; for a party was formed against him, who set themselves to censure every thing he did. He grew very uneasy in his great post. We were all soon convinced that there was a sort of clergymen among us, that would never be satisfied as long as toleration was continued : and they seemed resolved to give it out, that the church was in danger, till a prosecution of Dissenters should again be set on foot : nor could they look on a man with patience, or speak of him with temper, who did not agree with them in these things. The bishops fell under the displeasure of the Whigs, by the methods they took, not only of protecting, but of preferring some of these men, hoping by that means both to have softened them and their friends : but they took their preferments as the rewards that they supposed due to their merit, and employed the credit and authority which their preferments brought them wholly against those to whom they owed them *."

Religion continued to be deeply injured by these intolerant ecclesiastics, who were merely the Tory class of church politicians. But there was a small minority possessing a better spirit ; and these were the promoters of vital godliness in the establishment. Some of them had been brought up among the Puritans, and learned their pious customs : by these, private associations were formed after the manner of the Dissenters, to promote the spiritual and temporal interests of men, and to advance the kingdom of Christ.

In 1691, a "Society for the Reformation of Manners" was instituted in London ; and another, consisting of about *fifty* tradesmen, for "Suppressing Disorderly Houses ;" with a Society to preserve the office of constable respectable. *Thirty-five* small associations were formed in London to seek

* Life and Times, vol. iv, p, 171, 172.

a revival of religion, by frequent prayer and conference. Similar plans were adopted in different parts of England and Ireland; and in Dublin they were patronized by several bishops and many of the clergy, as an antidote to popery. But the Tory churchmen condemned these practices as Puritanical, and violently abused their brethren, asserting that their measures were only making Dissenters.

Burnet's account of these benevolent and pious operations will be read with peculiar interest; but it should be remarked, that he omits to record the share of the honour that belongs to himself, though he was eminently instrumental in promoting those good works, under the special sanction of queen Mary. "In James's reign," says the bishop, "the fear of popery was so strong, as well as just, that many, in and about London, began often to meet together, both for devotion, and for their further instruction: things of that kind had been formerly practised only among the Puritans and Dissenters: but these were of the church, and came to their ministers to be assisted with forms of prayer and other directions: they were chiefly conducted by Dr. Beveridge and Dr. Horneck. Some disliked this, and were afraid it might be the original of new factions and parties; but wiser and better men thought, it was not fit nor decent to check a spirit of devotion at such a time: it might have given scandal, and it seemed a discouraging of piety, and might be a means of driving well-meaning persons over to the Dissenters. After the Revolution, these societies grew more numerous, and, for a greater encouragement to devotion, they got such collections to be made, as maintained many clergymen to read prayers in so many places, and at so many different hours, that devout persons might have that comfort at every hour of the day: there were constant sacraments every Lord's day in many churches: there were both greater numbers and greater appearance of devotion at prayers and sacraments than had been observed in the memory of man. These societies resolved to inform the magistrates of swearers, drunkards, and profaners of the Lord's day, and of lewd houses; and they threw in the part of the fine given by law to informers into a stock of charity: from this, they were called *Societies of Reformation*: some good magistrates encouraged

them ; but others treated them roughly. As soon as the late queen heard of this, she did, by her letters and proclamations, encourage those good designs, which were afterwards prosecuted by the late king. Other societies set themselves to raise charity schools for teaching poor children, for clothing them, and binding them out to trades ; many books were printed, and sent over the nation by them, to be freely distributed : these were called *Societies for Propagating Christian Knowledge* : by this means, some thousands of children are now well educated and carefully looked after. In many places of the nation, the clergy met often together, to confer about matters of religion and learning ; and they got libraries to be raised for their common use. At last a corporation was created by the late king, for propagating the gospel among infidels, for settling schools in our plantations, for furnishing the clergy that were sent thither, and for sending missionaries among such of our plantations as were not able to provide pastors for themselves. It was a glorious conclusion of a reign begun with preserving our religion, thus to create a corporation for propagating it to the remotest parts of the earth, and among infidels : there were very liberal subscriptions made to it by many of the bishops and clergy, who set about it with great care and zeal *."

William having "incorporated these societies" by a peculiar charter, the chief directors of which were the archbishops, bishops, nobility, &c., much of the religious spirit in which they originated was lost, and the chartered society, governed chiefly by the Tory clergy, soon sunk into comparative uselessness, while the small voluntary associations of devotional persons altogether declined. Indeed, the religion of the most eminent of the clergy in this period, with a few exceptions, was of a less orthodox and evangelical character, than that of the fathers of the church of England. But on this subject an eminent episcopal divine shall testify. "The state of religious instruction at this period may be known from the writings of Tillotson, Sharp, Atterbury, Sherlock, &c. If as writers they were superior to the divines of the former age, in the manner

* Ibid, vol. v, p. 90—92.

and philological beauties of their discourses, in doctrine and matter they were far inferior. Though able advocates for the church of England against popery, and for revelation against infidelity, and most eminent as moral instructors, yet they afforded but a very infrequent, faint, and cold exhibition of those peculiar truths of the gospel which the Reformation had restored. This age produced, however, and saw advanced to the episcopal bench, a Stillingfleet and a Beveridge *."

CHAPTER II.

DISSENTERS IN ENGLAND UNDER WILLIAM AND MARY.

Condition of Dissenters—They gather churches and build chapels—Dissenting tutors—Presbyterians—Independents—Baptists—Quakers—Opposed by the clergy—Archbishop Tillotson intolerant—Generous mind of the king.

DISSENTERS from the church of England polity and ceremonies, shielded from violence in worshipping God, arose in the reign of William and Mary to make provision for their religious assemblies. Difficulties necessarily attended their operations, as they were barely tolerated, and their liberty was limited by several degrading restrictions. Most of the two thousand ejected ministers, during the course of twenty-six years from the Restoration, had been translated to their heavenly rest; Dr. Owen had recently departed to behold the "Glory of Christ," "Discourses" on which he died writing; and most of the survivors had been grievously injured by their long-continued sufferings under antichristian persecution.

Nevertheless, the Dissenters, blessed with liberty to worship God without fear of prison, now gathered congregations, and erected numerous meeting-houses throughout the country, rejoicing in the observance of the ordinances of Christ their Lord and Saviour; and though many of their infant churches declined and became extinct, for want of a sufficient supply of educated successors to their deceased pastors, they continued to increase in most parts of the kingdom.

* Church History, by the Rev. John Fry, B. A. p. 583.

Several of the most eminent of the ejected ministers undertook the preparation of pious young men for the ministry, establishing academies in different parts; and the names of Frankland, Jollie, Warren, Tallents, James Owen, Philip Henry, Benion, Spademan, and Chauncey, will be honoured as the Dissenting tutors of this period.

Four denominations appeared at this time; concerning whose peculiar principles it will be necessary to make a few remarks for the better information of our readers.

1. **PRESBYTERIANS**: so called from the Greek *πρεσβυτερος*, a *senior*, or *elder*, are those whose societies are governed by the elders of the churches. They affirm, with truth, that the New Testament calls the same persons *presbyters* or *elders*, and *bishops*, or *overseers*, *pastors*, *shepherds*, and *ministers*, they having no superiority one over another. Such is the national church of Scotland; and such were most of the Dissenters in England at the Revolution. Their chief ministers at this period were Dr. Bates, Dr. Calamy, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Flavel, and Mr. Marshal.

2. **INDEPENDENTS**: so called from their holding, as it is said in an article in the church of England, that every "church is a *congregation* of faithful men," &c., perfectly independent of all civil or ecclesiastical power in the government of their religious affairs. Such they maintained were the first Christian churches, until they were corrupted by worldly ambition. Their chief ministers were Dr. Owen, Dr. Chauncey, Mr. Howe, Mr. Philip Henry, and his son Matthew.

3. **BAPTISTS**: these also were Independents in church polity, differing only in the rejection of infant baptism, and performing that only by submersion; and their principal ministers were Dr. Veil, Mr. Keach, Mr. Stennet, and the famous Mr. Bunyan.

4. **QUAKERS**: these were most decided Independents: distinguished also by their rejecting baptism and the Lord's supper. Their chief leaders were William Penn and Robert Barclay.

Protection, under certain hard conditions, the Dissenters enjoyed: but they were exposed to the resentment of the

high church party, from whom they experienced much opposition. Bishop Burnet will be the most unobjectionable witness in this case. — He says, “There were two different parties among the clergy: one was firm and faithful to the present government, and served it with zeal; these did not envy the Dissenters the ease that toleration gave them: they wished for a favourable opportunity of making such alterations, in some few rites and ceremonies, as might bring them into the church. Others took the oaths indeed, and concurred in every act of compliance with the government; though not only cold in serving it, but always blaming the administration: at the same time, they showed great resentments against the Dissenters, and were enemies to the toleration. The bulk of the clergy ran this way, so that the moderate party was far outnumbered. Profane minds had too great advantages from this, in reflecting severely on a body of men, that took oaths, and performed public devotion, when the rest of their lives was too public and visible a contradiction to such oaths and prayers *.”

Intolerance was cherished even by some of the moderate of the prelates: and the names of the learned Stillingfleet, and the amiable Tillotson, both educated by the nonconformists, were influenced in a measure by that antichristian disposition. Archbishop Tillotson condemns Mr. Frankland, an eminent dissenting tutor of that age, in his letter to Dr. Sharp archbishop of York concerning him, for “first, his *setting up a school* where a free school is already established: and then his *instructing of young men*, in so public a manner, in *university learning*, which is contrary to his oath to do, if he have taken a degree in either of our universities; and, I doubt, contrary to the bishop’s oath to grant a license for the doing of it †.”

Happily, however, for the Dissenters and the nation, the king was far more tolerant than his clergy. By his authority, as head of the church, their flaming zeal was in a great measure quenched; and by his enlarged and liberal mind, and his upright example and influence, public opinion was

* Life and Times, vol. iv, p. 312, 313.

† Birch’s Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 296, 297.

carried forward to a surprising degree. And though the British crown was not without thorns on the head of this great monarch, through the virulence of party spirit as above described by Burnet, his principles and virtues were an unspeakable blessing to the nation, and Dissenters especially revere the memory of William III.

CHAPTER III.

SCOTLAND UNDER WILLIAM AND MARY.

The bishops oppose William — The episcopal clergy insulted — Convention of the States — "Claim of Right" — Prelacy denounced — Carstairs advises the king — Prelacy abolished — Endeavours to restore prelacy — Religion and education prosper.

SCOTLAND, immediately on the accession of William and Mary, engaged the attention of their majesties, to terminate the miseries of persecution, and emancipate the profession of religion. The prelates in Scotland dreaded the enlightened principles of the Prince of Orange, and opposed his being advanced to the throne.

Dr. Cook remarks, "In the north of Scotland, where from the prudence and mildness of the bishops, or from the inclinations of the people, there had been little persecution, the prospect of a change in the ecclesiastical polity excited no ferment; but in the south and west, where there had been a long succession of the most grievous sufferings, and where the established clergy had taken an active part against the Presbyterians, the hope of seeing the restoration of that form of church-government which they revered, led some of the Cameronians to insult the episcopal ministers. They carried them round their parishes in mock procession, reproached them for their past conduct, required them no longer to preach, and frequently concluded by burning their gowns. Improper as were these excesses, how light were they when put in the balance against the enormities which under prelacy had been perpetrated; for no personal violence, no tortures, no murders, disgraced a sect which had been borne

down with every species of outrage. These ebullitions of popular sentiment had no connection with the general arrangements of the Presbyterians, who prudently considered what steps should be taken to regain their influence, and to conjoin with the accession of the new sovereign the settlement of their church *."

A convention of the estates of the nation assembled at Edinburgh, March 14, 1689, in which the duke of Hamilton was elected to preside. A letter from William was read, in which the king stated, "that it lay on them to enter upon such consultations as were most likely to settle them upon sure and lasting foundations, which he trusted they would do with all convenient speed, with regard to the public good, and the general interests and inclinations of the people, that after so much trouble and great sufferings, they might live happily and in peace †."

This national assembly prepared the famous document called "*The Claim of Right*," specifying the sufferings which had been endured in Scotland, and declaring their natural rights and the true ends of government—that the interests of the community must be promoted, and that they who sacrifice this interest, forfeiting their rank and authority, may, without the guilt of rebellion, be removed or deposed. "This part of the Claim of Right," Dr. Cook remarks, "which should be familiar to every inhabitant of Britain, and which should be venerated as affording a salutary example to the whole of mankind, fully confirms the statement which has been given of the enormities which disgraced the reigns of the two former monarchs,—enormities which, however grievous, led to the change now about to be accomplished ‡."

General history must be consulted for the different provisions of this "admirable act;" one branch of it only can be noticed here, which was, "that prelacy, and the superiority of any office in the church, above Presbyter, is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality

* History of the Church of Scotland, vol. iii, p. 438, 439.

† Ibid. p. 444.

‡ Ibid. p. 445.

of the people ever since the Reformation, they having reformed from popery by Presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished *."

William's inclination was to continue episcopacy. For although he wished that all should be permitted, without molestation, to worship God according to their conscience, yet he thought it desirable that the same form of church government should be established through the whole of Britain; and had the episcopal party in Scotland now cordially joined the king, acknowledging him as their lawful sovereign, and consenting to those modifications of episcopacy which he contemplated, for including the more liberal divines within the establishment, there can be little doubt but he would have been zealous for the hierarchy, and probably his influence would have prevailed for its continuance †.

The king principally consulted William Carstairs, one of his chaplains, an eminent Scotch divine, who had been put to the torture in Scotland, in the presence of James II, when duke of York, to make him confess some plot in England. "This enlightened divine, although attached to Presbytery, was free from all rancour and bigotry; he calmly examined the state of public opinion, and gave the advice which he esteemed it prudent for the sovereign to follow. He represented to him that the episcopal party were in general disaffected to the Revolution, and enemies to the principles upon which it proceeded; whilst the Presbyterians, constituting the great body of the nation, had to a man declared for it—that it could not therefore be thought strange that he gave his countenance to his friends, and withheld it from his enemies—that episcopacy in Scotland had been so warped with the political doctrines of royal supremacy, passive obedience, and non-resistance, that to establish it would be inconsistent with the end of his coming, which was to banish these tenets—and that, as he could not show to the nonconformists in England, although they were a numerous body, and warmly attached to him, all the favour which he could wish, lest he

* Ibid. p. 446.

† Ibid. p. 440.

should embroil himself with the church, his consenting that Presbytery should be the national religion of Scotland, would convince them that he was not prejudiced against their opinions, but was guided in his conduct towards them by political necessity. This sound advice was strengthened by the virulent opposition made by the episcopals to the government of William; and he was satisfied that it would be unwise, and even hazardous, to resist the desire of his Scottish subjects, that Presbytery should be restored *."

King William and Queen Mary were proclaimed the sovereigns of Scotland April 11, 1689, and the earl of Argyll, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir John Dalrymple, were sent to London to present the "Claim of Right," and to tender the coronation oath. "The king approved of what had been done, and he took the oath, only adding in explanation of one clause in it, which reflects on him the highest honour. He requested it to be understood, that he did not bind himself to persecute any of his subjects for following the dictates of conscience †."

William accepting the government of Scotland on the terms proposed by the convention, the fate of prelacy was decided. An act was passed in the assembly of the estates, June 22, 1689, "that prelacy, and all superiority of any office in the church of this kingdom above presbyters should be abolished; that certain acts, establishing episcopacy, should be rescinded; and that their majesties, with the advice and consent of the estates, should settle by law, that church-government in the kingdom which was most agreeable to the people ‡."

"During the interval which elapsed from the adjournment of the estates till the next session, the beneficent maxims of the king guided the ecclesiastical proceedings towards the episcopal clergy; for most of them were permitted, without molestation, to continue in their livings, even although they refused to pray for his majesty." The next year the regulation of the church was determined: the earl of Melvil was appointed commissioner in parliament, with instructions to

* Ibid. p. 441, 442.

† Ibid. p. 447.

‡ Ibid. p. 448.

forward the presbyterian establishment, but to be cautious about yielding the king's supremacy, and permitting the abolition of patronage.

Parliament opened in April 1690, when it was ordained, that the Presbyterian ministers, ejected in 1661, should be immediately restored to their livings and salaries: *sixty* of whom were found who had survived the persecution. An act was passed ratifying the Westminster Confession of Faith, and settling the government of the church of Scotland by presbyters, on the model of the statute of 1592, specifying *sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies*. Many of the ministers insisted on the whole that was stated in the Claim of Right being granted; and the commissioner, either worn out by their importunity, or convinced that it was necessary to gratify them, not only consented to an act doing away his Majesty's supremacy over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical, but also to the abolition of patronage, thus *transferring to the great body of the people the right of choosing their pastors*.

With this part of the proceedings of parliament, the king was highly displeased; fearing some unreasonable severities against the episcopal clergy, who had so long oppressed the Presbyterians. Harshness was in many instances exercised, and many were ejected; yet, as Dr. Cook remarks, "With all the violence which can be ascribed to the Presbyterians, the candid reader who has attended to their sufferings during the establishment of episcopacy will be astonished, rather that they entered so far as they did into the views of the king, than that they fell short of them. It is certain, that many of the episcopal ministers quietly enjoyed their benefices, even immediately after their opponents had obtained a triumph." In the last parliament, "the iniquitous statutes enforcing conformity were repealed, and excommunication, divested of all civil pains, was confined to the production of a moral and religious effect, without the possibility of being rendered the tool of bigotry and ecclesiastical oppression *."

Many of the nobility regretted the influence which the

* Ibid. p. 453.

Presbyterians had acquired, and began to contrive means for the restoration of prelacy. The duke of Hamilton was the head of the episcopal party, and attempts were made to alienate the king from the establishment: but Carstairs using his influence with William, the flame was quenched, and Scotland was made happy in the confidence of their sovereign.

Parochial schools were provided for by the act of 1692; and these, under the direction of a clergy chosen by the people on account of their piety, orthodoxy, and intelligence, became the most powerful auxiliaries to religion; while the Scotch have become proverbial for sobriety, intelligence, and piety, trained under such worthy pastors.

CHAPTER IV.

IRELAND UNDER WILLIAM AND MARY, AND ANNE.

James driven from Ireland by William — Loyalty of the Presbyterians — Religion among them — Discontents in Ireland — Bigotry of the clergy — Bishop Burnet's testimonies — Evils of abandoning the New Testament.

JAMES II, being a papist, retained a considerable hold on the minds of the Irish, the generality of whom were Catholics; and receiving some assistance from the French, he raised an army in that island, in the hope of regaining the throne of England. William, however, hastened to Ireland, and leading his own army, defeated the troops of James, but in the battle he received a wound in the shoulder. Most of that country soon submitted to the magnanimous conqueror: and after several reverses of fortune, James lost all hope, and fled from Ireland to France, where, in September 1702, he died in contempt.

Considerable opposition was still manifested in Ireland to the new sovereign; not only by the Catholics, but by the Protestant episcopalians: yet the Presbyterians, who were numerous in the province of Ulster, remained firmly attached to William and Mary.

Religion in the established church made but little pro-

gress: the mass of the people remaining papists, regarded the Protestants as oppressors; and the rulers of the Irish church in general were little inclined to vital godliness, while much perplexity prevailed in determining the titles to the great landed estates, which had been confiscated through the rebellion.

Evangelical piety in this distracted period scarcely had an existence, except in the north of Ireland, among the Presbyterians: "who," as Burnet remarks, "adhered stiffly to their first education in Scotland." Religion seems to have been advancing among these "Scots," enjoying their Bibles and their Scriptural worship, having in 1688 *ninety* congregations, which were progressively increasing under the faithful ministration of their pastoral bishops.

Queen Anne's tory ministers and prelates laboured in contriving their exclusive policy as the means of persecution in Ireland, and discontents continued to prevail through the behaviour of the trustees to the great estates. In 1703, the ruling powers passed an act concerning the papists, "for breaking the dependence on the heads of families: for it was provided that all estates should be equally divided among the children of papists, notwithstanding any settlement to the contrary, unless the persons on whom they were settled, qualified themselves by taking the oaths, and coming to the communion of the church."

As the bill passed through the English parliament, a clause was added, "to this purpose, that none in Ireland should be capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy in any city, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament according to the Test Act passed in England, which before this time had never been offered to the Irish nation *."

Prelatical bigotry was almost incessantly active; and, with many, clerical hatred to the Toleration was implacable. According to Burnet, in 1705, "the new heat among the Protestants in Ireland, raised in the earl of Rochester's time, and connived at if not encouraged by the duke of Ormond, went on still; a body of hot clergymen sent from England, began to form meetings in Dublin, and to have emissaries and a

* Burnet's Life and Times, vol. v, p. 168.

correspondence over Ireland, on design to raise the same fury in the clergy of that kingdom against the Dissenters, that they had raised here in England: whether this was only the effect of an ill-governed heat among them, or if it was set on by foreign practices, was not yet visible*.”

Various efforts were made to perpetuate strife in religion, by the Irish clergy. The English convocation was called, but it was not allowed to sit: by the queen's writ it was prorogued. “By this, a present stop was put to the factious temper of those who studied to recommend themselves by embroiling the church. It did not cure them: the same ill temper began to ferment and spread itself among the clergy in Ireland: none of those disputes had ever been thought of in the church formerly, as they had no records nor minutes of former convocations. The faction here in England found out proper instruments to set the same humour on foot during the earl of Rochester's government, and, as was said, by his directions: so the clergy were making the same bold claim there, that had raised such disputes among us. The secret encouragement with which they did most effectually animate their party was, that the queen's heart was with them, and that though the war, and other circumstances, obliged her at present to favour the moderate party, yet as soon as peace arrived they promised themselves all favour at her hands. It is not certain that they had any ground for this, or that she herself, or any by her order, gave them these hopes; but this is certain, that many things might have been done to extinguish those hopes, which were not done; and indeed it was but too visible, that the much greater part of the clergy were in a very ill temper, and under very bad influence, enemies to the toleration, and soured against the dissenters†.”

Burnet's testimonies, thus candidly given, concerning the hierarchy in Ireland, might be abundantly confirmed by other writers of high authority: but these are enough to show the deplorable effects of substituting human laws or authority in religion, besides the holy, benevolent, and peaceful statutes of Christianity, contained in the New Testament.

* Ibid. p. 271, 272.

† Ibid. vol. vi, p. 15, 16.

CHAPTER V.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND UNDER QUEEN ANNE.

Anne's character — Her ministers — Her principles — Dissenters persecuted — Burnet's testimony — Bill against occasional conformity — Convocation — HIGH CHURCHMEN — LOW CHURCHMEN — Queen Anne's Bounty — High church illiberality — Church abuses — Bill against Dissenters — Good prelates — Tory prelates — Dr. Sacheverel — His inflammatory sermon — Bill passed against Dissenters — Schism bill — Religion in Anne's reign — Character of the clergy — Of the people — Arianism.

ANNE, second daughter of James II, and wife of prince George of Denmark, succeeded to the throne of England, on the demise of William III. Being a princess of amiable manners in private life, she was beloved, and generally called, "The Good Queen Anne," and being favoured with statesmen and commanders of vast abilities, trained under her magnanimous predecessor, her reign was prosperous, "a continued blaze of public glory."

Many of the most distinguished characters in philosophy and literature, flourished in the reign of Anne; and graced with the polished and profound writings of Locke, Flammstead, Addison, Newton, Clarke, Steele, Arbuthnot, Halley, Bentley, &c., this period has been called "The Augustan Age of Britain."

Anne was a Stuart: and she inherited a measure of those lofty notions of the prerogative, entertained by that unhappy family. But though the constitution of England had been established by William, Anne became the dupe of the party who cherished those principles of bigotry, through which much vexation arose in the nation. Retaining for several years the great men who had been the wise counsellors of William, Anne made no infringement of the toleration through their moderation: still the restless bigotry of the tory clergy, hostile to the principles of the revolution, occasioned much hindrance to the progress of religion — tore the church with divisions — and seriously alarmed the dissenters.

Anne had no sooner ascended the throne of England, than the violent part of the clergy, knowing the principles of the

queen, raised the cry of "The Church in Danger," which continued to be the watchword throughout her reign. Presuming on impunity, persecution was renewed by the zealots, and several meeting-houses of the Dissenters were pulled down by the excited mobs in provincial towns; but such proceedings had no sanction from the public authorities. In the *first* year of Anne's reign, attempts were made towards the subversion of religious liberty: nor were they laid aside until they partly succeeded.

Bishop Burnet's testimony will be regarded as most satisfactory as to the state of things at this period. He says, "A bill was brought in by the Tories, against occasional conformity: by this bill, all those who took the sacrament and test, who held offices of trust, or were magistrates in corporations, and did after that, go to the meetings of Dissenters, or any meeting for religious worship, that was not according to the liturgy or practice of the church of England, where *five* persons were present, more than the family, were disabled from holding their employments, and were to be fined 100*l.*, and 5*l.* a day for every day in which they continued to act in their employment after their having been at any such meeting; they were also made incapable of holding any other employment, till after one whole year's conformity to the church.—All the inferior officers or freemen in corporations, who were found to have some interest in elections, were comprehended in this bill.—All who pleaded for it, did in words declare for the continuance of the toleration, yet the sharpness with which they treated the Dissenters in all their speeches, showed as if they designed their extirpation. The bill was carried in the House Commons by a great majority. The Lords would not consent to the reviving of such penalties as the infamous methods of king Charles's reign. All believed, that the chief design of this bill was to model corporations, and to cast out of them all those who would not vote in elections for Tories: the toleration itself was visibly aimed at, and this was only a step to break in upon it*."

William's moderate bishops still possessed considerable

* Life and Times, vol. v, p. 119, 122.

influence, though the generality of the clergy were opposed to the toleration, as is manifest by the temper of the House of Commons : but it was lost in the Lords, by a majority of only *one*. "This bill seemed to favour the interests of the church, so hot men were for it ; and the greater number of the bishops being against it, they were censured as cold and slack in the concerns of the church. Angry men took occasion from hence to charge the bishops as enemies of the church, and betrayers of its interests, because," says Burnet, "we would not run blindfold into the passions and designs of ill-tempered men ; though we can appeal to the world—and, which is more, to God himself—that we did faithfully and zealously pursue the true interests of the church, the promoting of religion and learning, the encouraging of all good men and good designs ; and that we did apply ourselves to the duties of our function and to the work of the Gospel *."

During this first session of parliament under Anne, in 1702, the convocation of the clergy was assembled, and a sharp controversy was carried on between the two houses. Burnet remarks, "The lower house finding, that, by opposing their bishops in so rough a manner, they were represented as favourers of presbytery, to clear themselves of that imputation, came suddenly unto a conclusion, that episcopacy was of divine and apostolical right †." The lower house submitted a document to this effect for the bishops to adopt, which they declined, perceiving their design ; when the parliament being prorogued, the ecclesiastical session ended, "the two houses being fixed in an opposition to one another."

"From those disputes in convocation, divisions ran through the whole body of the clergy ; and, to fix these, new names were found out : they were distinguished by the names of HIGH CHURCH and LOW CHURCH. All that treated the Dissenters with temper and moderation, and were for residing constantly at their cures, and for labouring diligently in them—and expressed a great zeal against the prince of

* Ibid. p. 123, 124.

† Ibid. p. 137.

Wales, and for the Revolution—were represented as secret favourers of presbytery, and as ill affected to the church, and were called *Low Churchmen* *.”

Intolerance, still cherished by the *High Churchmen*, originated the next year (1703) another bill against Dissenters. “The preamble of the former bill was left out: the number, besides the family, that made a conventicle, was enlarged from *five* to *twelve*: and the fine set on those who went to conventicles, after they had received the sacrament, besides the loss of their employment, was brought down to 50*l*. These were artifices, by which it was hoped once to carry the bill on any terms; and, when that point was gained, to carry other bills of greater severity. Those who opposed the bill went chiefly upon this ground, that it put the Dissenters in a worse condition than they were before; so it was a breach made upon toleration. The old topics of hypocrisy, and of the danger the church was in, were brought up again on behalf of the bill, and it passed in the House of Commons by a great majority †.”

In the House of Lords it was lost, on the second reading, by a majority of *twelve*. “The bishops,” says Burnet, “were almost equally divided: there were *two* more against it than for it. Among these, I had the largest share of censure on me, because I spoke much against the bill. I knew how the Act of Test was carried. I related that in the House, and the many practices of the Papists of setting us of the Church against the Dissenters, and the Dissenters against us by turns, as it might serve their ends. I ventured to say, that a man might lawfully communicate with a church that he thought had a worship and a doctrine uncorrupted, and yet communicate more frequently with a church that he thought more perfect. I myself had communicated with the churches of Geneva and Holland, and yet at the same time communicated with the church of England; so, though the Dissenters were in a mistake as to their opinion—which was the more perfect church—yet, allowing them a toleration in that error, this practice might be justified. I saw the Jacobites designed to

* Ibid. p. 138.

† Ibid. p. 171.

raise a flame among us, making a breach on the toleration; and I was resolved never to be silent, when that should be brought into debate: for I have long looked on liberty of conscience as one of the rights of human nature, antecedent to society, which no man could give up, because it was not in his own power *."

Burnet's principles are worthy of a record in this place, especially as not only the Dissenters, but the nation, owe him a debt of gratitude for his successful advocacy of religious liberty, which has since been so happily enlarged in Britain.

Burnet's services to the church of England, in 1704, merit acknowledgment; as that augmentation of the incomes of the poorer clergy, denominated "Queen Anne's Bounty," originated with him. This fund arises from "the tenths and first-fruits of ecclesiastical livings." "The tenths amounted to about 11,000*l.* a year; and the first-fruits, which were casual, rose one year with another to 5,000*l.* This was not brought into the treasury as the other branches of the revenue; but the bishops, who had been the Pope's collectors, were now the King's — so persons in favour obtained assignations on them for life. This had never been applied to any good use, but was still obtained by favourites for themselves and their friends †."

Queen Mary, king William, and now Anne, listened favourably to the bishop's proposal; and Burnet succeeded according to his wishes. "This time was perhaps chosen," he remarks, "to pacify the angry clergy, who now talked of the danger the church was in. This extraordinary mark of the queen's piety and zeal for the church, produced many addresses full of compliments; but it has not yet had any great effect in softening the tempers of peevish men. The bishops were zealous and unanimous for the bill. The queen was pleased to let it be known, that the first motion of this matter came from me: such a project would have been magnified at another time; and those who promoted it would have been looked on as the truest friends of the church. But this did not seem to make any great impression at that time;

* Ibid. p. 171—173.

† Ibid. p. 181.

only it produced a set of addresses from all the clergy of England, full of thanks and just acknowledgments *."

"Union and moderation" being commanded by the queen, in closing this session of parliament, a flame arose in consequence. "These words were now become so odious to violent men, that even in sermons, chiefly at Oxford, they were arraigned as importing somewhat that was unkind to the church, and that favoured the Dissenters."

High-church illiberality seemed to increase; for, according to Burnet, "the universities, Oxford especially, were successful in corrupting the principles of those who were sent thither to be educated; so that few of them escaped the taint of it; and the generality of the clergy were not only ill-principled but ill-tempered. They exclaimed against all moderation, as endangering the church; though it is visible that the church is in no sort of danger, from either the number or the interest that the Dissenters have among us; who, by reason of the toleration, are now so quieted, that nothing can keep up any heat in those matters but the folly and bad humour that the clergy are possessed with, and which they infuse into all those with whom they have credit †."

Church abuses were exceedingly injurious to the progress of religion; for though the "convocation drew up a representation of some abuses in ecclesiastical discipline, they took care to mention none of those greater ones, of which many among themselves were eminently guilty—such as pluralities, non-residence, the neglect of their cures, and the irregularities in the lives of the clergy, which were too visible ‡."

Bigotry still raged; and the next sessions the bill against occasional conformity again passed the Commons. Anne went to hear the debates upon it in the House of Lords, when "it was resolved to open the whole matter in her hearing. The topics most insisted on were, the quiet that we enjoyed under the toleration; on which head the severities of former reigns were laid open, both in their injustice, cruelty, and their being managed only to advance popery and other bad designs. The peaceable behaviour of the Dissenters, and the

* Ibid. p. 183, 184.

† Ibid. p. 198.

‡ Ibid.

zeal they expressed for the queen and her government, was also copiously set forth; while others showed a malignity to it. That which was chiefly urged was, that every new law made in the matter altered the state of things from what it was when the act of toleration first passed. This gave the Dissenters an alarm: they might from thence conclude, that one step would be made after another, till the whole effect of that act should be overturned*." The bill was therefore rejected, on the second reading, by a majority of *twenty lords*.

Dr. Bull, the celebrated author of the learned treatise on the "Doctrine of the Primitive Church concerning the Trinity," and Dr. Beveridge, "the phoenix of his age" for piety—now known chiefly by his "Private Thoughts on Religion"—were promoted by the queen to the episcopal bench, of which they were its greatest ornaments. "They were both pious and devout men," says Burnet; "but were now declining, both of them being old, and not like to hold out long." Dr. Wake was made bishop of Lincoln; "a man eminently learned, an excellent writer, a good preacher, and, which is above all, a man of exemplary life†."

Religion must doubtless have flourished in the church, and charity towards the Dissenters would have been cherished, to the advancement of evangelical godliness in the nation, if all the prelates had been such men for piety and moderation as Beveridge, Bull, and Wake. But the clergy, in convocation, persevered in their illiberal principles, giving much trouble to the government, until they in a measure succeeded. Dr. Trelawney, Dr. Blackhall, and Sir William Dawes, were promoted to Winchester, Exeter, and Chester. "Trelawney," Burnet says, "was considerable for nothing but his birth and interest in Cornwall: but the others were in themselves men of value and worth; but their notions were all on the other side: they had submitted to the government, but they, at least Bramhall, seemed to condemn the revolution, and all that had been done pursuant to it. Dawes also was looked on as an aspiring man, who would set himself at the head of the

* Ibid.

† Ibid. p. 240.

Tory party: so this nomination gave a great disgust. To qualify this a little, Patrick, the pious and learned bishop of Ely, dying at this time, the queen advanced More, from Norwich, thither; and Dr. Trimnell, a worthy person in all respects, was named for Norwich. Yet this did not quiet the uneasiness many were under, by reason of the other nominations, which seemed to flow from the queen herself, and so discovered her inclinations *."

Intolerance now gained considerable strength in the nation, as this spirit was perceived to be cherished by the queen. This will appear from the affair of a Tory clergyman, and what Burnet calls, "one of the most extraordinary transactions in my time. Dr. Sacheverel was a bold, insolent man, with a very small measure of religion, virtue, learning, or good sense; but he resolved to force himself into popularity and preferment, by the most petulant railings at Dissenters and Low-churchmen, in several sermons and libels, written without either chasteness of style or liveliness of expression; all was one unpractised strain of indecent and scurrilous language. He was at last brought up, by popular election, to a church in Southwark, where he began to make great reflections on the ministry; representing that the church was in danger, being neglected by those who governed, while they favoured her most inveterate enemies. Preaching on the 5th of November, at St. Paul's, London, he gave a full vent to his fury. He poured out much scorn and scurrility on the Dissenters, and reflected severely on the toleration. He animated the people to stand up for the church, for which he sounded the trumpet, and desired them to put on the whole armour of God. He printed his sermon, with a flaming epistle dedicatory to the Lord Mayor; and about forty thousand of them were dispersed over the nation by the party that was opposed to the ministry. A motion in the House of Commons was made for impeaching Sacheverel, and carried by a great majority. Yet the clergy, generally, espoused Sacheverel as their champion, who had stood in the breach; and so they reckoned his cause was their own. Many

* Ibid. p. 361, 362.

sermons were preached, both in London and in other places, to provoke the people, in which they succeeded beyond expectation.

"On the 27th of February, 1710, the trial began. Sacheverel was lodged in the Temple, and came every day with great solemnity, in a coach to Westminster Hall: great crowds ran about his coach with many shouts, expressing their concern for him, in a very rude manner. — During the three weeks of his trial, the multitudes that attended him in going and coming, showed a great concern for him, pressing about him to kiss his hand: money was thrown among them; and they were animated to such a pitch of fury, that *they went to pull down some meeting-houses, which was executed on five of them*, as far as burning all pews in them. This was directed by some of better fashion, who followed the mob in hackney coaches, and were seen sending messages to them: the word upon which all shouted was, *The Church and Sacheverel*; and such as joined not in the shout, were insulted and knocked down. — All the clergy appeared for Sacheverel. Many of the queen's chaplains stood about him, encouraging and magnifying him; and it was given out that the queen herself favoured him *, especially as she regularly attended his trial.

Sacheverel however was found guilty: "the lords went down to the hall, where the question being put upon the whole impeachment, *guilty or not guilty*, *fifty-two* voted him *not guilty*, and *sixty-nine* voted him *guilty*. The queen desiring the censure upon this intolerant offender might be mild, he was *suspended from preaching for three years*: upon that the House of Commons divided, *fifty-nine* were for the vote, and *sixty* were against it: so that being laid aside, the sermon was ordered to be burnt in the presence of the Lord Mayor. Illuminations and bonfires, expressive of inconceivable joy, as if a victory had been gained, appeared, not only in London, but over the whole kingdom †."

How far the queen approved of the principles of Sacheverel, may further be inferred, from his being immediately after

* Ibid. vol. vi, p. 32—41.

† Ibid. p. 44, 45.

the trial presented with a living in North Wales; and the prevailing temper of the country may be conceived from the statement of Bishop Burnet respecting the reception this haughty clergyman met with, on his journey to take possession of it. "As he passed through the counties, both going and coming, he was received and followed by such numbers, and entertained with such magnificence, that our princes in their progresses have not been more run after than he was. Great fury and violence appeared on many occasions, though care was taken to give his followers no sort of provocation. He was looked on as the champion of the church; and he showed as much insolence on that occasion, as his party did folly. No notice was taken by the government of all these riots; they were rather favoured and encouraged than checked; all this was like a prelude to a greater scene that was to be acted at court*."

Anne had long felt restraint under the direction of ministers who were favourable to toleration: but at this period, influenced by a few favourites, she chose a new ministry, whose illiberal principles were congenial with her own. "So sudden, and so entire a change of the ministry," says Burnet, "is scarcely to be found in our history, especially where men of great abilities had served, both with zeal and success; inso-much that the administration of all affairs, at home and abroad, in their hands, was not only without exception, but had raised the admiration of all Europe†."

A new parliament being summoned, "unheard-of methods were used to secure Tory members. Open violence was used in several parts: this was so general through the whole kingdom, all at the same time, that it was visible the thing had been for some time concerted, and the proper methods and tools had been prepared for it. The clergy had a great share in this; for besides a course for some months of inflaming sermons, they went from house to house pressing their people to show, on this great occasion, their zeal for the church, and now or never to save it. They also told them, in what ill hands the queen had been kept, as in captivity, and that it was a

* Ibid. p. 56.

† Ibid. p. 57.

charity, as well as their duty, to free her from the power the late ministry exercised over her. Tories were put in, and Whigs were left out: in a word, the practice and violence used now in elections went far beyond any thing that I had ever known in England*."

General business fully occupied this new parliament: but "when the session drew near an end, some were concerned to find, that a body, chosen so much by the zeal and influence of the clergy, should have done nothing for the good of the church: so it being apparent, that in the suburbs of London there were about 200,000 people more than could possibly worship God in the churches built there, upon a message to them from the queen, to which the rise was given by an address to her from the convocation, they voted that *fifty* more churches should be built; and laid the charge of it upon that part of the duty on coals, that had been reserved for building of St. Paul's, which was now finished†."

Seven years the bill against occasional conformity had slept; but now the Tories were in power it was revived, on the 15th of December 1711. This bill provided, that "all persons in places of profit and trust, and all the common council men in corporations, who should be at any meeting for divine worship where there were *ten* persons besides the family, in which the Common Prayer was not used, or where the queen and the princess Sophia were not prayed for, should upon conviction forfeit their places of trust and profit, and continue incapable of any employment, till they should depose, that for a whole year together they had not been at any conventicle."

Nottingham, an apostate Whig earl, being the leader, "no opposition," as Burnet states, "was made to the Bill in the house of Lords; so it passed in *three days*: and it had the same fate in the house of Commons; only they added a penalty on the offender, of *forty pounds*, to be given to the informer. Great reflections were made on the fate of this bill, which had been formerly so much contested, and was so

* Ibid. p. 58.

† Ibid. p. 79.

often rejected by the Lords, and now went through both houses, in so silent a manner, without the least opposition*."

Burnet records the opposition which himself had formerly made to this bill: but now he appears to have let it pass without any expression of disapprobation; remarking in the close of his account, "It must now be left to time to show, what good effect this act may have on the church, or what bad one it may have on Dissenters."

Bigotry was not satisfied, however, with this infringement of the toleration: something more severe was contemplated; and on the 12th of May 1714, the "Schism Bill" was brought into the House of Commons: it was entitled, "An Act to prevent the growth of Schism, and for the further security of the churches of England and Ireland, as by law established;" and it enacted, that no person should keep any public or private school, or seminary, to teach or instruct youth, as tutor or schoolmaster, unless he subscribed this declaration:—"I, A. B. do declare that I will conform to the liturgy of the church of England, as by law established," and shall have obtained a license from the archbishop, or bishop, or ordinary of the place, under his seal of office. And whosoever should be found doing this without these qualifications, was, upon conviction, to suffer *three months imprisonment*. The next clause in the Act runs thus—"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person, licensed as aforesaid, shall teach any other catechism than the catechism *set forth in the Book of Common Prayer*, the license of such person shall thenceforth be void, and such person shall be liable to the penalties of this act."

Such are some of the provisions of the infamous Schism Bill; worthy only of the infidel lord Bolingbroke, and the intolerant bishop Atterbury, the friend of Sacheverel, its principal authors. After warm debates in the Commons, this bill was carried by 237 votes against 126, and sent up to the Lords. There it met with powerful opposition. Lord Wharton remarked, "It is melancholy and surprising, I say,

* Ibid. p. 104, 105.

that at this very time, a bill should be brought in, which cannot but tend to divide Protestants, and consequently to weaken their interests, and hasten their ruin : but then the wonder will cease, when it is recollected what *madmen* were the *contrivers* and *promoters* of this bill."

Bishop Fleetwood to his honour opposed it; remarking, that, "if to deprive parents of the right of educating their children in the way they thought best, was not persecution, he knew not what was; and that the way to judge of such matters was to bring the case home to ourselves, and to suppose that others believe themselves to be right as much as we do *."

Two clauses were gained in the lords: one was, that *dissenters might have school-mistresses to teach their children to read*: and another, that "this act should not extend to any person who should instruct youth in reading, writing, and arithmetic, or any part of mathematical learning, which relates only to navigation and mechanics." So powerful, however, was the opposition, that it was carried by a majority of only *seventy-seven* against *seventy-two*. *Twenty-two* temporal peers, and *five* bishops, entered their protest against this bill, as the only possible mark of their determined disapprobation. They said, "If the dissenters should not be provoked by this severity to concur in the destruction of their country, and the Protestant religion, yet we may justly fear they may be driven by this bill from England, to the great prejudice of our manufactures: for, as we gained them by the persecution abroad, so we may lose them by similar proceedings at home†."

Archbishop Dawes took the chair in the modelling and finishing of this iniquitous bill: it received the royal assent, June 25, 1714; and it was to commence its fearful operation on the first of the following August: but on that dreaded day, Queen Anne was summoned to the tribunal of God: and bigotry was defeated by the accession to the throne of England of George I of the house of Brunswick, a generous and decided friend to liberty of conscience.

Religion, in the church of England, during the reign of

* Brook's Religious Liberty, vol. ii, p. 250, 251. † Ibid. p. 253.

Anne, will be inferred from what has been seen, to have been deplorably low; such was the case, as is testified by bishop Burnet. Of the clergy he says — “During my whole life, I have lamented, that I saw so little true zeal among our clergy: I saw much of it in the clergy of the church of Rome; I saw much zeal likewise throughout the foreign churches: the Dissenters have a great deal among them: but I must own that the main body of our clergy has always appeared to me dead and lifeless.—I say it with great regret, I have observed the clergy, in all the places through which I have travelled, Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Dissenters; but of them all, our clergy is much the most remiss in their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives.—I do not enter into the scandalous practices of *non-residence* and *pluralities*, which are sheltered by so many colours of law among us; whereas the church of Rome, whence we had those and many other abuses, has freed herself from this, under which we still labour, to our great and just reproach: this is so shameful a profanation of holy things, that it ought to be treated with detestation and horror*.”

Such being the character of the clergy, the laity could not be expected to flourish in religion: of them he says, “The commonalty of this nation are much the happiest, and live the easiest and the most plentifully of any that ever I saw; they are very sagacious and skilful in managing all their concerns; but at the same time *it is not to be conceived how ignorant they are in the matters of religion. The Dissenters have a much larger share of knowledge among them, than is among those who come to our churches.* This is the more to be wondered at, considering the plainness in which matters of religion are written in this age, and the many small books concerning these, that have been published of late years, which go at easy rates, and of which many thousands are every year sent about by charitable societies in London, to be freely given to such as will take them, and read them: so that *this ignorance seems to be obstinate and incurable†.*”

Burnet speaks thus of the gentry: “They are for the most

* Life and Times, vol. vi, p. 183—186.

† Ibid. p. 196.

part the worst instructed, and the least knowing of any of their rank I ever went amongst." Having testified the superiority of the Scotch, he says, "A gentleman here is often both ill-taught and ill-bred; this makes him hasty and insolent. The gentry are not early acquainted with the principles of religion: so that after they have forgot their catechism, they acquire no more new knowledge, but what they learn in plays and romances. They grow soon to find it a modish thing, that looks like wit and spirit, to laugh at religion and virtue, and to become crude and unpolished infidels*."

"This is a dismal representation of things," adds the pious bishop: and it may well be supposed, that a grievous defection from evangelical doctrine had taken place. With few exceptions this was indeed the case, and scarcely a divine of that age can be found, except bishop Beveridge, "*the restorer and reviver of primitive piety*," who held forth as at the reformation those two capital articles of the gospel — Justification by faith in the righteousness and atonement of Christ, and Sanctification by the gracious influence of the Holy Spirit!

Arianism exercised its withering influence among the clergy of this age. Thomas Firmin, the intimate friend of archbishop Tillotson, a gentleman of rare benevolence, had greatly revived this doctrine in the last century. Mr. Whiston, a professor and divine of Cambridge, about 1700; and especially Dr. Samuel Clarke, rector of St. James's Westminster, were the principal leaders in the Arian opinions, which spread exceedingly among the speculative and irreligious clergy of that generation.

CHAPTER VI.

DISSENTERS IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

Intolerance against Dissenters — Their rank — Character — Religion — Liberty — Public worship — Psalmody — Dr. Watts's Hymns and Psalms — Lectures — Matthew Henry — Learning — Tutors — Dr. Watts — Efforts to revive religion — Number of Dissenters.

INTOLERANCE among the clergy, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, was reviving before the close of the reign of

* Ibid. p. 198.

William. But this hateful spirit increased to a fearful degree under queen Anne; as we have learnt from the reiterated testimony of bishop Burnet. From this it will be inferred, either that the Dissenters had greatly increased in the nation, to occasion such a spirit of hostility against them; or that it was apprehended, by exciting public odium against them, they would dwindle and become extinct.

High church bigotry must certainly have had a powerful influence, especially in country towns and villages; and, as court favour was bestowed only on conformists, Dissenters being excluded from the magistracy, and all places of profit and honour, they could not possibly number many of the great in their churches. Atheism and immorality in the court of Charles II, had almost universally corrupted the young nobility: they were therefore unfriendly to the Dissenters, and nonconforming nobles were almost unknown in the reign of William, and especially in that of Anne: nevertheless the Dissenters through the nation continued to increase.

"So far as titles and worldly honours give dignity or respectability to the church of Christ," say Drs. Bogue and Bennet, "the Dissenters were at their acme in the earlier part of this period, or perhaps before its commencement. Some of the nobility adhered to the ejected ministers, and many of the gentry continued to attend on their ministry. Vincent Alsop, whose meeting-house was in Westminster, had some of the nobles of the land among his auditors. Not a few distinguished persons attended on the ministry of Mr. Howe, at Silver Street, in the city. But the Dissenters in cities and towns were merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and mechanics. Farmers and their servants composed the most considerable portion of the congregations in villages and hamlets, with here and there a country squire*."

Religion prevailed among the Dissenters, as we have seen testified by bishop Burnet: it was their chief concern in life. "There are two practices which may be considered as pe-

* History of Dissenters, vol. i, p. 369.

culiarly marking the character, and distinguishing those, who observe them, from the men of the world — *family worship, and the sanctification of the Lord's day*. It was the general custom among the Dissenters, for the master of the family to call his household together, to read the Scriptures for their instruction, and to offer up prayer and praise to God. The whole of the Lord's day was devoted to the services of religion. If it shall be asked, what peculiar excellence shall be assigned to the Dissenters, without hesitation we answer, 'Their attention to the secret exercises of devotion.' Morning and evening they had their seasons of retirement; and, according to their degrees of leisure or piety, half an hour, an hour, or more, was employed in reading the Scriptures, in perusing the more spiritual writings, chiefly of the Puritans and Nonconformists, in meditations, in self-examination, and in prayer. From these employments, they came forth into the bosom of their family and to the duties of their station in society, with a reverence for God which communicated sanctity to their temper, and integrity to their conduct. The amusements of the world, to which both the busy and the idle have recourse for pleasure, the Dissenters of this period in general looked upon with disapprobation. At a card table, at an assembly, and at a theatre, a Dissenter, professing to be a man of piety, could not be found. Among the more sober delights of domestic life, they sought their pleasure.

“The benevolence of the Dissenters during this period may be proved. They had displayed a willingness to part with their substance for the sake of their religious profession, in the persecuting reigns of Charles and James. To become a member of a voluntary society requires liberality. For this, there were peculiar calls. Meeting-houses were almost everywhere to be built; ministers were to be supported, and the wants of the poor supplied; besides those occasional applications to liberality, which so frequently occur. For the justness of this description of the Dissenters, we may appeal to the authority of Dr. Watts, who had arrived at maturity by the commencement of this period, and who, from what he

had himself observed, delineates the character of the Nonconformists*.

“As the final result of our investigation of the subject, it may with confidence be asserted, that in the Christian world, during this period, there was not to be found a body of people, who, in proportion to their numbers, excelled the English Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, in the knowledge of the principles of the Gospel, in the uniform and persevering practice of its precepts, and in the diligent and faithful observance of its ordinances †.”

Public worship among the Independents and Presbyterians of this period was conducted in a manner similar to the following method observed by the excellent Matthew Henry, at Chester, and afterwards at Hackney:—“His constant work, on the Lord’s day, at Chester, was to pray six times in public, to sing six times, to expound twice, and preach twice. He went to the congregation exactly at nine, began the public worship with singing the hundredth psalm; then prayed a short, but fervent and suitable prayer; then he read some part of the Old Testament, and expounded it, going through it in course, from the beginning to the end; then he sang another psalm, then he prayed for about half an hour, then he preached about an hour, then prayed and sang, and gave the blessing. He did the same exactly in the afternoon, only expounding the New Testament. This was his constant Lord’s day work ‡.”

“During this period, the Protestant people of England were Christians in the other parts of their worship, but in their praises, were little better than Jews. Many eminent believers, who joined in the public worship for fifty years, never sang the name of Jesus till they arrived in heaven. The uncouth rhymes of Sternhold and Hopkins grated the ear from every desk. The Nonconformists, for some time, courted this rugged muse. Some of them, afterwards, used the Scotch metrical translation. A version by bishop

* Watts’s *Humble Attempt*, p. 186, 239.

† *History of Dissenters*, vol. i, p. 409—412.

‡ *Life of Matthew Henry*, p. 157, 158.

Patrick, who was more skilful in composing prayers than psalms, was employed by many congregations. The labours of Mr. Barton supplied the psalmody of others; while Tate and Brady furnished better poetry for such as chose to adopt their translation. But all these wore a Jewish garb, and there was still wanting a collection of hymns suited to the worship of Christians *."

Dr. Watts had the distinguished honour of introducing this salutary change. Living at Southampton, after he had completed his academical studies, his correct ear and elegant taste were offended with the rude psalmody there; and, complaining of its defects, his father, who was a deacon of the church, desired him to try if he could amend it. A hymn was therefore composed, and, being sung, was approved. Another was requested, and another; and thus a volume was published, about 1707, and afterwards his version of the Psalms. Dr. Watts's sacred poetry produced a revolution in psalmody: it was read at every meeting for worship: children laid it up in their memory; and adults repeated it, to treasure up its ideas. His Psalms and Hymns were received with delight by most evangelical congregations; and they were eminently instrumental, under the blessing of the Divine Head of the church, in awakening the vigour and diffusing the sweetness of experimental godliness.

Evening public services were not usual on the Lord's day; but week-evening meetings for prayer and exhortation were general, sometimes at their chapels, and also at private houses. Weekly lectures were common; and some of the country ministers carried on stated services, in the surrounding towns and villages, as home missionaries. Matthew Henry used to make a circuit, every year, through an extensive range of country, preaching daily in the meeting-houses of the neighbouring ministers, and in the habitation of friends, to the great edification and delight of all parties. A second and more extended itinerary, in the year, he projected; but his lamented death, June 22, 1714, prevented the fulfilment of his purpose.

* History of Dissenters, vol. i, p. 407, 408.

Matthew Henry, worthy to be the son of the excellent Philip Henry, was one of the most eminent of the Presbyterian ministers of this period; and, besides his many other valuable works, his "Commentary on the Bible," which is still esteemed by many—even by some of the clergy of the church of England—as the best that has ever been published in any language, will be a perpetual monument of his learning, piety, and orthodoxy; as well as of the purity of the principles of the Dissenters at that period generally, who were mostly agreed with that able divine.

Learning was held in the highest estimation by the Dissenters; but in this respect they were subjected to considerable inconvenience and degradation. Excluded from the national universities, and not allowed to keep academies for the higher branches of knowledge without persecution, they laboured under serious disadvantages: yet many ministers were educated by several tutors of great worth, among whom may be mentioned Theophilus Gale, Thomas Rowe, Thomas Doolittle, Samuel Cradock, and Benjamin Robinson, scholars and divines of great eminence in their day. Mr. Rowe, it may be remarked, had the honour of educating Dr. Watts; and Josiah Horte, who afterwards conformed, and was made archbishop of Tuam.

Dr. Watts rose into notice, and became a public blessing, during the reign of Queen Anne; as his various evangelical writings especially will continue to remain through all generations. Having assisted Dr. Chauncey for several years, in his ministry over the church assembling in Mark Lane, London, he succeeded that great man in the pastoral office, March 8, 1702, the day which witnessed the death of King William. Dissenters were filled with much anxiety by that event; but they betook themselves to God against the machinations of their enemies. Bigotry had excited their fears, before the close of the late reign; and circular letters were sent by the ministers in London to their brethren in the country, inviting them to unite in prayer for the Divine interposition. In 1702 they published another address, entitled, "A Serious Call from the City to the Country, to join with them in setting apart some time—*viz.* from seven to

eight every Tuesday morning—for the solemn seeking of God, each one in his closet, in this critical juncture.”

Special prayer-meetings, therefore, were held weekly, in most parts of the kingdom, imploring, not only deliverance from the arts of intolerance—as noticed in the preceding chapter from bishop Burnet—but the promised influences of the Holy Spirit, to create a gracious revival in the churches. “County associations” of ministers and churches were now formed, for the advancement of the Gospel in their several districts; and lectures were delivered, by appointment, at their monthly meetings. God graciously regarded the persevering supplications of his people: the several attempts to legalize persecution were defeated and averted; and though the high-church mobs occasionally committed violence on some Dissenters, and destroyed several of their meeting-houses, and at length the oppressive “Schism Bill” had passed, depriving the Dissenters of the right to educate their own children, its iniquitous provisions were not suffered to come into operation, they being abhorred by the enlightened and generous mind of the German Lutheran prince, George I, who, to the confusion of bigotry, now succeeded to the throne of Great Britain!

Circumstanced as the Dissenters were during this period—barely *tolerated* in holding their religious meetings, and oppressed with numerous privations, impositions, and degrading exclusions—it might be imagined that they would decline and become extinct: but cleaving to the holy institutions of the Scriptures, and confiding in God their Saviour, they increased. Twenty-five years only had elapsed since the Act of Toleration, at the death of Anne,; but from that period, when the Dissenters were allowed first to build places for public worship, they had increased to ONE THOUSAND AND FIFTY CONGREGATIONS, without reckoning those of the Quakers. Their numbers were ascertained, on the accession of George I, as follows:—

England, Presbyterians and Independents.....	760
Wales, ditto ditto	43
Baptists	247
—1050	

CHAPTER VII.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND UNDER GEORGE I AND GEORGE II.

George I elevated by Providence—His tolerant principles—Bigotry at Oxford—Meeting-houses destroyed in many towns—The king's answer to the Dissenters—Rebellion in favour of the Pretender—The Archbishops oppose the repeal of the "Schism Bill"—Bishops Hoadly and Kennet favour it—Hoadly's advocacy of religious liberty—State of religion in the church—Testimonies of Bishop Butler—Mr. Fry—Dr. Haweis—Origin of Methodism.

DIVINE PROVIDENCE mercifully interposed in favour of our country, in the elevation of the "House of Brunswick" to the throne of Great Britain. Prince George of Hanover was proclaimed king of England, to the confusion of bigots, and to the inexpressible joy of all true Protestants. Anne's Tory ministers had been diligently labouring to restore the Stuart family; and in their pernicious politics the high-churchmen generally concurred. The accession of this illustrious prince, therefore, was particularly favourable to the cause of religious liberty; and inspired with new life, not only the friends of genuine Protestantism in England, but the Protestants throughout Europe.

George I protected the Toleration, befriended all classes of Christians, and execrated every species of persecution. Upon his arrival in England, the king openly avowed his sentiments by this declaration in council—"I take this occasion to express to you my firm purpose, to do all that is in my power for supporting and maintaining the churches of England and Scotland as they are severally by law established; which, I am of opinion, may be effectually done without the least impairing the toleration allowed by law to Protestant Dissenters, so agreeable to Christian charity, and so necessary to the trade and riches of this kingdom."

Royal decision, so prompt, awed the intolerant spirits of many: but, as protection was assured to the Dissenters, the cry of "The church is in danger" was revived, in many parts of the kingdom, with this additional remark,—"that, if the good old church of England was to be destroyed, it did not matter whether this was done by a Lutheran king or by a catholic James III." Seditious pamphlets were industriously

circulated; and, in the principal university of the kingdom, bigotry burst forth into a flame.

At Oxford, May 29, 1715, the anniversary of the restoration of Charles II, high-church fury raged. A great mob of the scholars, and other inhabitants of the city, "rose and *gutted*, as they called it, the presbyterian place of worship, breaking all the windows, and carrying away the doors, benches, and wainscot, with which they made a bonfire! Having heard of their intention," says the Quaker's narrative, "to use our meeting-house as they had done that of the Presbyterians, an advertisement was drawn up, directed to the mayor, and sent by a Friend. We obtained no benefit by our application to the magistrate for protection. They broke in by violence to our meeting-house, and took away all the forms and seats that were loose; and taking off the doors from their hinges, they burned them in their bonfire. They broke into the dwelling-house of our ancient friend Thomas Nichol's daughter, who was a widow, making destruction, and shedding some blood. From thence they went to the Baptist meeting-house, and destroyed it in like manner." A kindred spirit raised similar tumults at Birmingham, Bristol, Chippingham, Reading, Norwich, and some other towns, "where the Dissenters were insulted, and their places of worship burned to ashes *."

George's royal mind was indignant at such proceedings, and by this means more fully confirmed in his abhorrence of persecution. To the ministers of the "Three Denominations," of Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, who presented an Address to the King on this occasion, his majesty declared, in his most gracious answer, "I am very much concerned at the *unchristian* and *barbarous* treatment which those of your persuasion have met with in several parts of the kingdom, and care shall be taken that a *full compensation* be made to them for their sufferings. I thank you for this Address, and you may be assured of my protection †."

* Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. iv, p. 165; History of Dissenters, vol. ii, p. 80, 81.

† Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. iv, p. 129.

Oxford, at this period, received a severe mark of royal displeasure; that university being the chief nursery of those clergymen who raised the senseless cry of "Church and King!" while they and their learned instructors were known to favour the "Pretender," in support of whom a rebellion had been raised in the North. His adherents had dignified him with the title of "James III, the rightful and hereditary monarch of Great Britain." This "Pretender" to the throne headed the rebels, and, being defeated, fled again to the Continent; after which, the university presented his majesty with an Address of Congratulation on the re-establishment of peace: but "it was rejected with disdain, as a disgusting pretence of hypocritical disloyalty."

Religious liberty made considerable progress in this reign; especially as high-churchmen were found to be opposed to the tolerant House of Hanover: and above *two hundred* members of the House of Commons, many of the lords, and *six or seven* of the bishops, were agreed with the king's ministers, that the Dissenters should be relieved from the oppressive laws. Earl Stanhope therefore, in 1717, brought in a "bill, for strengthening the protestant interest in these kingdoms," and which contained a repeal of the law against "occasional conformity and the growth of schism," and of certain clauses in the "Corporation and Test Acts." But on the second reading, Dr. Wake, the archbishop of Canterbury, opposed it; professing, that "he had all imaginable tenderness for Dissenters; but affirmed, that though the law to prevent the growth of schism might carry a face of severity, it was needless to make an act to repeal it, since no advantage had ever been taken of it against the Dissenters." "Had his Grace," it has been remarked, "sat under the suspended sword of Dyonisius, while enjoying the good things furnished by the see of Canterbury, would he have thought it needless to remove the weapon, because it had never fallen upon him? *"

Sir William Dawes, archbishop of York, followed on the same side; and reflected on the liberal Dr. Hoadly, bishop

* History of Dissenters, vol. ii.

of Bangor, who, with great ability, rose and confuted the assertions, that the Occasional Conformity and Schism Bills were not persecuting laws; and boldly affirmed, "If we admit that the principle of self-defence allows us to lay restraints on others in matters of religion, all the persecutions of the Heathens, and even of the Popish Inquisition, may be justified."

Bishop Hoadly's sentiments received the support of Dr. Kennet, bishop of Peterborough; who declared, that "the repeal of the odious acts would, so far from injuring the church, redound to her security. The 'church' is a term, indeed, of sacred and venerable import, when properly understood; but in the mouths of bigots, or malicious and designing men, it has often produced the most fatal effects. The cry of 'The church is in danger!' has often made a mighty noise in the mouths of silly women and children, and been employed to carry on sinister designs. The Dissenters, though the most zealous promoters of the Revolution, have hitherto been no gainers by it; for they might have enjoyed toleration under King James, if they would have complied with his measures; while the establishment has gained all its present honours and emoluments. To exclude Dissenters from serving that government, of which they are the firmest supporters, is the grossest political absurdity.*" Lord Lansdown's bitter opposition proved his persecuting disposition: but at length it was agreed to leave out some clauses concerning the Corporation and Test Acts; by which concession the bill passed the Lords, and was carried in the Commons by 221 against 170. Feb. 18, 1719, it received the royal assent:

Dr. Hoadly had rendered himself famous in the late reign, by his rational and scriptural views of the institutions of Christ; but, in 1717, he rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to high-churchmen, by preaching before the king, at the Chapel Royal, a sermon, in which he explained the true "nature of Christ's kingdom." He insisted upon those

* Historical Register for 1719; Belsham's George I, p. 123.

ecclesiastical principles in which Dissenters glory as their chief, that Christ's kingdom is not of this world; that its nature, sanctions, rewards, and punishments, are entirely spiritual; that the ministers of the Gospel, as such, have no right to busy themselves in secular government; and that the magistrate has no real authority to punish men for matters purely of a religious nature. For these principles, the Convocation severely censured the bishop; but his majesty interposed, and by his royal authority prorogued that reverend assembly. Perceiving their disposition to excite an intolerant spirit, successive sovereigns have merely suffered the members of that ecclesiastical assembly to meet and separate, up to the present period.

Tolerant clergymen being promoted to the chief dignities in the establishment by George I; and his son, George II, cherishing the principles of his worthy father; few other powerful manifestations of intolerance were visible during this period; but the religious condition of the church of England continued in much the same low state as in the reign of Anne. Arianism continued to be cherished, philosophical scepticism and infidelity extensively prevailed, and evangelical orthodoxy was almost extinct. But the character of that age shall be given in the words of eminent clergymen.

Bishop Butler, in the preface to his invaluable "Analogy of Religion," published in 1736, says—"It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject for inquiry; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious; and, accordingly, they treat it as if, in the present age, this were a great point among all people of discernment; and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisal, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world."

"From all the accounts that we have of those days," says another judicious clergyman, "this, it is to be feared, was very much the state of the English church in the former part of the last century; and that at a time when some very eminent men, both as scholars and as moral instructors, were

advanced to high stations in the church and in the public esteem, when their discourses—the best of their kind that had ever been penned—were read or echoed from almost all the pulpits of the kingdom. Barrow, Tillotson, and Atterbury, preached, and ‘The Whole Duty of Man’ excellently laid down the wished-for standard of morals; but very faint and powerless were the exhibitions of original sin and human depravity, and of the utter helplessness of man; and, in proportion, cold and lifeless was the preaching of the cross of Christ! The powers of the human will were magnified, and of course the entire necessity of the work of the Spirit of grace was less insisted on. Though the major part were sound in the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, which were brought forth at festivals, yet these, and all the doctrines of grace in the Articles, seemed an expensive and complicated apparatus, for which there was practically little use.

“It was even then published, that ‘the rights of the Christian church demanded the abolition of ordinances and the very being of a Christian ministry.’ ‘Free-thinking’ was the great idol to be erected. A discourse published by Collins, in 1724, ‘On the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion,’ attempted to destroy the evidence of prophecy; Woolston, in 1727, made an attack upon our Saviour’s miracles; and Tindal, on the ruins of Revelation, would have exalted natural religion as a perfect guide to happiness. All these writers, and others of the same class, pretended only to release men from their ancient prejudices; while the direct tendency of their publications was to undermine all religion, and to let loose those floods of licentiousness, infidelity, and atheism, which, at the end of the century, overflowed a country less favoured than our own, and threatened all civilized society with destruction.

“Low as was the state of the church of England, she produced, at this period, many able defenders of the outworks of Christianity, who were, at this particular era, an unspeakable blessing to the nation: and among the Dissenters, also, appeared some few able writers in defence of Revelation. To the names of Butler, Sherlock, and Gibson, are to be added

Doddridge, Leland, and even the Arian Lardner, whose errors had been already checked by Bull and Waterland. Though able advocates were raised up to defend Revelation against infidelity, and the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, against the Arians and Socinians, they appeared like the remnant of a garrison defending the citadel when the town was taken, and the enemy had overrun the country. The doctrines of the Reformation, speaking generally, had been driven from the pulpits; that Gospel, which is 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth,' was scarcely heard in the land, or at least was very coldly and obscurely stated*."

Dr. Haweis, in his "Impartial Church History," testifies, "Between contests for power, thirst for riches, and inordinate love of pleasure, the nation sunk down into corruption, and the church erected a feeble barrier against the fashionable pursuits. All its great preferments were bestowed to secure friends to the administration: whatever prime-minister prevailed, the prelatical bench looked up to their creator with devotion and assiduous attention. It was in this state of departure from truth and godliness, that at Oxford, one of our universities, a few young men began to feel the deplorable spiritual ignorance and corruption around them. They were conscious something ought to be done to revive a sense of religion, in principle and practice, from the decay into which it was fallen: they were convinced, that men, of God, and ministers of the sanctuary, ought to lead very different lives from any thing they observed at college†."

This has been considered the darkest period of the church of England: but as the dawn of morning immediately follows the gloomiest part of the night, so, in obscurity, the great Lord of his universal church was preparing some "Boanerges"—"sons of thunder"—who, as "burning and shining lights," with apostolic zeal and intelligence, should awaken the lukewarm, raise the spiritually dead, illuminate the nation, and begin a new era in the church of Christ.

* Church History by the Rev. J. Fry, A. B., p. 593, 596.

† Vol. iii, p. 228, 229.

George Whitfield and John Wesley were the chief instruments in promoting this wonderful revival of religion: but a distinct chapter will be requisite to record the operations of these new dissenters, under the appropriate denomination of **METHODISTS.**

CHAPTER VIII.

DISSENTERS UNDER GEORGE I AND GEORGE II.

Toleration of George I — Arianism among Dissenters — The Exeter Controversy — London Discussions at Salter's Hall — Trinitarianism prevails — Antinomianism — Presbyterianism declines — State of religion among the Independents — Academies for the ministry — Revival of religion — Dr. Watts's works — Matthew Henry's Commentary — Dr. Doddridge's efforts — His plans for missions — "General Consent of Prayer" for England, Scotland and America — Religious Book Society — Learning among the Dissenters — Dr. Doddridge persecuted — Dissenting tutors — Learned Dissenting writers — The Baptists — Controversies.

GEORGE I having ascended the British throne, the Dissenting ministers of the "Three Denominations" in and about the metropolis, waited on his majesty with an address of congratulation.

Dr. Daniel Williams headed this deputation from the Dissenters, who received from the king the following gracious answer: "I am very well pleased with your expressions of duty to me, and you may depend upon having my protection." His majesty held his promise sacred; and, notwithstanding the violent ebullitions of bigotry, the king's influence confirmed and enlarged the toleration.

Arianism having arisen in the church of England, in a few years after the publication of Clarke and Whiston's books, made its appearance in the city of Exeter, under the patronage of two Presbyterian ministers, Joseph Hallet and James Pierce. "In the year 1717, Arianism began to rise above ground. A few individuals, who were said to be in the confidence of these ministers, were heard to speak contemptuously of the orthodox doctrine, charged the common notions of the Trinity with blasphemy, and argued boldly for the Arian system. Some they perverted, and others they

filled with horror. The city of Exeter was in a blaze; the favourers of the new system, and the converts, were active and bold: and by the friends of the orthodox doctrine, the most powerful alarm was felt for the purity of divine truth*.”

“Mr. Pierce complied, but with an ill grace” with the request of *thirteen* of the elders of the congregations in Exeter, to preach on the divinity of Christ. Not satisfied with his discourse, they requested the ministers of the city to preach in defence of “the eternal Deity of Jesus Christ.” Mr. Pierce felt offended at the request, and a controversy arose, which soon spread through the west, and eastward to London. “The students for the ministry, under the tuition of Mr. Hallet, were discovering an attachment to the growing error; and a Baptist minister, at whose house they used constantly to resort, was dismissed by his church for imbibing the Arian heresy.” “The clergy of the city from their pulpits warned their hearers against the Dissenters, affirming they denied the Lord that bought them, and made the press to groan with their blasphemies†.”

The “*thirteen*” elders formed a committee, who sought counsel of the leading ministers in London, and then called in seven of the principal ministers in Devon, to assist them in their perplexities. After much deliberation they agreed to the following resolutions:—

“1. That there are some errors in doctrine which are a sufficient ground for the people to withdraw from their ministers holding such errors.

“2. That denying the true and proper divinity of the Son of God, *viz.* that he is one God with the Father, is an error of that nature, contrary to the Holy Scriptures and common faith of the reformed churches.

“3. That when so dangerous an error is industriously propagated, to the overthrowing of the faith of many, we think it the indispensable duty of ministers, who are set for the defence of the Gospel, earnestly to withstand it, and to give reasonable satisfaction to their people of the soundness of

* History of Dissenters, vol. ii, p. 168.

† Ibid. p. 171.

their faith. And we likewise recommend to the people as their duty, to hold fast the truth in love, avoiding anger, clamour, and evil speaking, and to behave themselves with all sincerity and meekness, as becometh Christians *."

Mr. Hallet and Mr. Pierce refusing to give satisfaction in any way, the committee, who held the meeting-houses as proprietors and trustees, refused them permission to preach any longer in their places of worship, and broke off all connection with them as ministers. Mr. Pierce complained of being persecuted by this procedure; while the committee, conceiving that their ministers, by introducing dangerous doctrine clandestinely, had forfeited all claims to their esteem, threw the whole blame on them as apostates from the true faith of the Gospel.

London now became the theatre of controversy. Some gentlemen drew up a paper of "Advices" to their Exeter brethren, to consider which the "General Body of Dissenting Ministers" met, when it was proposed to be accompanied with a "Declaration of their own faith in the doctrine of the Trinity." An eager debate was the consequence, and it was carried by a majority of *fifty-seven* to *fifty-three*, that the Declaration should not be inserted in the Advices. This vote grieved the people of the several churches in London; as it looked like an intimation of their ministers not believing the doctrine of the Trinity. When they met, therefore, May 3, 1719, it was moved, that, for the satisfaction of their friends, they should make an explicit "Declaration of their belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, and especially of the Divinity of Christ." The moderator refusing to put the vote, *sixty* of the ministers immediately withdrew, and meeting at another place, unanimously resolved to adopt the words of the First Article of the church of England, and the Answers to the *fifth* and *sixth* questions of the Assembly's Catechism, as a form of sound words stating the Scripture doctrine of the Trinity. Those ministers who remained with the moderator, at length finished their "Advices," which they forwarded to Exeter, accompanied with a letter, in which they also de-

* *Ibid.* p. 172—174.

clared their belief in the doctrine of the Trinity and Divinity of Christ, and recommending moderation, peace, and love. At Exeter also, in May 1719, the meeting of ministers resolved to publish their sentiments explicitly to the world; and this they did by affixing their names to the First Article of the church of England. It was subscribed by the ministers of Devon and Cornwall, to the number of *fifty-six*. *Nineteen*, including Joseph Hallet and James Pierce, refused to concur, professing to act on the principles of the nonsubscribers in London. But the *fifty-six* subscribers, accompanied their declaration with a letter of advice to their congregations, — “to adhere stedfastly to the received doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity.” Thus the public controversy closed; but several of the ministers appeared still attached to Arianism.

“Arianism was the grave of the Presbyterian congregations.” This mournful change was accelerated by the “Crispian Controversy,” which arose from the republication of the Antinomian works of Dr. Tobias Crisp, a clergyman of the church of England in the last century. “The evils of the Antinomian system, Dr. Williams, one of their body, had exposed with great clearness and force. His pieces were much read by the young ministers of that denomination, and inspired them with horror for every thing which had the name of Antinomianism. In their fear and flight they unwisely cast away a part of the truth. The doctrine of grace had been abused to licentiousness, and they kept it out of the people’s sight: the righteousness of Christ had been perverted to a contempt of sanctity in heart and life; and instead of glorying in the truth, and enlarging on it with all the ardour of the most cordial delight, they either omitted it altogether, or only introduced it to show how much it might be abused. Through the unhappy influence of such sentiments, they gradually receded from the truth, and many of the Presbyterian ministers departed from the evangelical doctrines into high Arminianism and Arianism, and some at last into Socinianism *.”

* Ibid. p. 303, 304.

Religion among the Independents was far more pure and flourishing; and they were greatly increasing through the nation, not a little augmented by secessions of many of the pious, from among the lukewarm or Arian Presbyterians. Bogue and Bennet remark: "Among the Independents, the state of religion was so much more favourable, that it may justly excite in every reader a desire to know whence the difference did proceed. Instead of the diversity of sentiments which prevailed among the Presbyterians, the religious principles of the Nonconformists were maintained by the Independents in all their purity: it may be questioned whether an Arian, or even an Arminian, was to be found in the whole body. There was no denomination in England which could boast of so much unanimity as to doctrine *."

The historians of the Dissenters attribute the purity of doctrines among the Independents, greatly to their congregational system of church-government, admitting none to their communion at the Lord's Supper but those who professed to be truly converted to the faith of Christ, and giving satisfactory evidences of personal godliness. Such only being allowed to enter their seminaries as candidates for the ministry, is stated as another means of their scriptural orthodoxy; and for the education of such promising youths, some generous individuals, especially Mr. William Coward, a merchant in London, largely contributed, and organized an institution, known from the place of meeting by the name of the "King's Head Society," in 1730, which resulted in the foundation of "Homerton College," and since of "Coward College," in London.

Deeply impressed with the consideration of the low state of religion in England, various means were employed for its revival in their churches, by several ministers of the Independent denomination. Among these the principal honour appears due to Dr. Watts, and his friends Mr. Soame and Dr. Doddridge. Dr. Watts's writings were greatly blessed to the edification of the people: besides his "Hymns and Psalms," and his "Divine and Moral Songs," which were

* Ibid. p. 313.

circulated to a wonderful extent; his "Guide to Prayer;" his "Evangelical Sermons;" his "Discourses upon Death and Heaven;" his "Catechism for Children;" and his "Scripture History;" published before the year 1730, were beneficial, in a more than ordinary degree, in the revival of genuine godliness; and were eminently popular, not only in Great Britain and America, but also in Germany and Holland. His treatise on "Logic," "whose every page is piety," was used in the University of Oxford.

Mr. Soame, in 1729, delivered, before the Leicester County Association of Ministers and Churches, a most awakening discourse, which was printed and extensively circulated, under the title of "The Methods to be taken by Ministers for the Revival of Religion." Dr. Doddridge, in the same year, published his "Free Thoughts on the most Probable Means of Reviving the Dissenting Interest." In 1730, Dr. Watts sent forth "A Humble Attempt towards the Revival of Practical Religion;" and another essay, containing an impressive appeal to Dissenters, on the words of our Saviour, "What do ye more than others?" Besides which, he employed his influence in various ways to advance religion in the country; and gave to the world translations of several valuable treatises of the apostolic Professor Frank, of Halle, in Germany.

Matthew Henry's invaluable "Commentary on the Bible" was now completed and published, and read with extraordinary interest; the latter part of the New Testament having been finished by several learned evangelical ministers.

Dr. Doddridge, with his colleagues in the midland counties, exerted himself with remarkable vigour, in various ways, in furthering the work of God; and by the counsel of Dr. Watts, Mr. Soame, Mr. Saunders, and several other ministers, he established an academy at Northampton, for the educating of pious young men for the ministry among Dissenters. His labours were incessant, as a pastor, a tutor, and writer. His admirable "Sermons on the Education of Children;" to "Young People;" on the "Power and Grace of Christ," and the "Evidences of Christianity;" his "Practical Discourses on Regeneration;" — all published before

1741,—and especially his solemn discourse on the “Sin and Danger of Neglecting the Souls of Men;” delivered in several places that year, to arouse his brethren in the ministry, were eminently successful under the Divine blessing.

Doddridge’s enlarged soul may be seen in the following plans, contained in the dedication of his sermon to his brethren. One related to the revival of religion at home, and the other to the extension of the Gospel abroad :—“That each minister agree to preach one Lord’s day on family religion, and another on secret prayer; that pastoral visiting be more solemnly attended to; that every head of a family, at least once a-year, have a solemn charge to attend to the business of religion in his heart and house; that the work of catechising be set up, in one form or other, in every congregation; that pious persons, who do not receive the Lord’s Supper, be introduced into communion; that such as give offence by their conduct be excluded; that people be advised to enter into little societies, consisting of six or eight, for religious discourse and prayer, and meet once a week or fortnight; that a small number of persons, most eminent for wisdom, piety, and zeal, act as a stated council for promoting religion in the congregation; that neighbouring ministers, in one part of the land and another, enter into associations to strengthen the hands of each other by united consultation and prayer.”

Christian benevolence urged him to contemplate the miseries of the heathen; and, as is seen by the plans he submitted to his own congregation, “Whether something might not be done, in most congregations, for the propagation of the Gospel abroad, and spreading it in the darker parts of our own land. In order to this, that pious people unite as members of a society; that they daily offer up some earnest prayers for the propagation of the Gospel in the world, especially among heathen nations; that they attend four times a year for solemn prayer; that some time be then spent in reviewing the promises relating to the establishment of the Redeemer’s kingdom in the world; that any important information of the progress of the Gospel from foreign lands be communicated at their quarterly meetings; that each member contribute something towards supporting the expense of

sending missionaries abroad, printing Bibles and other useful books in foreign languages; and establishing schools for the instruction of the ignorant*." These enlightened and truly Christian suggestions were adopted by many, by which they were prepared to anticipate the glorious efforts of our favoured days.

Doddridge's "Family Expositor of the New Testament," is acknowledged to have become an incalculable blessing to the church of God; and his "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," planned by Dr. Watts, and written at his desire, was of extraordinary service.

Zeal of the purest character influenced many of the disciples of Christ, among the Dissenters, in adopting the plans recommended by Dr. Doddridge; and the churches in Scotland and America were invited to co-operate with those in England, in seeking a revival of vital godliness. For this purpose, correspondence was carried on with the principal ministers in those countries; and, in 1741, a "General Consent for Prayer" was agreed upon, for a period of two years. Prayers were constantly offered by thousands; and, in answer to their united supplications, showers of blessings manifestly descended upon multitudes in England, Scotland, and America.

Prayer was not alone: but this was succeeded by active exertions, in the use of proper means to awaken the sleeping population; and, in 1741, the "Book Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor." It originated with Benjamin Forbitt, a member of the Presbyterian church in Eastcheap, London; who conceived the idea, that, by the distribution of the sacred Scriptures and books of piety among the poor and ignorant, the most essential benefit would be conferred upon the lower classes. Samuel Taylor, Henry Grew, Henry Cockrell, and William Adkins, united with the pious projector, and became the founders of this Bible Society; and their names deserve recording among the chief benefactors of their country. They formed the plan, entered into subscriptions, and commenced their operations by send-

* Doddridge's Tracts, vol. ii, p. 236—246.

ing a donation of Bibles and Catechisms for circulation, to Dr. Doddridge. "It has continued in a respectable condition to the present time; and by the distribution of many thousands of Bibles and Testaments, and valuable treatises on religious subjects, has been the means of illuminating multitudes, in every part of the country, with the knowledge of divine truth. The original founders of the Society were evangelical Dissenters, composed of Presbyterians and Independents; but it soon recommended itself to Christians of every denomination, and has ever since been supported by their united patronage *."

Learning was ever regarded by the Dissenters, generally, as of the highest importance, next to personal piety, in a preacher of the Gospel; and to secure a succession of learned ministers, surprising efforts and sacrifices were made by them, while the unchristian spirit of bigotry would not suffer them to gain instruction at the national universities. The spirit of that age may be seen, from the fact of Dr. Doddridge being persecuted when he commenced his academy to train students for the ministry. He had "scarcely settled at Northampton, when some dignitaries of the church of England, commenced a prosecution against him, in the ecclesiastical court, for teaching an academy; and though he had many friends, who wished to screen him from their enmity, they could not be prevailed on to desist. The doctor was exceedingly grieved at the apprehension of being compelled to lay down the office of tutor, and to bid adieu to those extensive plans of usefulness which he had formed. But the affair being represented to the king, by some persons of rank and influence, a stop was put to the prosecution by his express command. He thus confirmed the declaration which he made on ascending the throne, 'That, during his reign, there should be no persecution for conscience' sake †.'"

Dissenting academies were, however, numerous, in different parts of the country; and many, though not privileged in walking the Gothic halls of Oxford or Cambridge,

* Bogue and Bennett's History of Dissenters, vol. ii, p. 324.

† Ibid, p. 241, 242; Doddridge's Life, p. 214.

attained to the highest degrees of learning, by diligent perseverance under most excellent instructors. Dr. Gyles, Dr. Oldfield, Mr. Henry Grove, Mr. Theophilus Gale, Dr. Ridgley, Mr. Eames, Dr. David Jennings, Dr. Rotheram, Dr. Amory, Dr. Abraham Taylor, Dr. Marryat, Dr. Walker, Dr. Chauncey, Dr. Charles Owen, Dr. Latham, and Dr. Ashworth, many of whom are known by their imperishable writings, were among the most distinguished tutors of the Christian church. And it deserves recording, that bishop Butler, and archbishops Horte and Secker—than whom the church of England is believed to have never possessed brighter ornaments—received their principal education from the tutors among Dissenters.

Among the learned works of the eminent Dissenters of this period, it would be unjust to omit noticing the “Commentary,” by Matthew Henry, as it is still considered by many, even of the clergy in the church of England, as the most excellent exposition of the Bible ever published; and the larger and more learned Commentary, by Dr. Gill, of whom, Mr. Toplady, a learned clergyman, remarked, in delineating his character, “If any one man can be supposed to have trodden the whole circle of human learning, it is Dr. Gill*.” Besides these, on the whole Bible, Dr. Guyse and Dr. Doddridge, it is universally acknowledged, have never been surpassed by the divines of any age or country, as expositors of the New Testament.

Dr. Lardner’s voluminous and invaluable writings have placed him at the head of all the writers on the Evidences of Christianity; Dr. Paley’s popular and excellent work on that subject being confessedly borrowed, in its principal parts, from the volumes of Dr. Lardner. Dr. Leland stands next to Lardner, as the great defender of Christianity against the whole host of infidels and deists. Jeremiah Jones’s learned work is acknowledged as the most able demonstration of the “Canon of the Scriptures;” and Dr. John Taylor rendered invaluable service by his “Hebrew Concordance.” The various writings of Dr. Samuel Chandler, Mr. Moses Lowman,

* Life by Dr. Rippon, prefixed to his Commentary.

Mr. Benjamin Bennet, Dr. Watts, Dr. Jennings, Dr. Doddridge, and Dr. Gill, have rendered their names immortal in the church of Christ.

“The Baptists had as yet no academy of their own. Many of their ministers, especially of the particular or Calvinistic branch, had no academical education, nor would many of their churches have admitted such a man as their pastor. ‘They are (says the writer of a manuscript on the state of the London congregations) very fond of private meetings for exhortation and prayer.’ These are their academies, from which the most able go forth to the ministry.’ Such of them as had a regular education were indebted to the Independents; while the Presbyterian seats of learning were chiefly resorted to by the candidates for the ministry among the General Baptists*.” Notwithstanding this statement, some of the particular Baptists were men of considerable learning, besides the profound Dr. Gill.

Dissenters, being now freed from the terrors of a prison and ruinous fines, which were endured by their forefathers, could publish their principles to the world without fear; and the controversy between them and the establishment was carried on with great ability,—the Nonconformists making their appeal solely to the Holy Scriptures as the only rule of religion, while the Conformists held to their principles of something beyond the Word of God being a rule and authority. This difference, as it arose soon after the Reformation, was still cherished.

Dr. Calamy published his “Abridgment of the Life and Times of Richard Baxter,” enumerating the reasons given by the ejected ministers for their nonconformity. Dr. Hoadly and Mr. Olyffe entered the lists with him against this work, in several “Defences of Conformity and Episcopal Ordination;” in reply to which Dr. Calamy wrote his “Defence of Moderate Nonconformity.” Dr. Nichols next appeared with “A Defence of the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church of England;” to which Mr. James Pierce wrote a reply, entitled “A Vindication of the Dissenters.” Dr. Nichols

* Bogue and Bennet, vol. ii, p. 230.

preparing a translation of his work, Mr. Pierce did the same with his own. Dr. Watts's "Humble Attempt towards the Revival of Practical Religion among Christians," being seen by Mr. John White, B. D., he published a series of "Letters to a Gentleman Dissenting from the Church of England;" to these a reply was written by Mr. Micaiah Towgood, entitled, "The Dissenting Gentleman's Letter to Mr. White."

Thus for a while these questions were laid aside; but it will seem just to remark, that the works mentioned above are judged to contain all that can be said on the subject of dispute between the church of England and the Dissenters.

CHAPTER IX.

RISE OF THE METHODISTS.

Methodism a new era in religion — Originates with John Wesley — He goes to America — George Whitefield — His popularity — Proceeds to Georgia — Preaches on shipboard — Wesley returns — Forms societies — His conversion — Visits the Moravians in Germany — Whitefield returns — Meets the Societies — Churches refused — Visits Bristol — Preaches to the colliers — In the open air at Bristol — Aided by Wesley — His labours — Whitefield's labours — He preaches in the open air in London — First Methodist preaching house — Whitefield goes again to America — His labours — He returns to England — Breach between Wesley and Whitefield — He and Wesley originate the two divisions of Methodists.

METHODISM deserves to be well understood by every British Christian. None can be uninterested in its rise, and progress, and principles; as it marks a new era in the religious history of our country and of mankind.

Methodism originated in the university of Oxford, and its founder was John Wesley. His grandfather, of the same name, was one of the *two thousand* ejected ministers: his father was a pious Conformist clergyman, and his mother, a daughter of Dr. Annesley, a Nonconformist minister, was a woman of eminent intelligence and piety.

John Wesley was born in 1703, and educated at Oxford. In 1726 he received orders, and was appointed tutor in Lincoln College. Being religiously inclined from the instructions of his mother, he was told by "a serious man whom he travelled many miles to see, that in going to heaven, he must find companions or make them, as the Bible knows

nothing of solitary religion *." Mr. Wesley immediately adopted the maxim in 1729; and, with his brother Charles, then in Christ Church, and Messrs. Morgan and Kirkham, commenced a methodical appropriation of their time to the more spiritual exercises of religion. Their practices becoming known in the university, they were designated in reproach by the title of "METHODISTS."

Retirement in the seclusion of college apartments could no longer yield them satisfaction: they were deeply affected with the abounding impiety and prevailing ignorance, and entered upon a field of labour in the city, seeking all opportunities to diffuse religious knowledge among the poor, and visiting, for the same sacred purpose, the wretched inmates in the prisons of Oxford. Mr. James Hervey, in 1731, joined this ridiculed band; and in 1734, they admitted to their fellowship the celebrated Mr. George Whitefield.

Mr. Wesley, having heard of the progress of religion among the colonists and Indians in America, coveted the honour of a missionary in some of the new settlements. But his wishes in this respect were opposed by his father; who, however, dying in 1735, left his son to follow his own inclinations; and his mother, in the true spirit of her pious ancestors, consented; saying, "Had I twenty sons, I should rejoice that they were all so employed, though I should never see them more †."

General Oglethorpe being appointed governor of the new colony in Georgia, Mr. Wesley engaged to accompany him, as the minister of Savannah, with the hope of being able to evangelize the Indians. Mr. Charles Wesley, Mr. Ingham, and Mr. Delamotte, united with him in the undertaking, and they all arrived, Feb. 5, 1736, in the Savannah river. Twenty-six Moravian missionaries from Germany to Georgia, sailed with them; and with their intelligent piety, sanctified tempers, and Christian experience, Mr. Wesley was both astonished and delighted, learning the German language that he might enjoy their conversation. Their maturity in divine

* Life of Wesley by Coke and Moore, p. 53.

† Ibid. p. 93.

knowledge and grace, as himself declares, was of unspeakable advantage to Mr. Wesley.

Mr. Whitefield accounted Mr. Charles Wesley his spiritual father, whose ministry and kindness had been the means both of his salvation and health. Having cordially entered into the peculiar rules of Methodism, he followed their practices at Gloucester, his native city, on his return from the university. He became instrumental in the conversion of several young men, who united with him in a religious society, and held meetings for their mutual improvement in divine things, visiting the habitations of the poor, and the county gaol, for reading the Scriptures and prayer, to promote the immortal welfare of the most hopeless classes of the community.

Dr. Benson, bishop of Gloucester, hearing of his piety and zeal, sent for Mr. Whitefield, offering to give him orders, though only *twenty-one* years old, two years younger than the usual age. After examining the Thirty-nine Articles, and prayerfully studying the Epistles to Timothy, with self-examination, he was ordained June 20, 1736; and on the next Lord's day he preached on the "Necessity and Benefits of Religious Society." In his "Letters," he thus refers to this service:—"Last Sunday, in the afternoon, I preached my first sermon in the church of St. Mary De Crypt, where I was baptized, and also first received the Lord's Supper. Curiosity drew a large congregation together. The sight, at first, a little awed me; but I was comforted with a heartfelt sense of the Divine presence, and soon found the advantage of having been accustomed to public speaking, when a boy at school; and of exhorting and teaching the prisoners and poor people at their private houses whilst at the university. By these means, I was kept from being daunted overmuch. As I proceeded, I perceived the fire kindled, till at last, though so young, and amidst a crowd of those who knew me in my infant childish days, I trust I was enabled to speak with some degree of Gospel authority. Some few mocked, but most for the present seemed struck: and I have since heard, that a complaint had been made to the bishop, that I drove *fifteen* mad the first sermon. The worthy prelate, as I

am informed, wished the madness might not be forgotten before next Sunday *."

Whitefield declined a curacy offered to him by the bishop, preferring to prosecute his studies at Oxford: but he soon after complied with an invitation to officiate in the chapel at the Tower in London. Having preached his first sermon in London, August 1736, to a congregation deeply affected with his discourse, he entered upon his duties at the Tower, where he laboured with manifest success. "He continued at the Tower two months, preaching, catechising, and visiting the soldiers; and several serious young men came to hear his morning discourses on the Lord's day. In the mean time, the letters which the Rev. Messrs. Wesleys and Ingham wrote home from Georgia, made him long to go and preach the gospel in those parts; yet he waited till Providence should make his way more clear, and returning to Oxford, he found himself very happy in his former employments, and had much pleasure in reading Henry's "*Commentary on the Bible*," and in the company of some religious men, who met together in his chamber every day †."

Providence seemed to open a door for Mr. Whitefield, by letters from Mr. John Wesley inviting him to Georgia, when his brother Charles returned to England, to procure more labourers in the gospel. Repairing to Gloucester, to take leave of his friends, Whitefield preached to immense congregations; at Bristol also, where the churches would not contain the crowds who sought to hear him. From Oxford he came to London, to wait upon General Oglethorpe, and the trustees for Georgia: and he was soon introduced to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, who both approved of his going to America ‡. He went a second time to Bristol, where he preached to multitudes five times a week. "He was attended by persons of all ranks and denominations; private religious societies were erected; a collection for the poor prisoners, in Newgate, was made twice or thrice a week; and large encouragement was offered to him

* Dr. Gillies' Life of Whitefield, p. 15, 16.

† Ibid. p. 16, 17.

‡ Ibid. p. 18.

if he would not go abroad. During his stay at Bristol, which was from the end of May to the 21st of June, he paid a second visit to Bath, where the people crowded, and were seriously affected, as at Bristol, and no less than 160*l.* was collected for the poor of Georgia *.”

Several months' delay in the sailing of the vessel for his conveyance across the Atlantic, allowed the managers of charity schools and religious societies to engage him to preach collection sermons on their behalf. “For that purpose they procured the liberty of the churches on the week-days; and yet thousands went away from the largest churches, not being able to get in. The congregations were all attentive, and seemed to hear as for eternity. He preached generally *nine* times a week, and often administered the sacrament on the Lord's day morning, when you might see the streets filled with people going to church with lanterns in their hands, and hear them conversing about the things of God †.”

Whitefield exhibited in his awakening sermons the essential realities of the gospel, insisting chiefly on the necessity of spiritual regeneration, and heartfelt faith in Christ for peace and salvation. At the request of friends he published a discourse on “Early Piety,” and another on “Regeneration,” which gave offence. For as his popularity increased, he met with opposition from the irreligious clergy; whose dry ethical discourses, and cold formality, were reproved by his scriptural doctrine and his zealous earnestness; especially as he cultivated an intimacy with “many of the serious Dissenters. But, under these discouragements, he had great comfort in meeting every evening with a band of religious inmates, to spend an hour in prayer, for the advancement of the gospel, and for all their acquaintance, so far as they knew their circumstances. In this he had uncommon satisfaction: once he spent a whole night with them in prayer and praise †.”

Mr. Whitefield embarked for Georgia in December, 1736; but the ship's crew, with a company of soldiers on board, gave him serious annoyance; yet by a meek perseverance in conversing on the worth and danger of the soul, and the free

* Ibid. p. 19

† Ibid. p. 20.

‡ Ibid. p. 21.

mercy of God in the gospel of Christ, from treating him as an impostor, the officers became his admirers, calling their men to public worship. "The great cabin was now become a Bethel; both captains were daily more affected; and a crucified Saviour, and the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, were the usual topics of conversation. Once, after public sermon, Captain Mackay desired the soldiers to stop whilst he informed them, that, to his great shame, he had been a notorious swearer himself; but, by the instrumentality of that gentleman, pointing to Mr. Whitefield, he had now left it off, and exhorted them, for Christ's sake, to go and do likewise *."

After a tedious voyage, in which his ministry appears to have been signally honoured of God, Mr. Whitefield arrived at Savannah, May 7, 1738, and found that Mr. Wesley, having met with persecution and difficulty, after declining to marry a Miss Causton, had embarked for England. Whitefield was well received, as he remarks,—“Through Divine mercy I met with respectful treatment from the magistrates, officers, and people. The first I visited now and then; the others, besides preaching twice a day, and four times of a Lord's day, I visited from house to house. I was really happy in my little foreign cure, and could have cheerfully remained among them, had I not been obliged to return to England to receive priest's orders, and to make a beginning towards laying a foundation to the Orphan house†.”

Mr. Whitefield projected this noble establishment to promote the benefit of the colony; taking the hint, and borrowing the scheme, from that most beneficial institution founded by Professor Frank, at Halle, in Germany. Such a measure, upon a limited scale, could not fail to become a blessing, considering the infant state of the colony. “The first settlers,” he remarks, “were chiefly broken and decayed tradesmen from London, and other parts of England, and several Scotch adventurers; some Highlanders, who had a worthy minister named Macleod; a few Moravians; and the Saltzburghers, who were by far the most industrious of the whole ‡.”

* Ibid. p. 27.

† Life of Whitefield, p. 32.

‡ Ibid. p. 30.

Mr. Wesley returned to England, and on his voyage homeward he rigidly scrutinized his own heart and motives : “ and now,” says he, “ it is upwards of two years since I left my native country, in order to teach the *Georgian* Indians the nature of Christianity; but what have I learned myself in the mean time? Why (what I least of all suspected) that I, who went to *America* to convert others, was never converted myself. *I am not mad*, though I thus speak: *but speak the words of truth and soberness* *.” Probably few will draw precisely the same conclusion, or agree with Mr. Wesley’s definition of faith, “ *a sure trust and confidence in God, that through the merits of Christ my sins are forgiven, and I reconciled to the favour of God* †.” This is rather a delightful assurance arising from matured faith, and not that faith itself, by which thousands, both before and after the advent of Christ, have become heirs of eternal life.

Having waited on General Oglethorpe, and the trustees of Georgia, he was invited to preach in several churches, and “ now began to be popular, appearing in a new character, as a Missionary lately returned from preaching the gospel to the Indians in America ‡.”

Mr. Wesley, and his brother Charles, “ now began to form themselves into a little society, as he and his pious companions had before done in Oxford, and afterwards in Georgia,” drawing up rules for their government; and, in the evening of May 24, 1738, he accounted himself truly converted. “ In the evening,” he says, “ I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther’s Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart, through faith in Christ, *I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me, that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death* §.”

Experiencing the consolations of the Gospel, by the gracious influence of the Holy Spirit, his soul became more enlarged

* Life of Wesley, p. 133.

† Ibid. p. 135.

‡ Ibid. p. 136.

§ Ibid. p. 158.

with pity for the children of men, and he declared, with new life and zeal, the mercy of God in the Gospel. But he resolved on visiting the Moravian settlement in Germany; the reason of which was, as he told the prince royal of Prussia, when brought before him in the city of Weymar, “*to see the place where the Christians live* * !”

Mr. Wesley returned to England, and arrived Sept. 17, 1738, in London: but most of the churches were shut against him, because of his preaching salvation by faith. “His own little society was now increased to *thirty-two* persons; and many other religious communities in various parts of the town received him gladly. *Newgate* was not yet shut against him. He made excursions into the country also, visited Oxford, and preached to the prisoners in the castle †.”

Mr. Whitefield arrived in London Dec. 8, 1738, where he met with some Moravian brethren: but though he could not adopt their phraseology, “yet he heartily agreed with them in the old Protestant doctrine of justification in the sight of God, by faith alone in the imputed righteousness of Christ; and was not a little delighted to find a great increase of the work of God, both as to light and love, doctrine and practice, through the instrumentality of Mr. Charles, and especially of Mr. John Wesley ‡.”

“Hearing that Mr. Whitefield had returned from Georgia, Mr. Wesley hastened to London to meet him, and they once more took sweet counsel together. A few other clergymen now united with them, being convinced that the *new doctrine*, vulgarly called *Methodism*, was indeed the old doctrine of the Bible, and of the church of England §.”

Churches were refused to Whitefield in London; and though the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London received him civilly, they complained of his journals, some of which had been published without his knowledge or consent, as “*tinctured with enthusiasm*.” Societies were now formed by Wesley and Whitefield in different parts of London: but their principal place of rendezvous was a large room in Fetter

* Ibid. p. 162. † Ibid. p. 172. ‡ Life of Whitefield, p. 35.

§ Life of Wesley, p. 176.

Lane, where they held frequent meetings for preaching and prayer, prolonged sometimes through the whole night! In January, 1739, Mr. Whitefield received priest's orders from his good friend, bishop Benson, at Oxford, whence he returned to London, making collections, when he could obtain churches, for the Orphan House in Georgia. "In Bristol, he had the use of the churches for two or three Sundays, but soon found they would not be open long. The dean was not at home: the chancellor threatened to silence and suspend him. In about a fortnight every door was shut, except Newgate, where he preached and collected for the poor prisoners; but this place, also, was soon shut against him, by order from the Mayor *."

Many in Bristol, at his former visits, had reproved him for going abroad; arguing, "Have we not Indians enough at home? If you have a mind to convert Indians, there are colliers enough in Kingswood." Being excluded from the churches, he thought he had now a clear call to try this method; and after much deliberation and prayer, he resolved on offering to these rude terrors of Bristol the glorious blessings of Christianity. Whitefield opened his evangelical commission on Hanham Mount, to about a hundred colliers: their numbers soon increased; and at a moderate computation, his congregation, at that memorable hill, sometimes amounted to twenty thousand. Speaking of these despised and dreaded outcasts, he says, "Having no righteousness of their own to renounce, they were glad to hear of a Jesus who was the friend to publicans, and came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. The first discovery of their being affected was, to see the white gutters made by their tears, which plentifully fell down their black cheeks as they came out of their coal pits. Hundreds and hundreds of them were soon brought under deep convictions, which (as the event proved) happily ended in a sound conversion. The change was visible to all, though numbers chose to impute it to any thing, rather than the finger of God. The open firmament above me, the prospect of the adjacent fields, with the sight of thousands

* Life of Whitefield, p. 39.

and thousands, some in coaches, some on horseback, and some in the trees, and, at times, all affected and drenched in tears together, to which sometimes was added the solemnity of the approaching evening, was almost too much for, and quite overcame me *."

" Besides the colliers, and thousands from the neighbouring villages, persons of all ranks flocked daily out of Bristol, and he was soon invited to preach, by some of the better sort, on a large bowling-green in the city." Though "some sneered at his mounting a table to preach in unconsecrated ground," God enabled him to withstand the laugh, and to proceed in publishing the Gospel of Christ with extraordinary success; as was manifest by the great numbers who visited him for spiritual counsel. More assistance was wanted; and he wrote to Mr. John Wesley, who had never yet been at Bristol, and, having received a favourable answer, recommended him and his brother in the strongest manner to the people and earnestly prayed that the last might be first; for he was determined to pursue his scheme of the Orphan House, and return again to his retreat at Georgia †."

Mr. Wesley's biographers state, that "the religious societies of Bristol had not been able to provide room for a *tenth* part of the people that crowded to hear Mr. Whitefield. When Mr. Wesley arrived, he also began to expound in one of the society-rooms. But being encouraged by the example of our Lord, and having no place that would contain the multitudes that flocked together, "I submitted," he says, "to be yet more vile, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation." Mr. Wesley did not follow the example of his younger friend as a matter of choice; and in justification of his practice he says, "When I was told I must not preach any more in this, and this, and another church, so much the more those who could not hear me there, flocked together when I was at any of the societies: where I spoke more or less, though with inconvenience, to as many as the room I was in would contain. But after a time, finding that

* Ibid. p. 41, 42.

† Ibid. p. 42.

those rooms could not contain a tenth part of the people that were earnest to hear, I determined to do the same thing in England, which I had often done in a warmer climate ; *viz.* when the house would not contain the congregation, to preach in the open air. This I accordingly did, first in Bristol, where the society-rooms were exceeding small ; and at Kingswood, where we had no room at all ; afterwards in or near London. And I cannot say I have ever seen a more awful sight, than when on Rose-Green, or on the top of Hanham Mount, some thousands of people were joined together in solemn waiting upon God, while

‘ They stood, and under open air ador’d
The God who made both air, earth, heaven, and sky *.’ ”

Mr. Wesley’s ordinary labours at Bristol, where he continued several months, he thus describes : “ Every morning he read prayers and preached at Newgate. Every evening he expounded a portion of Scripture at one or more of the society-rooms. On Monday in the afternoon, he preached abroad near Bristol ; on Tuesday, at Bath and Two Mile Hill alternately. On Wednesday, at Baptist Mills. Every other Thursday near Pensford. Every other Friday in another part of Kingswood. On Saturday in the afternoon and Sunday morning in the Bowling-Green, in the city. On Sunday at *eleven*, near Hanham Mount. At *two* at Clifton, and at *five* on Rose Green †.”

While Mr. John Wesley was labouring with zeal and success at Bristol, his brother Charles was prosecuting the work in London. Mr. Ingham was preaching in many churches in Yorkshire, Mr. Kinchin in Oxford, and Mr. Rogers in Bedfordshire. By these devoted men the seed of divine truth was sown, souls were converted to God, and societies of believers were formed.

Mr. Whitefield took an affectionate leave of his friends at Bristol, and made a second excursion into Wales, where an awakening had began some years before by the instrumentality of the Rev. Griffith Jones, and was now carried on by the

* Life of Wesley, p. 182.

† *Ibid.* p. 185.

ministry of Mr. Howel Harris, a layman. They met at Cardiff, and visiting many towns, preached the word of salvation to many thousands, Mr. Whitefield in English, and Mr. Harris, afterwards, in Welsh. Mr. Whitefield made an extensive tour, preaching to immense crowds in almost every place, God granting his blessing on his word. Mr. Stonehouse, vicar of Islington, granted him the use of his church; but the churchwarden forbade him preaching; when, on the following Sunday, Whitefield ventured to preach in Moorfields to the crowds of London, and the same evening to a vast multitude on Kennington Common. Moorfields, Kennington Common, and Blackheath, were the principal scenes of his ministry near London, his auditory frequently consisting of *twenty thousand* persons: their singing might be heard at two miles distance, and the powerful voice of the preacher a mile; and fruits of righteousness, in the conversion of multitudes, were the effects of his zealous ministry.

Mr. Wesley's success at Bristol corresponded with his devoted labours; and as the society increased, they were desirous of building a room large enough to contain not only the society, but such also as might desire to be present with them when the Scripture was expounded. And on Saturday, the 12th of May, 1739, the first stone was laid with the voice of praise and thanksgiving. This was the first preaching-house that was erected by the Methodists *.

Mr. Whitefield, having collected above 1000*l.* for the Orphan House in Georgia, prepared to set sail to America: but "some demur happening at Bristol, he went there a few days; put Mr. John Wesley (who had now made a progress in building the Kingswood school, and also had began a room at Bristol) in full power; and took him along with him, and introduced him as a field preacher, at Gloucester, and other places †. Whitefield embarked for America Aug. 14th, 1739. But we cannot follow him through his progress in that country, where, especially in New York, Philadelphia, Carolina, and New England, his ministry was the means of a most extraordinary awakening. While refused the pulpits.

* Life of Wesley, p. 183, 184.

† Life of Whitefield, p. 47.

of the episcopal places of worship, the Presbyterians and Independents gave him a cordial welcome, expressing their delight to see Puritanism, for which their fathers emigrated, revived by a minister of the church of England. Testimonies to his indefatigable labours are numerous, confirming the following from his own journal:—"Dec. 1st, 1740. It is now the *seventy-fifth* day since I arrived at Rhode Island. My body was then weak, but the Lord has much renewed its strength. I have been enabled to preach, I think, *a hundred and seventy-five* times in public, besides exhorting frequently in private. I have travelled upwards of 800 miles, and gotten upwards of 700*l.* sterling, in goods, provisions, and money, for the Georgian orphans. Never did I perform my journeys with so little fatigue, or see such a continuance of the Divine presence in the congregations to whom I have preached: praise the Lord, O my soul!" *

Providence smiling upon his affairs in Georgia, Whitefield hastened again to England, to obtain further pecuniary aid for the completion of his noble Orphan House. He arrived March 11th, 1741, at Falmouth, and on the following Lord's day he preached at Kennington Common. Difficulties, however, met him on his arrival in London, the particulars of which will be best expressed in his own words:—"What a trying scene awaited me here! In my zeal, during my journey through America, I had written two well-meant, though injudicious letters, against England's two great favourites, 'The Whole Duty of Man,' and 'Archbishop Tillotson,' who, I said, knew no more of religion than Mahomet. The Moravians had made inroads upon the societies. Mr. John Wesley, some way or other, had been prevailed on to preach and print in favour of Perfection, and Universal Redemption, and very strongly against Election; a doctrine, which I thought, and do now believe, was taught me of God, therefore could not possibly recede from it. I had written an answer, which, though revised and much approved by some good and judicious divines, I think had some too strong expressions about absolute reprobation,

* Ibid. p. 69, 70.

which the apostle leaves rather to be inferred than expressed. The world was angry with me for the former, and numbers of my own spiritual children for the latter. One that got some hundred pounds by my sermons, being led away by the Moravians, refused to print any more; and others wrote to me, that God would destroy me in a fortnight; and that my fall was as great as Peter's *."

Mr. John Wesley had become a determined opposer of the doctrine of Election, as expressed in the seventeenth Article of the Church of England; and indiscreet persons used his writings to inflame the society against Mr. Whitefield. "Ten thousand times," says he, "would I rather have died, than part with my old friends. It would have melted any heart to have heard Mr. Charles Wesley and me weeping after prayer, that if possible the breach might be prevented. Once I preached in the Foundry (a place which Mr. John Wesley had procured in my absence), on Gal. iii, but no more. All my work was to begin again †."

Deliberation and prayer were succeeded by action. "Never," he remarks, "had I preached in Moorfields on a week-day. But, in the strength of God, I began on Good Friday, and continued twice a day, walking backward and forward from Leadenhall for some time, preaching under one of the trees; and had the mortification of seeing numbers of my spiritual children, who but a twelvemonth ago would have plucked out their eyes for me, running by me whilst preaching, disdaining so much as to look at me, and some of them putting their fingers in their ears, that they might not hear one word I said. A like scene opened at Bristol, where I was denied preaching in the house I had founded: busy-bodies on both sides blew up the coals. A breach ensued. But, as both sides differed in judgment, and not in affection, and aimed at the glory of our common Lord, though we hearkened too much to tale-bearers on both sides, we were kept from anathematizing each other, and went on in our usual way; being agreed in one point, endeavouring to convert souls to the ever-blessed Mediator ‡."

* Ibid. p. 71, 72.

† Ibid. p. 72.

‡ Ibid. p. 73.

While Mr. Wesley rejected the doctrine of predestination, as stated in the article of the church of England, Mr. Whitfield became more fully confirmed in the belief of its truth. The question of *general* and *particular* redemption occasioned a difference of sentiment; and for a short time a shyness between them; but they kept up an epistolary correspondence, and till death were united in heart. They both held the grand essentials of the Gospel of Christ—the doctrines by which a sinner is pardoned and justified, sanctified and glorified: each embracing the all-sufficient atonement of the incarnate Son of God, and the regenerating, purifying, and consoling influences of the Holy Spirit.

Divine Providence overruled this difference of opinion for infinite good; but by this means, these two extraordinary men were separated in their operations, and became the founders of the two branches of the denomination—the *Calvinistic* and *Arminian Methodists*.

CHAPTER X.

WESLEYAN OR ARMINIAN METHODISTS, TO THE DEATH OF WHITEFIELD.

Methodism increases—Bigotry of the clergy—Lay-preachers—Mr. Wesley justifies them—Methodist ecclesiastical polity—Conference—Origin of that polity—Proposition for a union with the church—Wesley's letter to the pious clergy—Increase of Methodism.

VITAL godliness increased by the Methodists in different parts of England. Mr. Wesley had expected this delightful result, for which he with his colleagues had incessantly laboured. But he was perplexed to secure a judicious and vigilant oversight of the numerous societies which had been formed; especially as the parochial clergy generally, as Mr. Wesley himself states, spoke of those ministers whose preaching had been so successful, “as if the devil, not God, had sent them. Some repelled them from the Lord's table, others stirred up the people against them, representing them even in their

public discourses, as *Fellows not fit to live ; Papists, Heretics, Traitors ; Conspirators against their king and country.* And how did they watch over the sinners lately reformed? Even as a leopard watcheth over his prey. They drove some of them from the Lord's table, to which, till now, they had no desire to approach. They preached all manner of evil concerning them, *openly cursing them in the name of the Lord!*" "What could they do in a case of so extreme necessity, where so many souls lay at stake? No clergyman would assist at all. The expedient that remained was, to find some one among themselves, who was upright of heart, and of sound judgment in the things of God: and to desire him to meet the rest as often as he could, in order to confirm them, as he was able, in the ways of God, either by reading to them, or by prayer, or by exhortation *."

Driven by circumstances to provide for the religious oversight of his disciples, Mr. Wesley appointed Mr. Cennick to reside at Kingswood, to meet the societies in and near Bristol; and he directed Mr. Maxfield to undertake the same service in London. "This young man being fervent in spirit, and mighty in the Scriptures, greatly profited the people. They crowded to hear him; and by the increase of their number, as well as by their earnest and deep attention, they insensibly led him to go farther than he at first designed. He began to *preach*: and the Lord so blessed the word, that many were not only deeply awakened and brought to repentance, but were also made happy in a consciousness of pardon. The Scripture marks of true conversion, inward peace and power to walk in all holiness, evinced the work to be of God †."

Complaint was made to Mr. Wesley of this *irregularity*, and he hastened to London, to interpose his authority; when, his mother inquiring the cause of his dissatisfaction, he said abruptly, "Thomas Maxfield has turned preacher, I find." "John," she replied, "you know what my sentiments have been. You cannot suspect me of favouring readily any thing of this kind. But take care what you do with respect

* Life of Wesley, p. 218, 219.

† Ibid. p. 220.

to that young man, for he is as surely called of God to preach, as you are. Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching: hear him also yourself." He did so. His prejudices bowed before the force of truth: and he could only say, "*It is the Lord: let him do what seemeth him good.*"

"In other places also the same assistance was afforded. It appears indeed, from what he has said at various times, that he only *submitted with reluctance to it*. His high-church principles stood in his way. But such effects were produced, that he frequently found himself in the predicament of Peter, who being questioned in a matter somewhat similar, could only relate the fact, and say, '*What was I, that I could withstand God * ?*' "

"Lay-preaching" thus originated among the Methodists; and such was the success attending this mode of operation, that however *unauthorized* the measure may appear, by modern ecclesiastical usage, it afforded Mr. Wesley the highest satisfaction.

Regulations and rules became indispensable for the increasing societies; and these were drawn up from time to time, as experience dictated the propriety. Those which were framed by Mr. Wesley, with inconsiderable alterations and additions, as suggested by circumstances, still form the code of ecclesiastical law among the Methodists. A *Society* is divided into *Classes*, containing from *twelve to forty* persons, with an experienced president, who is called *Leader*. Under his direction they meet weekly for religious conversation and prayer, and to pay their contributions for the support of the ministry. The only condition of admission to society is, "*a desire to flee from the wrath to come.*"

A *Leader's* meeting "is held weekly, for deliberation on the affairs of the society. Several societies, included in a district of *ten or fifteen* miles, is called a *Circuit*, to which one, two, or more ministers are appointed; besides local preachers, who are generally men in business, residing in those districts. Several circuits constitute a *District*. A *Conference*, consisting of a hundred or more ministers, is held

* Ibid. p. 220.

annually; when the general affairs of the whole body are considered."

Mr. Wesley called the *first* Conference, in London, June, 1744. It consisted of six clergymen and a few lay-preachers, from different parts of the country. A record of their deliberations was made, to serve as a rule of their future proceedings; and ever since the year 1763, the results of these meetings have been published, under the title of "Minutes of Conference."

Mr. Wesley's scheme of ecclesiastical polity was profoundly laid, for the preservation of his disciples as a religious body. Much of it is believed to have been borrowed from the society of the Jesuits, part was taken from the Moravians, and part was gathered as the result of experience.

Prosperity attended the labours of Mr. Wesley and his lay coadjutors to an astonishing degree, especially among the poor, in bringing men to true repentance and faith in Christ. But it does not come within the limits of this work to detail the various operations of the Methodists in their progress. This must be sought in the works published by themselves. Still it would be improper to omit the proposal of a union with the pious clergy in the church of England.

"Mr. Wesley," his biographers say, "always supposed that God's design in raising up the Methodists, so called, was, 'to reform the nation, especially the church; and to spread scriptural holiness over the land.' He therefore still greatly wished that the clergy would co-operate with him; or at least favourably receive those who in their several parishes were turned from ignorance and profaneness to true religion. This, in general, was not the case: however, some were of a better mind. The late Mr. Walker, of Truro, in Cornwall, and a few others, not only loved and preached the gospel, but were well disposed towards him and those under his care. Some of these gentlemen assisted at the first Conference, but after some years they seemed unwilling to share in his reproach. To avoid this, they desired that he would give up his societies, which were formed in their respective parishes, into their care*." They argued, "If you love the church,

* Ibid. p. 312.

why do you not give up your people to those in the church, whom you believe to be real ministers of Christ?" To this appeal of Mr. Walker, in 1757, Mr. Wesley replied, particularly in relation to a common argument of an *establishment*. "But to go a little deeper into this matter of *legal establishments*. Does Mr. Conon, or you, think, that the king and parliament have a right to prescribe to me what pastor I shall use? If they prescribe one which I know God never sent, am I obliged to receive him? If he be sent of God, can I receive him with a clear conscience till I know he is? And even when I do, if I believe my former pastor is more profitable to my soul, can I leave him without sin? Or has any man living a right to require this of me *?"

Desirous still of engaging the ministers of the established church to unite with him in forwarding the work of God among men, he addressed a circular, in 1764, to "all those clergymen who lived and preached the gospel, among whom were Romaine, Newton, Venn, Shirley, and Berridge. "But of *thirty-four* clergymen to whom he addressed the letter, only *three* vouchsafed him an answer †!"

Conscious of the impolicy of relinquishing his societies to the parochial clergy, Mr. Wesley would by no means abandon the system of lay preaching, assured concerning his lay assistants, that their labours had been eminently crowned with the blessing of God in the salvation of men.

Methodism had taken deep root in the country, as is manifest by the report of the societies in the different circuits at the *twenty-fourth* Conference, held in London, in 1767. The number of members began then to be published; and they were reported as follows:—

	Circuits.	Preachers.	Members.
In England	..... 25	75	22,410
Ireland	... .. 9	19	2,801
Scotland	..... 5	7	464
Wales	..... 1	3	232
Total	<u>40</u>	<u>104</u>	<u>25,911</u>

* Ibid. p. 313.

† Ibid. p. 320.

Mr. Whitefield was present at this Conference: but he afterwards crossed the great Atlantic the *seventh* time, and closed his extraordinary and successful labours in America.

CHAPTER XI.

CALVINISTIC METHODISTS, TO THE DEATH OF WHITEFIELD.

Mr. Whitefield's new fields of labour—His colleagues—His tours—His visit to Scotland—His success in Moorfields—His various labours—Preaches for Lady Huntingdon—Opens his "Tabernacle"—His extraordinary labours—His death in America—Testimonies to his character by Dr. Pemberton—Mr. Toplady—Mr. Wesley—State of the two classes of Methodists.

MR. WHITEFIELD, as we have seen, was excluded from his original preaching stations, which were now occupied by Mr. Wesley. Churches also were shut against him; so that he was obliged to seek new fields of labour, where he might prosecute his zealous ministry.

Mr. Cennick, with several others of the first Methodists, "who could not fall in with Mr. Wesley's sentiments, having joined Mr. Whitefield, they began a new house in Kingswood, and soon established a school among them, that favoured Calvinistical principles. And here, and in several other places, they preached to very large and serious congregations, in the same manner as he had done in America*."

London was a field too important to be neglected: but it being inconvenient, on account of the weather, for him to preach morning and evening in Moorfields, some free-grace Dissenters, who stood by him closely in that time of trial, got the loan of a piece of ground, and engaged with a carpenter to build a temporary shed, to screen the auditory from cold and rain, which he called the Tabernacle.—The place fixed upon was near the Foundry, which he disliked, because he thought it looked like erecting altar against altar. Upon this, however, Whitefield remarks, "All was wonderfully overruled for good, and for the furtherance of the Gospel.

* Life of Whitefield, p. 74.

A fresh awakening immediately began. Congregations grew exceedingly large; and, at the people's desire, I sent (necessity reconciling me more and more to lay-preaching) for Messrs. Cennick, Harris, Seagrave, Humphries, &c. &c. &c. to assist *."

Invitations were now sent to Mr. Whitefield from many places where he had never been. At a common, near Braintree, in Essex, upwards of *ten thousand* persons attended. At Halstead, Dedham, Coggeshall, Weathersfield, Colchester, Bury, Ipswich, the congregations were very large, and much affected †."

Scotland, at this time, was the theatre of a surprising revival of religion, under the ministry of Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, and their colleagues, who invited Whitefield to unite with them. He went to Scotland, but declined to take the Solemn League and Covenant, and also a union with the Associate Presbytery: yet he continued preaching at Edinburgh, "always *twice*, often *thrice*, and once *seven times* a day, for some weeks together. The churches were open, but not being able to hold half the congregations, he generally preached twice a day in the Orphan-hospital park, to many thousands ‡."

In this first visit to Scotland he preached also to multitudes at Glasgow, Aberdeen, Perth, Paisley, and most of the chief towns, and his ministrations were eminently successful in the conversion of many souls to Christ, and the formation of religious societies. Testimonies of the most satisfactory kind, from grave, judicious Scotch ministers, give this assurance. The following might be applied to many other places: "Upon many of his hearers in Edinburgh, of all ranks and ages, especially young people, deep impressions were made; and many of them waited on him privately, lamenting their former immoral lives, or stupid thoughtlessness about religion, and expressing their anxious concern about obtaining an interest in Christ, and the sanctifying influences of his Spirit §."

Having left Scotland he repaired to Bristol, where he

* Ibid. p. 74. † Ibid. p. 75. ‡ Ibid. p. 79. § Ibid. p. 97.

found the work of evangelization proceeding to his satisfaction; and after making some arrangements almost as he could wish, he made a tour, preaching to thousands on his way towards London. On Whit-Monday, 1742, Whitefield commenced preaching to the holiday thousands in Moorfields. Every possible effort was made by those men to annoy him, but Providence seemed to interpose. After sermons in the morning and afternoon, he ventured among the crowds in the evening. "I continued in praying, preaching, and singing (for the noise was too great, at times, to preach) about three hours. We then retired to the Tabernacle, where thousands flocked. We were determined to pray down the booths; but blessed be God, more substantial work was done. At a moderate computation, I received, I believe, a thousand notes from persons under conviction; and soon after, upwards of *three hundred* were received into the society in one day. Some I married, that had lived together without marriage; one man had exchanged his wife for another, and given fourteen shillings in exchange. Numbers, that seemed, as it were, to have been bred up for Tyburn, were at that time plucked as firebrands out of the burning*."

Necessity obliges us to refrain from following Mr. Whitefield in all his apostolical and extraordinary labours, in promoting the cause of Christ, through various parts of England, Wales, Scotland, and America: for an account of these, the reader is referred to the "Memoirs of his Life." A few circumstances only can here be noticed. Having been assured by his Majesty's Government, when called to give evidence before the House of Commons on the state of Georgia, that there would be no persecution suffered in the reign of George the Second, Mr. Whitefield determined to seek the protection of the law against the insults and injuries sustained at Gloucester. The adversaries of the Methodists were found guilty at the assizes: but the triumph of the servants of God having been gained, in the confusion of the rioters, they generously forgave them, assured of future security in their ministry.

* Ibid. p. 102, 103.

In August, 1744, Whitefield embarked again for America, where he preached with astonishing success through several states, continuing in that country until 1748, when, in July, he reached London. Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, having been brought to delight in the service of Christ, "ordered Mr. Howel Harris to bring him to her house at Chelsea, as soon as he came ashore. He went, and having preached twice, the countess wrote to him that several of the nobility desired to hear him. In a few days the Earl of Chesterfield, and a whole circle of them, attended; and having heard him once, desired they might hear him again. 'I therefore preached again,' says he, 'in the evening, and went home, never more surprised at any incident in my life. All behaved quite well, and were, in some degree, affected. The earl of Chesterfield thanked me, and said, 'Sir, I will not tell you what I shall tell others, how I approve of you;' or words to this purpose. At last lord Bolingbroke came to hear, sat like an archbishop, and was pleased to say, 'I had done great justice to the Divine attributes in my discourse.' Soon afterwards her ladyship removed to town, where I preached generally twice a week, to very brilliant auditories; blessed be God, not without effectual success on some *."

Whitefield found in Lady Huntingdon an intelligent, pious, generous, and able coadjutor; and under her auspices he laboured as one of her chaplains, having the opportunity by this means of proclaiming the pure gospel of Christ to many of our British nobles.

Successive tours in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, were prosecuted by this apostolic minister, and multitudes attended his ministry. March 1st, 1753, he laid the foundation stone of the new Tabernacle, and preached from Exod. xx, 24; and he opened this spacious place of worship, capable of holding about *four thousand* persons, June 10th, in the same year. On Sunday, Nov. 25th, he opened the Tabernacle at Bristol. August 30th, 1754, he opened the one at Norwich; and, much opposition being raised against him while officiating at Long Acre chapel, he erected the large

* Ibid. p. 154, 155.

chapel in Tottenham Court Road, which he opened Nov. 7th, 1756, more capacious than that in Moorfields.

Volumes would be required to detail the extensive journeys, and the various labours, of this extraordinary servant of God, in turning sinners to Christ. "It appears from a little account book, wherein Mr. Whitefield minuted the times and places of his ministerial labours, that he preached upwards of *eighteen thousand* sermons, from the era of his ordination to that of his death*." This period includes *thirty-four years and a quarter*, which shows an average of more than *five hundred* sermons a year!

Mr. Whitefield terminated his prodigious labours Sep. 30th, at Newbury Port, near Boston, in America; and this lamented event was regarded as a grievous calamity to the church of God. Funeral sermons were preached for him by many of the most eminent ministers in America; and the sorrowful event was noticed in England both by ministers of the established church and Dissenters. Among the former may be noticed Mr. Wesley, Mr. Romaine, Mr. Newton, Mr. Venn, Mr. Madan, and Mr. Toplady; and among the latter, Mr. Brewer, Dr. Trotter, and Dr. Gibbons. A few extracts from some of their discourses will best convey a correct idea of the character of this great man.

Dr. Pemberton, a congregational minister of Boston, remarks: "Posterity will view Mr. Whitefield, in many respects, as one of the most extraordinary characters of the present age. His zealous, incessant, and successful labours, in Europe and America, are without a parallel.—He was no contracted bigot, but embraced Christians of every denomination in the arms of his charity, and acknowledged them to be children of the same Father, servants of the same Master, heirs of the same undefiled inheritance. The gifts of nature, the acquisitions of art, which adorned the character of Mr. Whitefield, were devoted to the honour of God, and the enlargement of the kingdom of our Divine Redeemer. In this he persevered with unremitting ardour and assiduity, till death removed him to that rest which remains

* Ibid. Appendix, p. xxxvi.

for the people of God. Perhaps no man, since the apostolic age, preached oftener or with greater success.

“ If we view his private character, he will appear in a most amiable point of light. The polite gentleman, the faithful friend, the engaging companion, above all, the sincere Christian, were visible in the whole of his deportment.

“ With large opportunities of accumulating wealth, he never discovered the least tincture of avarice. What he received from the kindness of his friends, he generally employed in offices of piety and charity. His benevolent mind was perpetually forming plans of extensive usefulness. The Orphan house, which many years ago he erected in Georgia, and the College he was founding in that province at the time of his death, will be lasting monuments of his care that religion and learning might be propagated to future generations *.”

Mr. Toplady testifies—“ I deem myself happy, in having an opportunity of thus publicly avowing the inexpressible esteem in which I held this wonderful man ; and the affectionate veneration which I must ever retain for the memory of one, whose acquaintance and ministry were attended with the most important spiritual benefit to me, and to tens of thousands beside.

“ It will not be saying too much, if I term him *the Apostle of the British Empire* : in point of zeal for God, a long course of indefatigable and incessant labours, unparalleled disinterestedness, and astonishingly extensive usefulness.

“ If to be steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord ; if a union of the most brilliant with the most solid ministerial gifts, ballasted by a deep and humbling experience of grace, and crowned with the most extended success in the conversion of sinners and edification of saints, be signatures of a commission from heaven, George Whitefield cannot but stand highest on the modern list of Christian ministers.

“ England has had the honour of producing the greatest men in almost every walk of useful knowledge. At the head

of these are:—*first*, Archbishop BRADWARDIN, the prince of divines; *second*, MILTON, the prince of poets; *third*, SIR ISAAC NEWTON, the prince of philosophers; and *fourth*, WHITEFIELD, the prince of preachers*.”

Mr. Wesley’s testimony will have the greatest weight with many, as to the character of his departed friend, who cherished for him the sincerest affection, as is manifest from the following extract from his will:—“I leave a mourning ring to my honoured and dear friends and disinterested fellow-labourers, the Rev. John and Charles Wesley, in token of my indissoluble union with them in heart and affection, notwithstanding our difference in judgment about some particular points of doctrine.”

Christian affection in Mr. Wesley towards his early colleague was equally strong: for after having quoted the high testimonies of the public newspapers, he remarks, “These accounts are just and impartial; but they go little further than the outside of his character: they show you the preacher, but not the man—the Christian—the saint of God. May I be permitted to add a little on this head, from a personal knowledge of forty years? Mention has already been made of his unparalleled zeal, his indefatigable activity, his tender-heartedness towards the poor. But should we not likewise mention his deep gratitude to all whom God had used as instruments of good by him, of whom he did not cease to speak in the most respectful manner, even to his dying day? Should we not mention, that he had a heart susceptible of the most generous and the most tender friendship? I have frequently thought that this, of all others, was the distinguishing part of his character. How few have we known of so kind a temper, of such large and overflowing affections? Was it not principally by this that the hearts of others were so strangely drawn and knit to him? Can any thing but love beget love? This shone in his very countenance, and continually breathed in all his words, whether in public or private. Was it not this which, quick and penetrating as lightning, flew from heart to heart? which gave

* Ibid. p. xxx, xxxi

life to his sermons, his conversation, his letters? Ye are witnesses. If it be inquired, what was the foundation of his integrity, or of his sincerity, courage, patience, and every other valuable and amiable quality, it is easy to give the answer. It was not the excellence of his natural temper, nor the strength of his understanding; it was not the force of education; no, nor the advice of his friends. It was no other than faith in his bleeding Lord; faith of the operation of God. It was a lively hope of an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. It was the love of God shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost which was given unto him, filling his soul with tender, disinterested love to every child of man. From this source arose that torrent of eloquence which frequently bore down all before it; from this that astonishing force of persuasion, which the most ardent sinners could not resist. This it was which often made his head as waters, and his eyes a fountain of tears. I may close this head with observing, what an honour it pleased God to put upon his faithful servant, by allowing him to declare his everlasting gospel in so many and various countries, to such numbers of people, and with so great an effect on so many of their precious souls * !”

Mr. Whitefield's talents were altogether different from those of his beloved fellow-labourer Mr. Wesley; and their success corresponded greatly with their abilities. As a preacher, Mr. Whitefield was far the superior, and his extraordinary powers appear to have been rendered instrumental by their divine Author in the conversion of a much larger number of persons. But Mr. Wesley's talents for government incomparably exceeded those of Whitefield; and though at the time of his decease, the greater number of converts might be attached to him, yet, as they were never formed into a body, like those in connection with Mr. Wesley, the methodical diligence and indefatigable perseverance of that great man, personally superintending his infant societies, with his auxiliaries in conference, and his various subordinate colleagues, soon elevated him to superiority in the number of his followers.

* Ibid. p. xvii, xviii.

CHAPTER XII.

CALVINISTIC METHODISTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE COUNTESS
OF HUNTINGDON.

Lady Huntingdon — Her early seriousness — Her conversion — Her religious zeal — Her interview with Bishop Benson — Her piety acknowledged at court — Her principles — Her evangelical chaplains, and their labours — Her establishment of many chapels — Her employment of laymen as ministers.

METHODISM received considerable aid by the conversion of Selina, countess of Huntingdon. She was the daughter of Washington, earl Ferrers, born August 24, 1707, and married June 3, 1728, to Theophilus, earl of Huntingdon.

Dr. Haweis, one of her ladyship's chaplains, in his Church History, says, "This noble and elect LADY HUNTINGDON had lived in the highest circle of fashion; by birth, a daughter of the house of Shirley, by marriage united with the earl of Huntingdon, both bearing the royal arms of England, as descendants from her ancient monarchs. When she grew up, and was introduced into the world, she continued to pray ~~that~~ she might marry into a serious family. None kept up more of the ancient dignity and decency than the house of Huntingdon. With the head of that family she accordingly became united. Lady Betty and Lady Margaret Hastings, his lordship's sisters, were women of singular excellence.

"In this high estate, she maintained a peculiar seriousness of conduct. Though sometimes at court, and visiting in the highest circles, she took no pleasure in the fashionable follies of the great. In the country, she was the Lady Bountiful among her neighbours and dependents; and going still about to establish her own righteousness, she endeavoured, by prayer, and fasting, and alms-deeds, to commend herself to the favour of the Most High and Most Holy.

"The zealous preachers, who had been branded with the name of Methodists, had now awakened great attention in the land. Lady Margaret Hastings happening to hear them, received the truth as it is in Jesus from their ministry; and was some years after united with the excellent Mr. Ingham, one of

the first labourers in this plenteous harvest. Conversing with Lady Margaret one day on this subject, Lady Huntingdon was exceedingly struck with a sentiment which she uttered; 'that since she had known and believed on the Lord Jesus Christ for life and salvation, she had been as happy as an angel.' To any such sensation of happiness Lady Huntingdon felt that she was as yet an utter stranger.

"A dangerous illness soon after brought her to the brink of the grave; the fear of death fell terribly upon her, and her conscience was greatly distressed. Hereupon she meditated sending for Bishop Benson of Gloucester, who had been Lord Huntingdon's tutor, to consult him, and unburden her mind. Just at that time the words of Lady Margaret returned strongly to her recollection, and she felt an earnest desire, renouncing every other hope, to cast herself wholly upon Christ for life and salvation. She instantly from her bed lifted up her heart to Jesus the Saviour, with this importunate prayer, and immediately all her distress and fear were removed, and she was filled with peace and joy in believing. Her disorder from that moment took a favourable turn; she was restored to perfect health, and what was better, to newness of life. She determined thenceforward to present herself to God, as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable, which she was now convinced was her reasonable service.

"On her recovery, she sent a kind message to the Messrs. Wesleys, who were then preaching in the neighbourhood, that she was one with them in heart, cordially wishing them good speed in the name of the Lord, and assuring them of her determined purpose of living for Him who had died for her.

"The change thus suddenly wrought on her ladyship became observable to all, in the open confession she made of 'the faith once delivered to the saints,' and in the zealous support she began to give to the work of God, amidst all the reproach with which it was attended. To the noble circle in which Lady Huntingdon moved, such professions and conduct appeared wondrous strange; but she had set her face as a flint, and refused to be ashamed of Christ and his cross. There were not wanting, indeed, some who, under the guise of friendship, wished Lord Huntingdon to interpose his authority:

but however he differed from her ladyship in sentiment, he continued to show her the same affection and respect. He desired, however, she would oblige him by conversing with bishop Benson on the subject, to which she readily acquiesced.

“The bishop was accordingly sent for, in order to reason with her ladyship respecting her opinions and conduct. But she pressed him so hard with articles and homilies, and so plainly and faithfully urged upon him the awful responsibility of his station under the great Head of the church, Jesus Christ, that his temper was ruffled; and he rose up in haste to depart, bitterly lamenting that he had ever laid his hands on George Whitefield, to whom he imputed, though without cause, the change wrought in her ladyship. She called him back: ‘My lord,’ said she, ‘mark my words: when you come upon your dying bed, that will be one of the few ordinations you will reflect upon with complacency.’ It deserves remark, that bishop Benson, on his dying bed, sent *ten guineas* to Mr. Whitefield, as a token of his favour and approbation, and begged to be remembered in his prayers *.”

“Lady Huntingdon’s heart was now truly engaged to God, and she resolved, to her best ability, to lay herself out to do good. The poor around her were the natural objects of her attention. These she bountifully relieved in their necessities, visited in sickness, conversed with, and led them to their knees, praying with them and for them. The late Prince of Wales, one day at court, asked a lady of fashion, Lady Charlotte E—, where my Lady Huntingdon was, that she so seldom visited the circle? Lady Charlotte replied, with a sneer, ‘I suppose praying with her beggars.’ The prince shook his head, and said, ‘Lady Charlotte, when I am dying, I think I shall be happy to seize the skirt of Lady Huntingdon’s mantle, to lift me up with her to heaven.’

“During my Lord Huntingdon’s life, she warmly espoused the cause of God and truth, though her means of usefulness were necessarily circumscribed, and her family engagements occupied much of her time and attention. On his demise, she was left the entire management of her children, and of their

* Haweis’s Impartial Church History, vol. iii, p. 239—244.

fortunes, which she improved with the greatest fidelity. Become her own mistress, she resolved to devote herself wholly to the service of Christ, and the souls redeemed by his blood. Her zealous heart embraced cordially all whom she esteemed real Christians, whatever their denomination or opinions might be; but being herself in sentiment more congenial with Mr. Whitefield than the Messrs. Wesleys, she favoured those especially who were the ministers of the Calvinistic persuasion, according to the literal sense of the articles of the church of England.

“With the intention of giving them a greater scene of usefulness, she opened her house in Park Street for the preaching of the gospel, supposing as a peeress of the realm that she had an indisputable right to employ as her family chaplains those ministers of the church whom she patronized. On the week days, her kitchen was filled with the poor of the flock, for whom she provided instruction; and on the Lord’s day, the great and noble were invited to spend the evening in her drawing-room, where Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Romaine, Mr. Jones, and other ministers of Christ, addressed to them faithfully all ‘the words of this life,’ and were heard with apparently deep and serious attention.

“Lady Huntingdon now became the open and avowed patroness of all the zealous ministers of Christ, especially of those who were suffering for the testimony of Jesus. Mr. Romaine, on his being turned out of St. George’s church, received particular tokens of her favour.

“The illness of her younger son, which proved fatal, had led her to Brighton, for the sake of sea-bathing. There her active spirit having produced some awakening among the people, she erected a little chapel contiguous to her house, that the gospel might be preached to them. This was the first fruits of her great increase: it was enlarged, and that not sufficing to contain the congregation, it was a third time taken down, and rebuilt. The success attending this first effort encouraged greater. Bath, the resort of fashion, beheld an elegant and commodious place of worship, raised by the same liberal hand. Oathall, Bretby, and various other places, received the gospel by her means. At first, she confined herself to the ministers

of the established church as her preachers, many of whom obeyed her invitation, and laboured in the places where she resided : but her zeal enlarging with her success, and a great variety of persons throughout the kingdom begging her assistance,—in London, and many of the most populous cities, she set up the standard of the gospel, and purchased, built, or hired chapels vast and commodious, for the performance of divine service. As these multiplied exceedingly throughout England, Ireland, and Wales, the ministers who had before laboured for her ladyship were unequal to the task, and some unwilling to move in a sphere so extensive, and which began to be branded as irregular, and to meet great opposition : yet many persevered in their cordial services when summoned to the work, and were content to bear the cross. As this work greatly enlarged, beyond her power to supply the chapels with regular ministers, Lady Huntingdon resolved to employ the same methods as Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield had pursued with so much success before. She invited laymen of piety and abilities, to exhort and keep up the congregations she had established *."

CHAPTER XIII.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND UNDER GEORGE III, TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

George III favours religious liberty — Religion revives — Oxford bigotry — Pious clergymen — Mr. Grimshaw's labours and success — Mr. Berridge's apostolical operations — Accession of evangelical clergymen — High-church policy — American Revolution — Clergy petition for abolishing subscription — Pious prelates — Mrs. Hannah More — Mr. Wilberforce — State of religion — Dr. Haweis's Review.

GEORGE III ascended the throne of Great Britain October 25, 1760, on the death of his grandfather, George II. His majesty appearing to possess a sacred regard for religion, all denominations had confidence in his piety and virtues ; and throughout his protracted reign he honoured his own declaration in his first speech from the throne. On that occasion, the king

* Ibid. p. 246—250. ~

declared, "The peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent supports of my throne; and I doubt not but their steadiness to those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolution to MAINTAIN THE TOLERATION INVIOLEABLE. The civil and RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF MY LOVING SUBJECTS ARE EQUALLY DEAR TO ME AS THE MOST VALUABLE PREROGATIVE OF MY CROWN; and, as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the Divine favour on my reign, IT IS MY FIXED PURPOSE TO COUNTENANCE AND ENCOURAGE THE PRACTICE OF TRUE RELIGION AND VIRTUE."

Christianity revived and prospered greatly in the reign of George III, though its triumphs were not the greatest in the church of England. Methodism, in its progressive increase through the nation, was found to have some considerable influence on part of the established clergy: but they were generally hostile to the manifestations of primitive scriptural piety. Mortified at seeing their province invaded by the Methodist lay-preachers, whose ministry was attended by multitudes, the superior clergy employed vigorous efforts to check the progress of evangelical godliness, and to extinguish its holy fires. Happily, however, the government would not suffer any violent persecution.

Oxford afforded a singular instance of this ecclesiastical intolerance: for, in 1763, "six young gentlemen of Edmund Hall were expelled the university, after a hearing of several hours, before Mr. Vice-Chancellor and some of the heads of houses, for holding Methodistical tenets, and taking upon them to pray, read, and expound the scriptures, and singing hymns in a private house." A pious officer in the university appealed in vain to the articles of the church, in support of their doctrines; and equally fruitless was the ample testimony borne by other ecclesiastics to their holy and exemplary lives. They were driven from the church, and some of them entered the ministry among the Dissenters.

Divine truth, however, made some progress in the church, and the grace of the Holy Spirit was poured forth upon many of the clergy in different parts of the kingdom. Among those

ministers of the establishment who were most distinguished for their piety and evangelical labours, were Mr. Walker of Truro in Cornwall, Mr. Hervey of Weston Favell in Northamptonshire, Mr. Grimshaw of Haworth, and Mr. Venn of Hull in Yorkshire, Mr. Berridge of Everton in Bedfordshire, Mr. Fletcher of Madely in Shropshire, Mr. Robinson of Leicester, Mr. Riland of Birmingham, Messrs. Romaine, Toplady, Newton, Cecil, T. Scott, of London, Dr. Haweis of Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, and Mr. Simeon of Cambridge. These were as so many luminaries in the church of England; and by their evangelical writings, and zealous ministry, they became a blessing to the country.

A few particulars relating to some of them will illustrate the nature of their principles and labours, showing their oneness of spirit with the servants of Christ in every age and nation.

Mr. Grimshaw, a friend of Mr. Wesley, merits particular notice in this place; as he appears to have been eminently instrumental in the conversion of souls to God. "He was too happy in himself in the knowledge of Christ to rest satisfied, without taking every method he thought likely to spread the knowledge of his God and Saviour. And as the very indigent constantly make the want of clothes an excuse for not coming to church in the day time, he contrived, for them chiefly, a lecture on Sunday evenings, though he had preached twice in the day before. God was pleased to give great success to these attempts, which animated him still more to spend and be spent for Christ. So, the next year he began a method, which was continued by him for ever after, of preaching in each of the four hamlets he had under his care, three times every month. By this means, the old and infirm, who could not attend the church, had the truth of God brought to their houses; and many, who were so profane as to make the distance to the house of God a reason for scarcely ever coming to it, were allured to hear. By this time, the great labour with which he instructed his own people, the holiness of his conversation, and the benefit which very many from the neighbouring parishes had obtained by attending his ministry, concurred to bring upon him many earnest entreaties to come

to their houses who lived in the neighbouring parishes, and expound the word of God to souls as ignorant as they had been themselves. This request he did not dare to refuse: so that while he provided abundantly for his flock, he annually found opportunity of preaching *three hundred* times to congregations in other parts. And for a course of *fifteen* years or upwards, he used to preach every week, *fifteen, twenty*, and sometimes *thirty* times, besides visiting the sick, and other occasional duties of his functions *.” He entered his eternal rest, April 7, 1762.

Mr. Berridge was a colleague of Mr. Whitefield, and for many years one of the officiating clergymen at the Tabernacle. His biographer says of this servant of Christ, “Having so good a Master, he entered upon his work with cheerful steps, and pursued it with the greatest industry. He did not confine his labours to the narrow limits of Everton, a small and trifling parish; but, like the majestic sun, illuminated an extensive tract of country. His love to mankind was ardent. He knew the worth of an immortal soul; he knew the awful terrors of the Lord; he knew the emptiness of the present world; he knew the sandy foundations upon which thousands build; he knew the dangerous devices of Satan; he knew the awful precipice on which the ungodly stand. His bowels melted with pity, his heart yearned to assist them. He therefore left no means unattempted to awaken their concern, and allure them to the Son of God. In his itinerancy, he would take the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, Essex, Hertford, and Huntingdon. In this circuit he preached, upon an average, from *ten to twelve* sermons a-week, and frequently rode a hundred miles. Nor were these extraordinary exertions the hasty fruits of an intermitting zeal, but were regularly continued during the long succession of more than *twenty* years.

“As to his usefulness, we learn from more sources of information than one, that he was in the first year visited by a *thousand* different persons, under serious impressions; and it has been computed, that under his own and the joint ministry of Mr. Hicks, about *four thousand* were awakened to a concern for their souls in the space of *twelve* months. Incredible as

* Coke and Moore's Life of Wesley, p. 330, 331.

this history may appear, it comes authenticated through a channel so highly respectable, that to refuse our belief would be unpardonably illiberal *."

Operations like those of Grimshaw and Berridge, will be pronounced *uncanonical*: and they certainly were violations of their duty as clergymen of the church of England: but they were satisfied that they were Scriptural, and rejoiced in seeing them crowned with the blessing of God.

Mr. Berridge's biographer adds, "As his labours were prosperous, so they were opposed. It could not be grateful to the prince of darkness to behold his kingdom so warmly attacked, and his subjects in such numbers desert his standard. Hence he stirred up all his strength; and a furious persecution ensued. No opposition was too violent, no names were too opprobrious, no treatment was too barbarous. Some of his followers were roughly handled, and their property destroyed. Gentry, clergy, and magistrates, became one hand, and employed every engine to check his progress, and silence him from preaching. *The Old Devil* was the only name by which he was distinguished among them, between twenty and thirty years. At home, his tables were served by a cold collation for his numerous hearers, who came from far on Sabbathdays, and his field and stable were open for their horses. Abroad, houses and barns were rented, lay preachers maintained, and his own travelling expenses disbursed by himself. Cottagers were always gainers by his company. He invariably left a half-crown for the homely provision of the day; and during his itinerancy it actually cost him *five hundred pounds* in this single article of expenditure †."

Mr. Berridge had friends at court, by whose influence he continued shielded in his apostolical labours, which closed, Jan. 22, 1793; and his funeral sermon was preached, to an immense concourse of sincere mourners for their spiritual father, by the Rev. Mr. Simeon of Cambridge.

Pious clergymen increased, especially in London and some of the larger towns in the kingdom, chiefly by means of a privilege enjoyed by some parishes, to choose a lecturer in

* Evangelical Magazine, vol. i, p. 14, 15.

† Ibid. p. 16.

addition to their rector or vicar. In such cases the Dissenters exerted their influence in favour of those candidates, who were known or supposed to hold evangelical principles. Considerable accessions also were received by the church of England from a class of pious young men, who possessed promising talents, and were sent to the universities, and supported during their education by the subscriptions of individuals collected for that purpose. Besides, a society was formed, with the munificent Mr. John Thornton at its head, for the purchase of church livings; by means of which many pious clergymen were promoted to influential stations. Proprietary chapels also were built in many towns, especially in cases of the decease or removal of an evangelical clergyman, and for which licences were procured: but in many instances the bishops refused such favours, when licences were procured under the Toleration Act; and though the Common Prayer was used in the public worship, the people were practically Dissenters.

Religious liberty appeared to be seriously in danger during the reign of George III, by one of the most memorable events in the history of Great Britain. This was the American revolution. Many of the Americans being descendants of the persecuted nonconformists of England and Scotland, were enemies to episcopacy as unscriptural, and advocates of religious liberty. Those in this country, therefore, who held the like religious principles, naturally shared the same odium with them, when the conduct of the Americans was stamped by the administration, and by all high-churchmen, with the opprobrious title of rebellion. This class had become favourites at court on the accession of the present monarch: for relinquishing their hopes of restoring the exiled Stuarts, they attached themselves to George III, and were liberally rewarded with ecclesiastical dignities and state emoluments.

Efforts of the most vigorous kind were made by the court party to injure the toleration; they representing the Dissenters as republicans in principle, enemies to kings, subverters of the government, and determined foes to the established bishops and clergy, who were the pillars of monarchy.

Notwithstanding the anathemas of high churchmen, Divine

Providence gave victory and "Independence" to the Americans. They immediately formed a new constitution for themselves, the basis of which was an acknowledgment of the equal right of all men to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, renouncing the idea of a religious national establishment, as unscriptural in its nature, and pernicious to the interests of mankind. Religion, in all its forms, was equally protected, but it was left to her own amiable attractions, and to the pious zeal of her own friends for support. This was a system entirely new in the annals of Christendom : but while high-churchmen in England denounced it as a dangerous experiment, which would issue in universal infidelity and atheism, intelligent believers in the Holy Scriptures were confident that it would be favourable to the character of individual and social happiness, and especially to the interests of undefiled Christianity.

During this struggle between England and America, in 1772, to the astonishment of the nation, *several hundreds of the clergy*, supported by many respectable laymen, presented a petition to parliament, praying for an entire deliverance from subscription to the *thirty-nine articles*. The petitioners stated, as a fundamental principle of the Protestant religion, that every thing necessary to salvation is fully and sufficiently contained in the Holy Scriptures ; and that, in their interpretation, they had an inherent right to make a full and free use of their private judgment, which they held alone from God ; that these were the original principles of the church of England, upon which the Reformation from popery was built, but which had been set aside by the laws relating to subscription, acknowledging certain creeds and confessions of faith drawn up by fallible men to be perfectly agreeable to the Scriptures.

Though the two professions of Civil Law and Physic joined in this petition, as the complaints affected them, and though its prayer was supported by Mr. Burke and others of great influence in parliament, it was rejected by a great majority.

Several pious prelates during the reign of George III deserve the most honourable mention in this place: for

though, as successful preachers and promoters of vital godliness, they may not be compared with those more humble clergymen whose names have already been mentioned, some of their writings have been a blessing to the church of God. The "Lectures" of Archbishop Secker, the learned biblical "Lectures, and Translation of Isaiah" by Bishop Lowth, the small but evangelical "Commentary on the Psalms" by Bishop Horne, the popular treatise on the "Evidences of Christianity," by Dean Paley, and the "Lectures" of Bishop Porteus, will long be held in high and deserved estimation by students in divinity and lovers of Scriptural Christianity.

Religion in the church of England, however, was not indebted for its revival solely to the labours of its public official instructors. Probably nothing in the way of literary instrumentality had so favourable an influence as the writings of Mrs. Hannah More. The sound, scriptural piety of that learned and accomplished lady qualified her to write for the religious instruction of the poor, which she did in an engaging series of "Cheap Repository Tracts," and for the nobles and princes of the nation, in a style of classic elegance which attracted and edified thousands of the great. Mr. Wilberforce also, at the close of this period, was honoured for incalculable usefulness by his "Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System." A few sentences of an introductory essay on that work, by Mr. (now Dr.) Wilson, the present bishop of Calcutta, will exhibit the state of religion in England when that book appeared. He says, "We need not do more than recal to our reader's mind the state of things just previously to the year 1797, when this book first appeared. The revolutionary principles of France, after desolating that fine country, had infected our own. Europe beheld with dismay, the Christian faith abjured, the Christian institution of the Sabbath abrogated, Christian morals overthrown; and a flippant, unholy, presumptuous philosophy, pretending to supply the place of Christian motives and Christian practice.—The infidel writers, fostered by this state of things, had been refuted, indeed, by argument, but had not been sufficiently repelled by the most powerful of all weapons—the holy doctrines and consistent lives of the ministers of the Chris-

tian church. Thus a general neglect or contempt for spiritual religion, was but too prevalent in the influential ranks in our country. — To stem the torrent of infidelity, therefore, in the higher and middle classes of society; to rouse the national establishment to the holy efforts for which it was so well adapted; to restore the standard of that pure and vital Christianity, on which all subjection to law, and all obedience from motives of conscience, and all real morality and piety, ultimately depend; to sow anew the principles of loyalty, contentment, peace, holiness, deeply and permanently in the minds of men; to rescue, in a word, our country from impending ruin, and render her a blessing to the nations — to these high ends, something more was decidedly wanting. — One man at length appeared: our author was the honoured individual*.”

Mr. Mortimer, a clerical friend of bishop Wilson, in his funeral sermon for Mr. Wilberforce, correctly says of that period, “Religion, if it deserved that name, which prevailed among the higher classes of society, was, with a few brilliant exceptions, any thing but the religion of the Bible or the Cross. It was, in most cases, a cold, dry, insipid mixture of morality and philosophy. It talked of virtue and the light of nature, rather than holiness and the light of grace: it appealed to the reason, but not to the conscience or the heart: it insisted upon duties to be performed, but it passed over doctrines to be believed: in fine, it was morality, but it was not Christianity. Many of our clergy, anxious to avoid the imputation of being Puritans, seemed almost to forget, that, by their vocation, they were called to be Christians †.”

Evangelical truth and orthodoxy had, however, considerably advanced in the church of England before the close of the century; and several hundreds of pious ministers of Christ were believed to have been labouring with diligence and zeal in that communion. Dr. Haweis, probably, was more competent to form a correct estimate of their number and character than any other clergyman. He says, in a review

* Essay on Wilberforce, p. xxxi, xxxiv.

† Sermon for Wilberforce, by Thomas Mortimer, B. D., p. 14, 15.

of this period. "The number of those clergy, who are *methodistically inclined*, that is, such as *literally* and with *apparent zeal* inculcate the doctrinal articles they have subscribed, and live in a state of greater piety and separation from the world than the generality of their brethren, is of late amazingly increased. Where before scarcely a man of this stamp could be found, some hundreds, as rectors or curates in the established church, inculcate the doctrines which are branded with Methodism; and everywhere throughout the kingdom, one or more, and sometimes several, are to be found within the compass of a few miles, who approve themselves faithful labourers in the Lord's vineyard. Everywhere they carry the stamp of peculiarity, and are marked by their brethren. Though carefully conforming to established rules, and strictly regular, they are everywhere objects of reproach, because they cannot but reflect on those who choose not to follow such examples. They pay conscientious attention to the souls of their parishioners; converse with them on spiritual subjects, whenever they visit; encourage prayer and praise in the several families under their care; often meet them for these purposes; and engage them to meet and edify one another. They join in none of the fashionable amusements of the age, frequent not the theatres or scenes of dissipation, court no favour of the great, or human respect. They labour, indeed, under many discouragements. *All the superior orders of the clergy shun their society. They have often been treated by their diocesans with much insolence and oppression. They can number no bishop, nor scarcely a dignitary among them. Yet their number, strength, and respectability, continue increasing. May they grow into an host, like the host of God*.*"

* Impartial Church History, vol. iii, p. 265, 266.

CHAPTER XIV.

DISSENTERS UNDER GEORGE III TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Number of Dissenters — Associations — Colleges — Efforts for religious liberty — Archbishop Drummond rebuked by the Earl of Chatham — Relief from subscription — Test Act — Sunday Schools originated by Robert Raikes — William Fox founds the Sunday School Society — Sunday Schools among Dissenters — Revival of Religion — Baptist Missionary Society originated by Dr. Carey — London Missionary Society — Warwickshire ministers — Parliamentary measures — Public services in London — Character of the first meetings — Twenty-nine missionaries ordained for the South Seas — New era in religion — Scottish Missionary Society — Home Missions — Religious Tract Society formed — Quakers and the Slave Trade — Dissenting controversies — Daubeny's Guide to the Church refuted — Great men — William Fuller — John Howard.

GENUINE godliness, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, advanced much among the Dissenters of Great Britain. Methodism, in its several sections, making rapid progress through the country, produced a salutary influence upon their churches. Their number had increased above a *hundred* congregations during the former part of the century, but their prosperity was far greater in the latter. On the accession of George III, in 1760, the regular churches, including the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, were ascertained to amount in England and Wales, *to one thousand four hundred and fifty-two*, of which *one hundred and sixty* were in the Principality.

Monthly lectures were now revived and established among the Independents in London, and these encouraged the formation of county associations of ministers and churches, especially by the Independents, which were established through nearly the whole of the kingdom for the promotion of vital religion. These assembling at stated quarterly and annual meetings, for sermons, conference, and prayer, various schemes of benevolence were originated, especially the establishment of colleges for the education of able pastors to the churches already planted, and to perpetuate a learned ministry.

Seminaries had already existed for these purposes in different parts of the kingdom under many able tutors: but now

several foundations were laid, which were designed to be permanent: Homerton College, London; Wymondly College, in Herts; the Western Academy, at Exeter; Rotherham College, near Sheffield; Hoxton College, London; and others at Newport Pagnel, Idle, in Yorkshire, and Hackney, near the metropolis, arose, or were more firmly established within this period, sending forth many pastors, who have been an incalculable blessing to the church of Christ.

Christian benevolence was not satisfied to limit its operations within Great Britain: but from these associations arose, at the close of this period, many of those noble institutions, which embrace the whole world, contemplating the subversion and annihilation of error and false religion, and the evangelization of all the human family.

Toleration was indeed enjoyed by the Dissenters; and George III honoured his profession "to maintain toleration inviolable" during his long reign: but *religious liberty* was far from being complete. Considerable impediments obstructed the active benevolence of Dissenters, and they sought their removal. Dissenters, on procuring a licence for the ministry, under the Toleration Act, were required to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. This they considered a grievance; a violation of the fundamental principles of Protestantism, from which they ought to be relieved, at least equally with the Dissenters in Scotland and Ireland. In 1772, therefore, a Bill to that effect passed the House of Commons; but the bishops opposing it in the Lords, it was rejected by a majority of 102 against 29. In 1773 the Bill again passed the Commons; but it was again rejected in the Lords'. An incident occurred in the debate, which will strikingly illustrate the spirit of the parties in those times. "In the course of the debate, Dr. Drummond, archbishop of York, attacked the Dissenting ministers with singular violence, and charged them with being men of close ambition. They had, however, the happiness to find an advocate in the great Earl of Chatham, who spoke in the following terms: 'This is judging uncharitably, and whoever brings such a charge without proof, defames.' Here he paused for a moment, and then proceeded. 'The Dissenting

ministers are represented as men of close ambition; they are so, my lords, and their ambition is to keep close to the college of fishermen, not of cardinals; and to the doctrines of inspired apostles, not to the decrees of interested and aspiring bishops. They contend for a spiritual creed and spiritual worship; we have a Calvinistic creed, a Popish liturgy, and an Arminian clergy. The Reformation has laid open the Scriptures to all; let not the bishops shut them again. Laws in support of ecclesiastical power are pleaded, which it would shock humanity to execute. It is said that religious sects have done great mischief, when they were not kept under restraint; but history affords no proof that sects have ever been mischievous, when they were not oppressed and persecuted by the ruling church*.”

Scriptural knowledge continued to advance in the nation, and public opinion made progress in favour of religious liberty; so that, in 1779, the Dissenters triumphed, and the Bill for relieving them from subscription passed with but feeble opposition. The apprehended dangers to the civil constitution, from Dissenters, had now so far vanished, that they were *tolerated* in England, on making the following declaration on obtaining a licence to exercise their ministry:—“I, A. B., do solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that I am a Christian and a Protestant, and as such, that I believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as commonly received among Protestant churches, do contain the revealed will of God, and that I do receive the same as the rule of my doctrine and practice.”

Confident in their integrity and the righteousness of their cause, the Dissenters sought, in 1790, a *third* time, relief from the “Test and Corporation Acts,” which obliged all who held offices of trust, to take the Lord’s Supper according to the church of England: but their attempts for this righteous relief were as yet fruitless. Mr. Fox was their leader, supported by several mighty advocates; but “on the division of the House, there appeared, for the motion, *one hundred and five*; and against it *two hundred and ninety-four*. For the

* Bogue and Bennet’s History of the Dissenters, vol. ii, p. 467, 468.

Socinianism, corrupting several others of the professed servants of Christ.

New zeal at this period inflamed the minds of the ministers and churches of Christ, especially in the midland counties; and it is manifest that they were excited to seek the glory of God in promoting the welfare of mankind, by the gracious influences of his Holy Spirit. Mr. (now Dr.) Carey, of Serampore, in India, a Baptist minister at Leicester, proposed to the Northamptonshire Association of Baptist Ministers and Churches, at one of their meetings, "whether it were not practicable and obligatory to attempt the conversion of the Heathen?" He preached a sermon on the occasion, recommending his brethren, "*First*, to attempt great things *for* God;" and "*Secondly*, to expect great things *from* God." Inspired with delight at his recommendation, the attempt was resolved, and a collection made for the magnificent undertaking, amounting to 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* Thus originated the "Baptist Missionary Society," the first of those noble institutions in England. Hindostan was chosen as the immediate field of labour; and God has put the most distinguished honour on that department of this Society's labours, especially in the various translations of the Holy Scriptures.

Benevolent zeal, from the same Divine Spirit, excited the Independent body in Warwickshire, to whom had been reported the worthy resolution of the Baptists; and, at a meeting of their ministers held at Warwick, it was considered, "*What is the duty of Christians with respect to the spread of the Gospel?*" After some consideration, the following resolutions were agreed to:—

"1. It appears to us, that it is the duty of all Christians to employ every means in their power to spread the knowledge of the Gospel, both at home and abroad.

"2. As ministers of Christ, solemnly engaged by our office to exert ourselves for the glory of God and the spiritual good of men, we unite in a determination to promote this great design in our respective connections.

"3. That we will immediately recommend to our friends the formation of a fund for the above purpose, and report progress at the next meeting.

"4. That the first Monday of every month, at seven o'clock in the evening, be a season fixed on for united prayer to God, for the success of every attempt by all denominations of Christians for the spread of the Gospel.

"5. That the Rev. Dr. Williams be desired to prepare a circular letter, on the subject of spreading the Gospel, by the next meeting.

"6. That the next meeting be held at Nuneaton, on Tuesday, August 6, 1793."

Pledging themselves to this good work of God, the ministers then present commenced a subscription amounting to 55*l*.

Dr. Williams prepared the "Letter," addressed to the "Independent Churches in Warwickshire," with a "Postscript," of some length, addressed to the "Independent Associations of Ministers in the other counties of England and Wales," inviting them to similar attempts. Missionary prayer meetings were held as proposed, considerable sums of money were contributed, and *two* "Itinerant Preachers" were supported for the neglected villages in Warwickshire.

Divine influence had prepared the minds of many for this appeal. A letter from America on this grand subject appeared in the Evangelical Magazine for September 1793; and in November 1794, "Letters on Missions" by "Melville Horne, lately chaplain of Sierra Leone," were reviewed in that periodical, the reviewer offering 100*l*. from a "gentleman," and 500*l*. from a "minister," for the commencement of the work of missions. Dr. Williams published another letter in that magazine, in November, detailing some of the plans and wishes of the Warwickshire Association; and that useful periodical, commenced only in July 1793, seems to have been designed by Providence as an important organ in the revival of pure religion in England, in connection with Christian missions to the Heathen: for out of these various efforts arose the London Missionary Society.

Christianity and the spirit of missions received a new illustration by the formation of this great institution. On Mon-

day September 21, 1795, many ministers from different parts of the country met in London, and unanimously resolved that a "Mission to the Heathen was desirable," paying down 740*l.* in donations towards the object. Sermons were preached on the occasion by the Rev. Messrs. Haweis, Burder, Greathead, Hey, Rowland Hill, and Bogue, and the public meetings continued five days. To give an adequate idea of the delightful character of these services is utterly impossible; in which the most eminent Independent ministers were joined in cordial union by ministers of the Presbyterian Secession church, Calvinistic Methodists, and several of the church of England. Delegates from all parts of the kingdom were present. Spa Fields Chapel, Tottenham Court Chapel, Surrey Chapel, the largest places of worship, were crowded to excess, and the sermons, prayers, and speeches, all indicated the gracious presence of the Holy Spirit, for which special prayer meetings were held at the same time by many in Scotland!

When it was publicly resolved on the Monday evening, "*That a Mission to the Heathen was desirable,*" tears of joy burst forth from many ministers, so as to impede the proceedings of the business! And the servants of God of all denominations, uniting in the services, agreed with Dr. Bogue in his sermon, that this was the "*funeral of bigotry,*" being constrained to declare that this was a "*New Pentecost.*"

Corresponding efforts were immediately made to prepare a mission to the South Seas. Contributions were liberally made; a ship was purchased; and on Thursday, July 28, 1796, *twenty-nine* missionaries were solemnly set apart to this work, at Zion Chapel, London. Dr. Hunter preached on the occasion, and Dr. Williams delivered a charge to the missionaries; after which, "an Episcopalian, a Scotch Seceder, a Presbyterian, an Independent, and a Methodist, united in the designation of the missionaries," addressing them severally in the following words, "Go, our beloved brother, and live agreeably to this Holy Word (putting a Bible into his hand), and publish the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ to the heathen, according to your calling, gifts, and abilities, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" to

which each replied, "I will, God being my helper." Every Christian reader knows the successes of these servants of God in the South Seas.

Scriptural piety and genuine Christianity were here happily illustrated, in conformity with the catholic principle laid down at the General Meeting in May, when it was resolved, "That to prevent, if possible, any cause of future discussion, it is declared to be a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society, that its design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of church order, but the glorious gospel of the blessed God, to the Heathen; and that it shall be left to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of his Son from among them, to assume for themselves such form of church government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God."

"THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY," thus formed, sending out a ship with so many missionaries to the Heathen, awakened the attention of the whole religious community; and led to a series of operations, both within the churches of the Dissenters, and in the church of England, which have been the means of unnumbered blessings to our country and to all nations. New life and zeal appeared to be imparted immediately to multitudes of all denominations, constraining them to honour their profession as Christians.

Scotland participated in this effusion of the Holy Spirit, and in 1796, was formed the "Scottish Missionary Society."

Evangelical labours were now more clearly perceived to be needful for our own country; and those who were the most zealous for the cause of Christ abroad, became the most consistently alive to the interests of religion at home. Hants, Surrey, and Sussex, engaged the benevolent regards of several London ministers, who determined on adopting means to evangelize our neglected peasantry. "The Village Itinerancy, or Evangelical Association for spreading the gospel in England," was formed in London in 1796, the Rev. John Eyre, M. A., a clergyman of enlarged benevolence of heart, uniting with Dissenters in this Institution.

Numerous villages around the metropolis remaining desti-

tute of the means of grace, especially of an evangelical ministry, the "London Itinerant Society" was formed, in 1796. Many preaching stations and Sunday schools were established by this Society, which employed as agents gifted laymen generally within fifteen miles of London.

Influenced by the same Holy Spirit to seek the immortal benefit of their countrymen, the ministers and churches of the Baptist denomination formed the "Baptist Home Missionary Society" in 1797.

Religion was greatly promoted by these several institutions: but another was found to be wanting, to furnish a cheap instrumentality. Mrs. Hannah More had set a worthy example in the "Cheap Repository Tracts;" and the Rev. G. Burder, and Rev. S. Greathead, had been worthy coadjutors by their "Village Tracts:" but another society was formed May 17, 1799, for the circulation of Religious Tracts. "The Religious Tract Society" originated principally with the Rev. Joseph Hughes, A. M., a Baptist minister near London; it includes every denomination of Christians, and its publications are prepared according to a *fundamental principle*, similar to that of the Missionary Society. They are to consist of "*pure truth*," as it is expressed in the society's first tract, written by Dr. Bogue, an Independent minister. By "*pure truth*," the committee add, in explanation, "when not expressed in the words of Scripture, they refer to those evangelical principles of the Reformation, in which Luther, Calvin, and Cranmer agreed. On this large portion ground, which the Churchman, the Dissenter, and the foreigner jointly occupy, they conceive that *Christian union* may be established and strengthened, *Christian affection* excited and cherished, and *Christian zeal* concentrated and rendered proportionably effective." On this truly catholic basis this wisely adapted institution has been carried on, and its beneficial operations have been acknowledged in every quarter of the world.

Religion was not supposed to flourish greatly during this period among the Friends, or Quakers: but this perhaps may be in some degree a mistake, owing to their unobtrusive peculiarities. Humanity, in the highest degree, was cherished by

this denomination of Dissenters; and to them principally belongs the honour of the "Abolition of the Slave Trade." They sent the *first* petition to parliament for the termination of that dreadful traffic, in 1783. They formed an "Association for the Abolition of the Slave Trade," and drew up and circulated thousands of the "Case of our Fellow-Creatures, the Oppressed Africans." They sustained and encouraged Clarkson in prosecuting his inquiries on the enormities of that atrocious traffic, and they were the most constant and zealous supporters of the parliamentary measures of Wilberforce.

Genuine godliness was the chief object of pursuit with the Dissenters, and all other considerations were comparatively of little account with them: yet they were far from being regardless of their peculiar principles, and they had frequent occasion to come forth in their defence. For besides the general opprobrium and the various grievances, which they suffered as Dissenters from the chartered communion, their active zeal repeatedly called forth the most uncharitable censures and provoking attacks of high churchmen. Episcopal "charges" and "visitations" furnished opportunities for indulging the spirit of bigotry, and the grossest misrepresentations and the most fearful denunciations were published concerning them, as ignorant, factious schismatics, guilty of heresy and treason. These accusations were unsparingly brought against them after the French Revolution; and the outrages committed at Birmingham, against Dr. Priestley and his friends in the burning of two chapels and several private houses in 1793, indicated the evil spirit that was cherished by mistaken bigots.

Archdeacon Daubeny's "Guide to the Church" appears to have excited the most interest; as that work places all Dissenters under the ban of the Redeemer's empire, denouncing their preachers as no ministers of Christ, and the sacraments which they minister as altogether invalid. Such temerity and uncharitableness called forth several apologists for Dissenters even among churchmen; and among these was Sir Richard Hill, Bart. who, in his "Apology for Brotherly Love and the Doctrines of the Church of England," shows that Mr. Daubeny himself is the chief Dissenter, not only

from the principles of charity and the Scriptures, but from the doctrines of his own church; and that though "he denies the validity of any sacrament not administered by clergymen episcopally ordained, yet *two metropolitans*, Tillotson and Secker, and *four heads of the church*, James I, William III, and the *first two Georges*, were not episcopally baptized *."

Bigotry being cherished and manifested so frequently against Dissenters, their defence was undertaken in a new form by Mr. Graham, a Scotch seceding minister of Newcastle, in his "Review of the Ecclesiastical Establishments of Europe." After a comprehensive survey, he announces the conclusion, that this long established connection is contrary to the dictates of the Scriptures, opposed to the genius of Christianity, fatal to the interests of religion, and dangerous to the civil state. The immediate effect of this work was not very manifest: but its influence has been proved by a progressive conviction that exclusive religious establishments are contrary to the institutions of the Holy Scriptures.

Great men abounded among the Dissenters of this period, as is manifest by the noble institutions founded by them. Some of their names have been already recorded, as they deserve to be preserved in the grateful recollection of their country. But besides the learned tutors of the several colleges, two individuals among the laity require to be mentioned with honour, as benefactors to the world. William Fuller, Esq., a banker of London, was a liberal friend to ministers of poor congregations, and to their widows. His patronage of the Heckmondwicke Academy was a blessing to Yorkshire. His benefactions to the orthodox Dissenters, in various forms, were very considerable. He left a handsome sum to a fund for the benefit of the poor clergy; and it has been stated by an Independent minister, who was intimately acquainted with him, that in the course of his life, and at his death, he gave to the support of religion in different ways to the amount of *sixty thousand pounds*!

John Howard, Esq. to whom the whole civilized world has agreed to give that most amiable title, THE PHILANTHROPIST,

* History of Dissenters, vol. ii, p. 496.

was a uniform intelligent Dissenter. Howard "received the thanks of both Houses of the British and Irish parliaments, for his eminent services rendered to his country and to mankind:" and Burke, the most eloquent of British statesmen, pronounced, in the senate, his merited eulogy. Howard, like his blessed Saviour, in whose atonement he believed for salvation, "went about doing good;" and having "travelled, on the reform of prisons, in less than ten years, more than 42,033 miles, died of the plague, at Cherson, in Russian Tartary, January the 20th, 1790." His splendid statue of marble "was the first monument of a nation's gratitude which graced the interior of St. Paul's Cathedral, London."

CHAPTER XV.

WESLEYAN METHODISTS TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Methodism in America — Two preachers sent thither — Mr. Asbury appointed — Minutes of Conference offend some Calvinists — Satisfied by Mr. Wesley — Controversy on the subject — Methodist Magazine commenced — DEED OF DECLARATION — Methodist Missions — Mr. Wesley ordains a bishop for America — His justification of this measure — Death of Mr. Wesley — State of Methodism — Statistics of Methodism at the close of the century.

METHODISM, in connection with Mr. Wesley, had already taken deep root in the nation; and it continued to increase, extending its influence in the power of godliness to the colonies of Great Britain. At the conference held at Leeds, in 1769, "the preachers had the pleasure of being informed, that Methodism had begun to take root in the vast continent of America. A preaching house had been built at New York, and a cry was heard, 'Come over and help us.' Mr. Richard Boardman and Mr. Joseph Pillmoor willingly offered themselves for this service, and took a present in their hands of *fifty pounds*, as a token of brotherly love. Methodism had its first introduction into America by certain persons who had emigrated thither from England and Ireland, assisted by Lieutenant (commonly called Captain) Webb, who was then in New York with the army; he preached there and at Philadelphia with great zeal and success. In 1771, Mr. Francis Asbury, who

has proved so great and distinguished an ornament to the church, was sent thither by Mr. Wesley and the Conference." Mr. Crowther adds, in 1814, "He now presides, under the character of Bishop, over all the Methodists in the United States; a country not less than 1,300 miles in length, and 500 in breadth. May he not be said to have the largest see of any bishop in the world? Yet many curates have larger salaries *."

"Minutes of Conference" being now published by the Wesleyan Methodists, their decisions were made known to the public; and their statements of doctrine in 1770, expressed as if salvation were to be obtained by human works, gave serious offence to the Countess of Huntingdon and her chaplains, as being, in their opinion, "injurious to the very fundamental principles of Christianity." Circulars were issued, calling upon the principal Calvinists, both clergy and laity, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, "to insist upon a formal recantation of the said Minutes, or in case of refusal to sign and publish their protest against them †."

The late Hon. and Rev. Walter Shirley was the most active clergyman in this affair, aided by the Rev. Rowland Hill, and his brother Sir Richard Hill, with several eminent men, both clergy and laymen. Mr. Shirley went to the conference, with nine or ten of his friends; on which Mr. Wesley remarks, "We conversed freely for about two hours. And I believe they were satisfied, that we were not such dreadful heretics as they imagined, but were tolerably sound in the faith ‡." Notwithstanding, for several years a controversy was carried on between Mr. Wesley's vindicators and opposers, distinguished by a lamentable degree of bitterness on both sides. Mr. Wesley's most able defender was Mr. Fletcher, a clergyman of Madely: his "Checks to Antinomianism," and several other works, remain as monuments of his amiable spirit and apostolic piety.

Periodical literature was seen to have an incalculable influence on the nation; and Mr. Wesley began to employ this means for the advantage and the strengthening of his religious societies:

* Portraiture of Methodism, p. 69, 70. † Ibid. p. 72. ‡ Ibid. p. 74.

to promote their edification, and to represent Methodism to the world, he published, January 1, 1778, the first number of the *Arminian Magazine*. He continued to publish a number every month until his death; and the work has been carried on ever since by the Conference, under the title of the *Methodist Magazine*.

Methodism in 1784 was distinguished by two remarkable measures being adopted, by which the Wesleyan body became strengthened and enlarged: one was the execution of the "Deed of Declaration," and the other was the "Origin of Foreign Missions."

Dr. Coke originated "THE DEED OF DECLARATION," which was signed by Mr. Wesley, Feb. 28, 1784; constituting *One Hundred* preachers, mentioned by name, "The Conference of the people called Methodists:" this instrument being enrolled in Chancery, secures their chapels as the perpetual property of the Conference.

Methodist Missions to foreign countries were projected in 1784, in the conference held that year at Leeds, when Mr. Wesley announced his intention of sending Dr. Coke, and some other preachers, to the United States of America, after the acknowledgment of their "Independence" by the British Government.

Messrs. Pillmoor, Boardman, and Asbury, had eminently succeeded in their labours in America; and the latter having sent a full account of the state of things in that great country, announcing "the extreme uneasiness of the people's minds for want of the sacraments," Mr. Wesley then formed the "design of drawing up a plan of church government, and of establishing an ordination for his American societies;" and at Bristol he ordained several, besides Dr. Coke, giving him letters of ordination under his hand and seal, and at the same time a letter to be printed as a circular in America. A few paragraphs from this document, dated Bristol, September 10, 1784, will be most appropriate here, as showing the opinions of a great mind in ecclesiastical affairs. Mr. Wesley says:—

"Lord King's account of the primitive church convinced me many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the

same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned from time to time, to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our travelling preachers. But I have still refused: not only for peace' sake, but because I was determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the national church to which I belonged.

"But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, neither any parish ministers. So that for a hundred miles together there is none either to baptize or to administer the Lord's Supper. Here therefore my scruples are at an end: and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order, and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending labourers into the harvest.

"I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury, to be joint Superintendents over our brethren in North America: as also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, to act as Elders among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper. And I have prepared a Liturgy, little differing from that of the church of England, (I think the best constituted national church in the world) which I advise all the travelling preachers to use on the Lord's day, in all the congregations, reading the Litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the elders to administer the Supper of the Lord on every Lord's day*."

Prosperity continued to attend the laborious ministry of the Methodist preachers until the death of their venerable father in the Gospel, who closed his devoted life of usefulness in a manner worthy of his Christian philanthropy and diligence. His frequently repeated acknowledgment, after all his eminent services to mankind, was,

"I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for me."

John Wesley entered his eternal rest, March 2, 1791, aged

* Life of Wesley by Coke and More, p. 450—461.

88 years : but his brother Charles Wesley finished his mortal course March 29, 1788, aged 80 years, leaving the character of a devoted minister of Jesus Christ.

Wesleyan Methodism, forming a most consolidated fraternity, bound together by the wisest system of polity, presented a most astonishing multitude united in "Society," at the time of the death of its founder, the numbers of which are here given, as the most important illustration of his wise arrangement and persevering zeal. There were in

	Circuits.	Preachers.	Members.
England	65	196	52,832
Ireland	29	67	14,106
Scotland	8	18	1,086
Wales	3	7	566
Isle of Man	1	3	2,580
Norman Isles	2	4	498
West Indies.....	7	13	4,500
British America	4	6	800
United States	97	198	43,265
Total	<u>216</u>	<u>512</u>	<u>120,233</u>

Prosperity still attended the Methodists, as will be manifest from the following enumeration of the numbers of circuits, preachers, and members in 1799, at the close of the eighteenth century.

	Circuits.	Preachers.	Members.
England	107	288	84,429
Ireland	34	83	16,227
Scotland.....	6	16	1,117
Wales	5	11	1,195
Isle of Man	1	4	4,100
Norman Isles	1	7	734
West Indies	13	23	11,170
British America	13	8	1,610
United States	109	400	60,169
Total	<u>289</u>	<u>840</u>	<u>180,751</u>

CHAPTER XVI.

CALVINISTIC METHODISTS TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Whitefield's Connection.

Calvinistic Methodists after the decease of Mr. Whitefield — Mr. Rowland Hill, his successor — His Itinerant labours — Refused ordination by six bishops — His marriage and ordination — Vindicates his itinerant ministry — Mr. Jay's testimony to his labours — Surrey Chapel built — Its connection with the revival of religion — Dr. Haweis concerning the Calvinistic Methodists.

MR. WHITEFIELD'S attached personal friends, who had been converted to the faith of Christ, or greatly edified, by his ministry, were exceedingly numerous, at the time of his decease, through England, Wales, and Scotland. His "Tabernacles" in London, Bristol, and other places, were supplied by some of the most popular preachers, both of the episcopal clergy and Dissenters, and the congregations continued very large. They were not, however, formed into a united body like those who were followers of Mr. Wesley: there was not, therefore, a systematic and disciplined increase in this denomination, in the same manner, and to an equal extent, as among the Wesleyan branch of Methodists.

Mr. Whitefield's death was felt as a most grievous loss to his friends: for though his chapels had been placed in the hands of trustess, scarcely any provision had been made by him for a successor in his extraordinary ministry. His mantle, however, was regarded as having fallen on Mr. Rowland Hill, a son of Sir Rowland Hill, Bart. This young collegian possessed astonishing powers of oratory, sanctified with the sincerest piety, and inflamed with zeal for God his Saviour and love to the souls of men; and even while at the university he warmly espoused the cause of Mr. Whitefield, entering into many of his itinerating preaching labours and evangelical practices. Before completing his collegiate course he preached in the fields, through many parts of the country, to thousands, and in the chapels of Mr. Whitefield, the Tabernacle, and at Tottenham Court Road, London, by which he was identified with the cause of Calvinistic Methodism.

Mr. Hill was firmly resolved on this uncanonical course of

proceeding, confidently persuaded that it was the will of God, who appeared manifestly to bless his labours in the conversion of sinners. Mr. Berridge and Mr. Whitefield encouraged him in his successful ministry, and though he was refused ordination by *six* bishops, on account of his alleged irregularity, no sacrifice could induce him to refrain from a practice which so clearly seemed to be crowned with the brightest tokens of the Divine approbation.

Mr. Hill married Miss Tudway, May 24, 1775; and by the influence of his father in law, Dr. Wills, the aged bishop of Bath and Wells, ordained him Deacon, June 6th, "without any promise or condition whatever" respecting his itinerant preaching: but his retired curacy of Kingston in Somersetshire, did not present a field sufficient to satisfy his ardent desire for usefulness; and he continued his practice of proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation in the chapels of Dissenters and in unconsecrated places. His friends remonstrated with him, assuring him that his conduct hindered his preferment, while it was in reality a partial secession from the church of England: but the zealous Methodist replied, "It is no secession from the church of Christ. My desire is to win *souls*, not *livings*; and if I can secure the bees, I care not who gets the hives." Mr. Hill justified his itinerant labours by saying, "The whole world is my parish: for our Lord has commanded, Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

Mr. Hill's character, labours, and success, cannot in this place be at all adequately given; and the reader is referred to the "Life" of this extraordinary man of God, by the Rev. Mr. Sydney. The Rev. Mr. Jay, in his Funeral Sermon for that venerable minister, who died April 11, 1833, aged 89, says of his early ministry, "His condition in life, his youth, the sprightliness of his imagination, the earnestness of his address, produced an amazing attention and effect. He preached in the streets, on the quays (of Bristol), and at Kingswood, among the colliers. He spread the gospel through the neighbour counties of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and especially Gloucestershire. In the latter county many were awakened, and truly converted to God; where, by his labours

also, several congregations, now large and flourishing, were founded. One of these was Wotton-Underedge. This drew much of his regard. He there built a Tabernacle, and attached to it a dwelling-house, which he always afterwards continued to occupy as the centre of his retreat and excursions when in the country. Going forth to the Redeemer without the camp, he had of course to bear his reproach, and he rejoiced to bear it; and misrepresentation, ridicule, and scorn, were plentifully applied by the haters of vital godliness.

London was an interesting scene of Mr. Hill's labours, and thousands flocked to hear him; so that his ministry was the means of a great revival of religion at Mr. Whitefield's chapel. But he preached in St. George's Fields, Southwark, to vast multitudes, in the open air, especially during the "Riots of 1780," when many were led "from politics to prayer." Providence seemed to direct to that vicinity as a proper place for a chapel, and liberal subscriptions were made for its erection. Lord George Gordon contributed 50*l*.! The first stone was laid June 24, 1782, and it was finished the next year, when Mr. Hill opened it: his published sermon on that occasion is entitled, "Christ Crucified, the Sum and Substance of the Scriptures; a Sermon preached by Rowland Hill, M. A., on Whitsunday, June 8, 1783, on the opening of the Surrey Chapel, St. George's, London."

Surrey Chapel and the long-continued labours of its devoted minister deserve this mention, on account of their connection with the origin and progress of most of those magnificent Christian institutions, which have been organized for evangelizing the world. It has recently been said with truth, that Surrey Chapel has "set the example and taken the lead in all the most important schemes of Christian benevolence by which the last forty-five years have been distinguished."

Whitefield's chapels continued to be attended by crowded congregations, and vital godliness manifestly increased in their societies, exercising a powerful influence on the progress of Christianity in the nation. Dr. Haweis, who was intimately acquainted with this body, writes, in the year 1800,

“The followers of Mr. Whitefield are, in the aggregate, a body nearly as numerous as the former, but not so compact and united. Their principles being Calvinistic, recommend them especially to the various denominations of Dissenters, and to those of the reformed religion in Scotland and abroad. A great number of these joined Mr. Whitefield, as well as multitudes who left the established church. These were formed into congregations in divers parts, who, though considering themselves as one body, have not the same union and interchange as the followers of Mr. Wesley. The first and principal of the churches, at Tottenham Court, observes the church ceremonies and liturgy; the others use in general free prayer. Yet these consider themselves not as distinct independent churches, but formed under a federal connection: and some of these have no stated pastor, but are supplied by a rotation of ministers. They have an ordination among themselves; and where there is a stationary ministry, they still hold connection with each other, and come up as invited or called upon to the greater congregations, for a fixed space, according to an appointed routine. All these places of worship are supported, not like Mr. Wesley's by a general fund, but the expenses of the meeting, and salaries of ministers, are provided by the several congregations, and collected and expended in each by stewards chosen out of the principal people. The great chapels, in London, are managed by trustees, who were first appointed by Mr. Whitefield himself; and on their several demises, have most faithfully and disinterestedly devolved the trust on others; men hitherto above suspicion, and themselves the most liberal supporters of the cause entrusted to their care: and thus, so far from diminishing since Mr. Whitefield's death, the numbers who have joined them have vastly increased. These are every day growing more into bodies of real Dissenters, and losing the attachment to the church, which was at first strongly preserved. Yet they continue very different from the Independents, whom they most resemble, in a variety of particulars — respecting itinerancy, church government, change of ministers, and mutual and more open communion. These congregations are very numerous and very seriously

attended. Nowhere is the life of godliness more apparently preserved. The lay preachers, however, are comparatively become few, the most having been ordained among themselves; and the body is not governed by a general conference, nor the work supported by a common stock, but each congregation provides for its own expenses. Some chapels around London depend for their supplies of preachers to be furnished from the great bodies in the metropolis. The richer congregations are always ready to assist the poorer in building or enlarging places of worship, and in helping a recent and weaker society, till they become sufficiently numerous, and able to defray their own expenses *."

CHAPTER XVII.

CALVINISTIC METHODISTS OF THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON'S CONNECTION.

Lady Huntingdon founds a college in Wales — Attainments of her first students — She builds a chapel at Tunbridge Wells — Spa Fields Chapel, London — Its first ministers — The parish clergyman persecutes them — Two clergymen secede — They draw up articles of faith — Slon Chapel opened — Lady Huntingdon dies — Her companions — Trustees — Lady Ann Erskine — New college at Cheshunt — State of the connection — Review of it by Dr. Haweis.

LADY HUNTINGDON, inspired with unquenchable zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of men, resolved on the establishment of a college, for the education of pious young men for the Christian ministry. Hey ladyship, therefore, retired to South Wales, and erected a chapel and college in the parish of Talgarth, Brecknockshire. The chapel was opened in 1768; and the college was soon completed, provided with able instructors, and filled with students.

Dr. Haweis remarks, "Thence she dispatched the requisite supplies for the increased congregations under her patronage; and as the calls were often urgent, her students were too frequently thrust forth into the harvest, before they had made any considerable proficiency in the languages, or

* Impartial History of the Church, vol. iii, p. 259—261.

sacred literature, in which it had been her intention they should be instructed. Few of them knew much more than their native tongue; yet being men of strong sense, and real devotedness to God, their ministry was very greatly blessed, and the accounts of their success animated her to greater exertions*.”

Tunbridge Wells, a place of fashionable resort for its waters, but lamentably destitute of the means of grace, was visited by her ladyship, and a chapel erected by her there, opened in 1769. This house of God is believed to have been a great blessing, as the spiritual birth-place of many souls.

London, however, was the principal scene of her ladyship's labours; and where she established two large chapels, which had been originally built for theatres.

Spa Fields, between the city and Islington, were visited on the Lord's day by thousands of the votaries of dissipation: for whose accommodation and amusement, a large building was erected, and called *THE PANTHEON*: but the speculation not answering, the proprietors were glad to let it for a place of religious worship, to the Rev. Herbert Jones, and William Taylor, clergymen of the established church, under the patronage of Lady Huntingdon. This chapel, capable of seating about three thousand persons, was licensed under the Toleration Act, and opened on Saturday evening, July 5, 1777, by the Rev. John Ryland of Northampton. Messrs. Taylor and Jones officiated on the following day, the former taking for his text, Gen. xxviii, 19 — “And he called the name of that place Bethel: but the city was called Luz at the first.”

Mr. W. Sellon, minister of St. James's Church, Clerkenwell, in which parish Spa Fields Chapel is situated, was highly offended with these two clergymen, for opening this place of worship, and immediately instituted a suit against them in the Consistorial Court of the Bishop of London. They were accordingly summoned to appear before that court, and forbidden to preach in that chapel any longer, on pain of expulsion from the Church of England. Eighteen months

* Ibid. vol. iii, p. 250.

these clergymen desisted from engagements of Spa Fields Chapel; and public worship was suspended for some weeks, when the countess opened it as her chapel, on Sunday, March 28, 1779. The Common Prayer was continued, and Mr. afterwards Dr. Haweis, one of her ladyship's chaplains, officiated: but, in a short time, Mr. Haweis was cited before the Spiritual court, and obliged to discontinue his services, which he did not resume until after the decease of that persecuting parish minister. The Rev. C. Glascott, another of her chaplains, was also prosecuted, and silenced, by the same unchristian means. The Rev. T. Wills also officiated: but expecting a similar prosecution, he and Mr. Taylor determined on seceding from the Church of England, rather than the gospel should be excluded from this place, in which were crowded and attentive congregations.

These clergymen drew up and subscribed a confession of faith, consisting of fifteen articles, similar in expression to the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, and which were afterwards signed by all the ministers in her ladyship's connection, and by candidates for ordination. The first six of these were ordained in Spa Fields chapel, March 9, 1783, by the Rev. Messrs. Wills and Taylor.

Lady Huntingdon, a few years after the establishment of Spa Fields Chapel, purchased another theatre in London. This place, which is in the form of a low yet wide-spread tabernacle, and will hold about five thousand persons, situated in Whitechapel, was soon opened for divine worship, and called "Sion Chapel." The pulpit was erected on the front of the stage, the pit and the galleries being filled with attentive hearers of the gospel.

Lady Huntingdon terminated her mortal pilgrimage, in a manner corresponding with her Christian profession, and her invaluable labours, in the assured hope of glory, June 17, 1791, aged 84 years. Forty-five of these she had been a widow; and during that period especially, having a jointure of 1,200*l.* per annum, and about 1,000*l.* per annum more, for the last few years after the death of her son, she had devoted her time, talents, and property to spread the gospel; and thousands will have reason to bless her name for the means

which she provided of bringing them to enjoy the salvation of Jesus Christ.

Miss Scott, and Lady Ann Agnes Erskine, sister to the two famous counsellors of that name and to the Earl of Buchan, had lived on terms of the most cordial friendship with Lady Huntingdon. At her ladyship's decease, Lady Ann Erskine, Dr. and Mrs. Haweis, Mr. Best, Mr. Lloyd, and Dr. Ford, were appointed trustees and executors of her will : Mrs. Haweis being constituted residuary legatee, she having, with Lady Ann, lived much with Lady Huntingdon, and spent a liberal fortune in aiding her manifold exertions to spread the gospel of Christ.

Lady Ann Erskine, having been intimately acquainted with the mode of management adopted by her departed friend, and offering to devote herself to any active service in the cause of Christ, was requested by her co-trustees to occupy part of Lady Huntingdon's house in Spa Fields, where they counselled and assisted her in directing the affairs of the connection until her death in 1805.

The countess's seminary in Wales ceased at her death, the lease having just terminated : but a new college was soon after opened at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, near London. In this institution, many students have been educated, chiefly as ministers for the connection : but some of them have joined the Independents, and several have conformed to the Church of England.

Scriptural Christianity has been eminently promoted by the zealous and orthodox ministers of this denomination ; and as, in their principal chapels, the Common Prayer is used, prejudices against evangelical doctrine have, in many instances, been by this means conciliated ; and by the faithful preaching of the gospel many souls have been converted to God. Dr. Haweis, at the close of the century, remarked, that "not less than *one hundred thousand* persons continue to have the gospel preached to them by their means. The same steps are pursued in England, Wales, and Ireland ; and though the property left by her ladyship for carrying on the work of God, was basely seized at her death by the Americans of Georgia and Carolina, where it lay ; and her assets in England,

her chapels excepted, were found not sufficient for her engagements; yet, however unable to recover her estates, all claims have been discharged; and the chapels, according to her will, maintained with less incumbrances than at her decease *."

Dr. Haweis further remarks, in reviewing the connection at this period, "As the Countess of Huntingdon left all her numerous chapels in the hands of devisees, they pursue exactly the same methods of procedure as she did. A number of ministers of the established church, and especially from Wales, where she long resided, continue to supply in rotation the larger chapels of her erection; and those who were her students in her college in Wales, or have since been educated at Cheshunt, with others approved and chosen for the work, are dispersed through Great Britain and Ireland. All these ministers serve in succession; not depending upon the congregations in which they minister for their support, but on the trustees, under whose direction they move. Every congregation furnishes a stipulated maintenance to the minister during his residence among them, and his travelling expenses: but in no congregation do they remain as stated pastors, but expect a successor as soon as the time affixed for their stay is completed. Nor can any of the congregations dismiss the person resident, or procure a change, but by application to the trustees, such being the conditions on which they engage to supply them with a succession of ministers. If any minister is peculiarly useful, and request is made that his stay may be prolonged, it is usually complied with; nay sometimes, at the desire of the people he is allowed to settle among them, liable, however, to a call of two or three months annually, to be employed in the work at large. And if any minister is not acceptable, or his ministry beneficial, his stay is shortened, and he is removed to another station. Two rules are established and known: 1. That if any person leaves the connection, to which he has no tie but choice, he is admitted into it no more: though the trustees as cordially rejoice in his usefulness in another de-

* Ibid. p. 255.

nomination of Christians as their own. 2. It is also constantly enforced, that if any man departs from the Calvinistic articles of the Church of England, or incurs reproach by any accusation of immorality, he is summoned to exculpate himself before the trustees, and heard with all candour; but if the fact be established, he is dismissed, without any possibility of ever being again admitted to minister in any of their congregations. The bent of these congregations is strongly to the established church. Her liturgy is used in public worship in all their principal chapels. Ministers of the establishment, such is the lenity of the times, serve without interruption. Indeed, all persecution for religious differences is become so opposite to the spirit of the nation, that these things usually pass without censure! Probably the bishops themselves wish not to alienate large bodies of the most active and exemplary Christians farther from the church by useless irritation *."

CHAPTER XVIII.

WALES.

Depressed state of religion in Wales — General ignorance of the people — Revival of religion — Rev. Griffith Jones, the *Welsh Apostle* — Rev. How Davies — His labours — Testimony of Mr. Williams — Number of societies and exhorters — Rev. Lewis Rees — Rev. Thomas Charles — He is excluded from the church — Joins the Calvinistic Methodists — His labours and success in preaching — His establishment of schools — His circulation of the Scriptures and religious books — His system of schools.

RELIGION in Wales continued most deplorably depressed throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century. Most of the parochial clergy in the principality were still more sunk into formalism than those in England at this period. Patronage had originated non-residence and pluralities, and but few of the resident clergy understood the native Welsh language; so that their reading of the Common Prayer, and their occasional short sermons, generally inculcating little more than the ordinary topics of morality, contributed in a

* Ibid. p. 261—263.

very inconsiderable degree to the promotion of vital godliness. Besides, education was scarcely at all regarded, and the people were almost altogether uninstructed, the mass of the community being unable to read.

God, in mercy to Wales, however, stirred up the hearts of a few of his honoured and faithful servants: who in succession laboured with extraordinary zeal, and with success corresponding to their endeavours. Among these honoured ministers of Christ, the chief, at the early part of the century, was the Rev. Griffith Jones, rector of Llandowrer, in Carmarthenshire. He was called **THE WELSH APOSTLE**, on account of his zealous and successful preaching, not only in his parish church, but in the fields and churchyards through the country.

The Rev. Howell Davies, of Haverfordwest, was also an extraordinary preacher: he was a pupil of Mr. Jones, whose example he followed in his itinerant ministry. Having obtained ordination in the Church of England, he officiated as a curate at Llys y frân, in Pembrokeshire: but on account of his faithfulness and zeal to bring souls to Christ, he was dismissed. For some time the largest churches throughout Wales were open to him, and many thousands flocked to hear him: but this gave offence to the irreligious clergy, who soon shut their pulpits against him. Remembering the practice of our blessed Lord and his apostles, and encouraged by the example of his venerable tutor, Mr. Jones, he preached to vast crowds, in churchyards and the fields, the unsearchable riches of Christ.

Mr. Davies became curate to his friend and father in the gospel, Mr. Jones; and laboured, through a large circuit, with indefatigable devotedness. At the same period God raised up the Rev. Daniel Rowlands, in Cardiganshire; and Mr. Howell Harris, in Breconshire, whose souls were knit to Mr. Whitefield, when he visited Wales. Mr. Davies was the chief leader of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales: his audiences were always large wherever he itinerated. He preached in four different places, statedly, besides his daily labours in houses, barns, fields, commons, mountains, &c. The stated number of communicants at the monthly sacra-

ment in his church, was seldom less than two thousand ; and sometimes more than double that number. The church was frequently emptied for a third congregation to partake of the Lord's Supper. On these occasions, he would break through the forms prescribed for that service, addressing the communicants with such solemnity, earnestness, and affection, that the whole assembly would appear most deeply impressed.

Mr. Joseph Williams of Kidderminster mentions his being present at an association of the Calvinistic Methodists, in June 1741, when there were present *three* clergymen and about twenty exhorters, or lay preachers: the meeting was held in a barn of Mr. Howell Harris, and Mr. Howell Davies and Mr. Daniel Rowlands were present. He also states, that "the Lord had wonderfully owned their endeavours, and spread their influence over the greatest part of Wales; and all in the space of eleven years: so that within the principality of Wales, about *six* or *seven* clergymen, *forty* exhorters, and *one hundred* religious societies, were now preaching and receiving the pure gospel of Christ. They had met with great opposition and much persecution; but all had contributed to the furtherance of the gospel. Shall I not rejoice in these triumphs of the cross of Christ?"

Mr. Davies became minister of Prengast church, Haverfordwest; and was introduced to Mr. Whitefield's Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Chapel congregations in London, to whom he made annual visits, as a supply, to the period of his death. Lady Huntingdon was an intimate friend and patron of this distinguished minister of Christ; and in her ladyship's chapels at Bath, Brighton, Tunbridge Wells, and other places, he preached the everlasting gospel, in union with Messrs. Romaine, Venn, Madan, and others, with singular success. This eminently laborious and highly honoured servant of Christ, triumphantly terminated his useful course in March 1770, about six months before his friend Mr. Whitefield.

Calvinistic Methodism had greatly increased by means of Mr. Davies and his coadjutors: but to what extent cannot be clearly ascertained. The Rev. Lewis Rees was contemporary with Mr. Davies, and a man of a similar spirit, though not in the established church: he was a faithful pastor at Llanbryn-

mair, labouring for the conversion of souls to God in the surrounding country *twenty-five* years, and *forty-one* at Mynydd-bach: he died in 1800, his valuable life being prolonged to the age of ninety years.

Religion in Wales, however, was most effectually promoted by the laborious ministry of the Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala. He was educated at Oxford; where he took his degree of B. A., and was ordained deacon June 14, 1778, and soon afterwards engaged to a curacy in Somersetshire, where he continued about five years, until he married, and settled at Bala. Mr. Charles officiated at Llanymowddy, near Bala: but his diligent faithfulness excited the jealousy of some of the neighbouring clergy and the enmity of some of his parishioners, and he was dismissed from his situation: nor could he obtain employment in the church, though he intimated his willingness to serve gratis. His testimonials being sent to his friend, the Rev. Mr. Newton, of London, were lost; and, during the delay, having no clerical occupation, he commenced the instruction of children and youth of the poor, in his own house: but their numbers so greatly increased, that he needed larger accommodations, and he was prevailed on to adjourn these meetings of the young, to the chapel of the Calvinistic Methodists.

Mr. Charles, finding no opening in the established church, followed the leadings of Providence, and entered upon a more extensive field of usefulness among this denomination. That eminent clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Rowlands, having heard him preach at Llangeitho, said, "Mr. Charles is the Lord's gift to North Wales:" and such he proved, not merely to one division of that country, but to all the principality, and to the whole of Great Britain.

Two most important objects were ever kept in view by Mr. Charles—the preaching of the gospel of Christ—and the education of the rising generation. From the time of his joining the Calvinistic Methodists, he laboured incessantly. The hills and dales in North Wales, where an evangelical sermon had scarcely ever, or never been heard, resounded with the glad tidings of salvation by Jesus Christ; and the success of his ministry corresponded with his devoted labours.

Many preachers assisted him in his home missionary services : he travelled in all seasons, carefully adapting himself to the capacities of his hearers, and forming religious societies, to the number of about *seventy*, in North Wales. Chapels were soon erected for their accommodation ; and he formed them into district associations of several churches. Once a year Mr. Charles visited and preached to the different societies, and the associations, quarterly, in the character of president. His arrangements were so made that he preached at Bala, on the last Sabbath in the month, when he administered the Lord's Supper to about five hundred communicants.

Religious societies were formed also in South Wales, about equal in number with those in the north : these also shared in the solicitude of Mr. Charles, who frequently visited them, and his services were eminently useful under the blessing of God.

Mr. Charles also annually visited the Welsh societies in Liverpool, Manchester, Gloucester, and London ; regularly supplying, with great acceptance and success, for many years, in rotation with other ministers, the chapels of the late countess of Huntingdon, Spa Fields and Zion, in London.

Schools were perceived by the discriminating mind of Mr. Charles, to be essentially necessary as the means of permanently benefiting Wales. In the year 1786, therefore, he commenced establishing "Circulating Charity Schools" in North Wales, upon the plan of those instituted by the late Mrs. Bevan, whose benevolent intentions were suspended by a suit in Chancery.

Mr. Charles's schools were liberally supported by contributions from England and different parts of Wales, and with large contributions from his own purse : and to his zealous and judicious instrumentality many thousands of the poor Welsh are indebted for their ability to read the Bible, and for the possession of the Holy Scriptures in their own language. Indeed, Mr. Charles has the distinguished honour of being, by these operations, the remote originator of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Mr. Charles was also instrumental in setting up Sunday schools in all the congregations of the Calvinistic Methodists

with which he was connected in Wales, and in some parts of England. In this noble work he was for some years liberally assisted with Testaments and spelling books, by the Society established in London, "for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools;" and, having obtained the entire confidence of the committee of that excellent institution, he acted as their agent for North Wales. But these various schools became so numerous, that in 1803, for their more convenient supply of books, he established a printing press at Bala. Mr. Charles was not only the chief leader, for many years, of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales; but his various, judicious, and persevering labours were, under the blessing of God, the means of a general reformation of the country—of the conversion of great numbers to the faith of Christ—and of the delightful advancement of genuine Christianity.

Mr. Charles's system of his schools at this period, may be best understood from the following passages in a letter of acknowledgment to a lady in 1797.

"About nine years ago, in travelling through different parts of the country, I found many large districts between the mountains of North Wales, sunk into total ignorance of divine things; few, in any, could read at all; and no Bibles in their houses. I anxiously began to think how it was possible to remedy so great an evil; no practicable plan occurred to me, as within my power to hope of putting in execution, but that of employing a teacher, or teachers, as my finances would allow; and sending them into these dark parts to teach all freely, that would attend to read their Bible in their native language, and to instruct them in the first principles of Christianity. By the assistance of generous friends, to whom I communicated my thoughts on the subject, it was set on foot, and succeeded far beyond my expectations; the calls for teachers became numerous; the change in the principles and morals of the people, where the schools had been, was evident; the number of teachers at last increased to twenty. I set Sunday and night schools on foot, for those whose occupations and poverty prevented their attending the day schools.

“Whatever we attempted of this nature, succeeded wonderfully; till the whole country was filled with schools of one sort or another, and all were taught at once. The blessed effects were corresponding; a general concern for eternal things took place in many large districts; many hundreds were awakened to a sense of sin, and their need of Christ, and I have every reason to believe are now faithful followers of him. The schools are still carried on, and the effects the same in a greater or less degree; the number of teachers increase or diminish as my finances will allow: all my income from a chapel which I serve, I devote wholly toward their support, being supported myself by the industry of my wife. I pay every teacher 12*l.* per annum. They continue half a year or three quarters in one place, and are then removed into another part of the country. Three quarters of a year is found fully sufficient to teach our children to read their Bibles well in the Welsh tongue. I visit the schools myself, and catechise them publicly; I have the unspeakable satisfaction of seeing the general aspect of the country most amazingly changed; to see the wilderness blossom as the rose, and the thirsty land become springs of water; through the schools, and the preaching of the gospel, the spread of divine knowledge is become universal. Bless the Lord, O my soul! I hope, dear Madam, this little account of the origin and outlines of a plan, which you have so generously supported, will prove in some degree satisfactory. As no other plan can keep our mountainous country from sinking into its former ignorance, I am determined to go on, as the Lord enables.”

CHAPTER XIX.

SCOTLAND DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Religion prospers in Scotland — Preliminary measures for the union of both kingdoms — Parties in parliament — The Union settled — Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge — New zeal in the church — Itinerant preaching and schools — Administration of the Lord's Supper — Brown's review — Effects of the union — Patronage restored — Evil consequences — Declension of religion — “Marrow” controversy — Dr. Haweis's review of religion — Dissenters — Reformed Presbyterian Synod — Glasites — Secession church — Relief Synod — Methodists — Baptists — Bereans — Congregationalists — Episcopalians.

WILLIAM, dying in March 1702, left the restored Presbyterian Church of Scotland in comparative peace and prosperity.

Still there remained a party who laboured for the re-establishment of episcopacy; and these were aided by the prelates of England. Worldly policy not having sufficient influence in the ecclesiastical arrangements of Scotland, efforts of the episcopal party were continued, and several pernicious measures were introduced by the ministers of Queen Anne.

Scotland, from the accession of James I in 1603, on the death of Elizabeth, had been an integral part of the British dominions. Lord Bacon, and other profound politicians, had urged the importance of a Treaty of Union, and repeated endeavours were made, but in vain, to effect this measure, so desirable for the security of both kingdoms. Many difficulties were to be encountered in settling the union, of which one of the principal was the difference of the established churches in England and Scotland. Painful apprehensions were cherished by many of the clergy of Scotland, lest their Presbyterian ecclesiastical establishment should be subverted by the Episcopal influence, after a union with England. "To satisfy them, the parliament enacted, That the perpetual establishment of the doctrines, worship, discipline, and Presbyterian government of this church, should be held as an unalterable, fundamental, and essential condition of the intended union, if it should be concluded. Many thought, that this would be a better security for their religion, than any act of the Scottish parliament alone. But the most part of the true Presbyterians still continued averse to an *incorporating union*, or coming under the jurisdiction of a British parliament, in which the English prelates would be ten to one against the Scots. They represented the danger they would be in of oaths, tests, and impositions inconsistent with their principles; and that it was contrary to their principles and covenants to approve of the civil power of bishops, to *twenty-six* of whom the nation would be subjected in the British parliament. Hopes of worldly advantages from the court made most of the parliamenters overlook every thing religious,—so that the perpetual establishment of *Episcopacy* and the *ceremonies*, in England, as well as of *Presbyterian government* and the *simplicity of gospel worship* attending it, in Scotland, were both fixed as fundamental and unalterable

conditions of the union; and each nation, by a solemn deed of their parliament, guaranteed to the other an establishment of religion not a little contrary to their own *."

Several of the leading English prelates being men of moderation, the episcopal party in Scotland, of whom "*one hundred and sixty-five* still retained their churches and stipends, many of them strongly attached to the Popish Pretender †," dreaded their consent to the permanent establishment of Presbyterianism. "The question, in as far as the church of Scotland was concerned, respecting the union, was principally conducted by the Whigs; several of the High Churchmen, who were leading men, declared their disapprobation of the Bill. When the Act for securing the Protestant religion, and Presbyterian church government, was debated in the House of Lords, several lords, and four bishops, spoke very warmly against *ratifying, approving, and confirming* it, within the bounds of Scotland. Tenison, the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the other hand, thought, that the narrow notions of all churches had been their ruin, and believed the church of Scotland to be as true a Protestant church as the Church of England, though he could not say it was so perfect. Several of the bishops expressed themselves after a similar manner. This testified in the most satisfactory way, that the union, in as far as ecclesiastical affairs were concerned, was the ardent wish both of the English and Scottish Parliaments ‡."

Queen Anne therefore effected this desirable incorporation of the two nations, May 1, 1707, and the island then took the name of "GREAT BRITAIN." May the first was observed as a day of public thanksgiving; and congratulatory addresses were presented to her majesty from all parts of England, except the University of Oxford!

Scotland was highly favoured with a considerable number of eminent, orthodox, and heavenly-minded clergymen; and, in 1709 the General Assembly "earnestly called all under their inspection to concur in promoting the erection of a

* Brown's British Churches, vol. i, p. 336—338. † Ibid. p. 346.

‡ History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii, p. 24, 26.

'Society for promoting Christian Knowledge in the Highlands, and foreign parts of the world,' and required ministers and elders to collect what they could from their people, as a fund for supporting this excellent design. They recommended to each Presbytery to form a library for itself, out of the books sent by friends from England. Copies of the proposed plans being circulated in England, handsome subscriptions were made, and Anne issued her royal proclamation in its favour, and erected it into a corporation by her letters patent under the great seal of Scotland.

Renewed zeal seemed to inspire the General Assembly by means of this new society. "They formed directions for disposing of bursaries in colleges to students, especially such as had the Irish language. In answer to a representation of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, they appointed all those who had not made collections to do it without further delay, and enjoined synods to point out to the society what places had most need of schools and catechists. Almost every assembly, for a considerable number of years, issued recommendations for the assistance of that useful society, with collections of money or otherwise. The Assembly, 1711, recommended to Presbyterians to have the Lord's Supper so administered in their bounds, that people might have access to it every month of the year. They earnestly enjoined them to labour, to their utmost, to have the worship of God set up, and daily performed, in all the parts of it, in every family of their bounds *."

Many itinerant preachers were appointed by this society, especially in relation to the Gaelic and Highland population, and many regulations were made for the propagation of the gospel in the islands, by preaching and schools.

The Lord's Supper was administered with peculiar solemnity in Scotland: the ministers, having examined the communicants, as to their knowledge of the design of that ordinance, gave them *tokens* for admission to the Lord's table. There was always a sermon upon the Saturday preceding, called "*The Sermon of Preparation.*" Preparation ser-

* Brown, vol. i, p. 340—342.

mons were also delivered upon Thursdays; and where the weekly market interfered, the discourse was preached on the Wednesdays; and after the communion service there was a thanksgiving sermon on the Monday. The Lord's Supper, formerly administered only once a year, was now received quarterly; and it was very common for great crowds to assemble on those occasions, from a distance. In such cases, immense tents were erected in the fields, for the accommodation of the congregations, as the churches were insufficient for the assembled multitudes. The power of godliness is believed to have been greatly promoted by these means; but the custom of field preaching has long been laid aside.

Professor Brown, in reviewing the state of religion in Scotland, from the restoration of Presbyterianism under William III, up to the year 1711, says, "During the preceding twenty-two years, the Revolution-church had continued in much the same condition. The Lord had not a little countenanced her ministrations, especially by the more faithful, for the instruction, conviction, conversion, and edification of souls, which had been left by the curates in a most ignorant or profligate case. The clergy had somewhat rectified several defects of their original erection, with respect to the asserting of *Christ's sole headship over the church*, her *intrinsic power*, and the *divine right of Presbyterian government*.—They formed a new act for the cautious, careful procedure of Presbyteries in trying, licensing, and ordaining candidates for the ministry; and established a FORMULA of questions and engagements for them at *licence* and *ordination*, in which they solemnly declare—That they believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and only rule of faith and manners; and that they sincerely own and believe the WHOLE doctrine contained in the confession of faith.—But, by this time, the temporal advantages of our incorporating union with England began to be more and more overbalanced by the introduction of sinful corruptions from that country. The Sabbath began to be profaned by the driving of cattle, and other unnecessary labours. The societies for reformation of manners gradually dwindled away. Our nobility and gentry, by little and little,

gave up with family religion, and dropt the very form of godliness. Spending much of their time in England, they either contracted a liking to the hierarchy and superstition there used, or lived much in the neglect of public worship; and being then under no ministerial inspection, they and their families followed their own inclinations without control. Public oaths in qualifying men for civil offices, or in the collecting of taxes, were exceedingly multiplied, and much perjury thereby increased. The *abjuration oath*, which had for some years been used in England, was extended to those places of power and trust in Scotland, to be taken along with the *oath of allegiance*, and the assurance. The episcopalian party introduced the English ceremonies and service, which their fathers refused, extolling it, and railing at the gospel simplicity of the established worship. Nay, the idolatrous worship of the papists was openly practised and connived at. A superstitious form of swearing, by *laying the hand on* and *kissing the gospel*, was introduced into some of our civil courts. Such Scotsmen, as served the sovereign in England or Ireland, were required to take the Lord's Supper in the English manner, as a test of their loyalty, and otherwise conform to the liturgy and ceremonies. An observation of superstitious holy days was encouraged by the vacation of our civil courts in the end of the year, &c. Addresses to the House of Peers were rejected, unless they were directed to the *lords spiritual*, as well as temporal. — Meanwhile, contrary to the most solemn security granted to the Presbyterian establishment in the Treaty of Union, the British parliament, 1712, granted the Episcopalians an almost unbounded *toleration*, provided their clergy took the oaths to the government, and prayed for Queen Anne, who was now straining every nerve to bring her popish supposed brother to the throne. And to provoke the Presbyterians the more, the parliament restored *patronages* in their whole extent, providing only, that patrons took the oaths to government, and did not profess themselves papists*."

Abolishing the right of popular choice to the pastoral office

* History of the British Churches, vol. i, p. 344—347.

was a piece of most pernicious policy, which occasioned numerous evils, and a lamentable declension from the purity and power of religion in Scotland throughout the century. Brown remarks on this antichristian measure, “The *restoration of patronage* was calculated to fill the church with Jacobitish or naughty clergymen, by means of solicitations or simoniacal pactions, and so occasion much perjury in their ordination vows, and render their ministrations contemptible, useless, and hurtful. The *imposition of the abjuration oath on ministers*, as a condition of their entrance to, or exercise of their office, rendered them more and more the slaves of an erastian court, — tended to debauch their consciences, in taking oaths without any necessity, or even without due certainty of their lawfulness, or any plain tendency to the honour of God, — and to diminish their zeal for their covenanted reformation and Presbyterian government, and render them approvers of the perjurious settlement of religion by the incorporating union with England ; — and threatened, as it soon actually did, to produce the most mournful divisions among ministers, or between them and their hearers *.”

Patronage introduced a new class of persons into the ministry in the church of Scotland ; and from that period it began to decline in purity of doctrine and the power of godliness. John Simson, professor of divinity at Glasgow, had adopted the Arian doctrines of Dr. Clarke, and Mr. Whiston of England : but so lukewarm had the General Assembly become towards errors, that the case of his unsoundness in the faith was twelve years before that ecclesiastical body, by whom he was at length suspended in 1729. Various doctrines inclining to popery were now propagated in Scotland : and Brown, in illustrating the departure of the ecclesiastical rulers from their own standard, says, “The Presbytery of Aughterdarke having begun to require candidates for licence to acknowledge it *unsound*, to *teach that men must forsake their sins in order to come to Christ*, the assembly, 1717, on the same day they had dealt so gently with professor Simson, declared their abhorrence of that proposition as *unsound* and

* Ibid. p. 347, 348.

most detestable,—as if men ought only to come to Christ, the alone Saviour from sins, after they have got rid of them by repentance. Mr. James Hogg, one of the holiest ministers in the kingdom, having published or recommended a celebrated and edifying tract of the Cromwellian age, called the “*Marrow of Modern Divinity*,” the assembly in 1720 fell upon it with great fury, as if it had been replete with Antinomian errors; though it is believed many of these zealots had never perused it, in connection with the *second part* of it, which is wholly taken up in manifesting the obligation, meaning, and advantages of observing the law of God. They condemned the offering of Christ as a Saviour to all men, or to sinners as such, and the doctrine of believers’ full deliverance from under the law as a broken covenant of works; and they asserted men’s holiness to be a federal or conditional means of their obtaining eternal happiness.—Messrs. James Hogg, Thomas Boston, Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, Gabriel Wilson, and seven others, remonstrated to the next assembly against these decisions, as injurious to the doctrine of God’s grace; and, in their answers to the commissioners’ *twelve queries*, they illustrated these doctrines with no small clearness and evidence. Perhaps influenced by this, as well as the wide-spread detestation of their acts, 1720, on that point, the assembly, in 1722, reconsidered the same, and made an act *explaining* and *confirming* them. This was less gross and erroneous: nevertheless, the twelve representers protested against it as injurious to the truth: but this protest was not allowed to be marked. The moderator, by the assembly’s appointment, rebuked them for their reflections on the assembly 1720, in their representation, and admonished them to beware of the like in all time coming: against which they protested.—Many of the clergy, perhaps fond of avoiding every appearance of good-will towards the Marrow of Modern Divinity, seemed now more legal and Baxterian in their doctrine than formerly. This induced multitudes of serious Christians, who had been formerly not a little disgusted by their swearing the *abjuration oath*, to leave them, and hear the representers and their friends, whom the late dispute, and their harassment attending it, had made to

search and see further into gospel truth. These, notwithstanding their eminent exemplification and earnest urging of gospel holiness, were exceedingly traduced by the prevailing party, as *new schemers*, and *Antinomian* encouragers of a licentious life *."

Dr. Haweis, reviewing this section of the Christian community, at this century, says, "The Scottish Church, too much like the English, declined from her own first principles and primitive simplicity. Her ministers, exalted in all human science and philosophical attainments above their predecessors; more polished in style and manners; deeper in mathematics and metaphysics; but not more evangelical, more zealous, more laborious.

"As the Scottish church grew by degrees more and more into a worldly sanctuary, the abuses of *patronage*, and other things, which grieved and disgusted many of her most excellent pastors, produced divisions. These led to the Presbytery of Relief, the Seceders, the Burghers, and Anti-Burghers, the shades of whose differences this history cannot particularize. Yet among those much of the power of real godliness remained. A host arose, with the famed Erskines and their fellows at their head, who were zealous advocates for the truth as it is in Jesus, and sought to revive the life of religion in their several congregations. Their labours were eminently blessed, and remarkable out-pourings of the Spirit of God have been recorded in many parts of that vineyard. I shun not to use expressions, which may be branded as enthusiastic by modern divines. I believe the Holy Ghost is yet given.

"Truth compels me to say, that among these separatists of various denominations, the greatest zeal to promote the evangelical doctrines hath been displayed, though the Established Church hath not ceased to furnish many, very many witnesses for God, not ashamed of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, but daring to be singular, and to bear his reproach. Under their ministry, a numerous and chosen people in the Scottish Kirk, as well as among the dissidents, continue to be

* Ibid. p. 353—355.

reckoned to the Lord for a generation; and proportional to their numbers, the members of the Kirk are generally better informed, and more evangelical in profession, than the people in England. But great and awful declensions from gospel purity must be acknowledged and lamented *."

Patronage, and its inseparable evils, having occasioned many excellent ministers to secede from the Established Church of Scotland, it will be necessary here to give some notices of their origin, and the state of religion among them: they will be best mentioned chronologically.

1. THE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD. These are sometimes called "*Cameronians*," from Richard and Michael Cameron, their most distinguished leaders, who were killed by the soldiers of Charles II, at Airness in Kyle, July 20, 1680†. "*Covenanters*," from their veneration for the "Solemn League and Covenant;" and *M'Millanites* and *Car-gillites* from two other clergymen, their chief leaders after the Revolution. Dissatisfied with the state of the church, they increased, and the Rev. John M'Millan, and the Rev. Thomas Nairn, with several others, constituted the presbytery August 1, 1743, assuming the name of "*The Reformed Presbytery*." They are strict Presbyterians, scriptural in doctrine, and exemplary in holiness: they increased to about *twenty* congregations by the close of the century, besides several in Ireland and the United States of America.

2. THE GLASSITES were Congregational Independents, but called after the Rev. John Glass, minister of Tealing, near Dundee. In 1728 he was required by the Synod of Angus to give answers to certain questions, of which the chief was, "Is it your opinion that there is no warrant for a national church in the New Testament?" To this he replied:—"It is my opinion: for I can see no churches instituted by Christ in the New Testament, besides the universal, but *congregational* churches. Neither do I see that a nation can be a church, unless it could be made a congregation, as was the nation of Israel." To another he replied: "A congregation,

* Impartial History of the Church of Christ, vol. iii, p. 283, 284.

† See p. 327—333.

or church of Jesus Christ, with its presbytery, is, in its discipline, subject to no jurisdiction under heaven." And he professed, "I think myself obliged, in conscience, to declare every truth of Christ, notwithstanding others differing from me, and my being exposed to hazard in declaring them." He was suspended by the synod, April 1728, and deposed in October; and this was confirmed by the general assembly in March 1730. The Rev. Robert Sandeman embraced Mr. Glasse's principles, and gained celebrity by his keen criticisms on Hervey's "*Theron and Aspasio*," under the signature of *Palæmon*. They were sometimes called *Sandemanians*: but though their leaders were sound in the great fundamentals of the gospel, except perhaps some peculiar notions relating to the influence of the Holy Spirit, they did not greatly increase, on account of some singularities in church order: but they prepared the way for the NEW INDEPENDENTS.

3. THE SECESSION CHURCH, originated in "the revival of patronage by Queen Anne's ministry in 1712, the rigour with which that act was, in different instances, enforced; the contempt thrown by the assembly, in 1732, on one petition subscribed by forty-two ministers, and on another by many hundreds of elders and people, who united in humbly representing the growing defection of the church*." Rev. Messrs. Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling, William Wilson of Perth, Alexander Moncrief of Aberdeen, and James Fisher of Kinclaven, constituted themselves into a presbytery, Dec. 25, 1733. Protesting against the suspension pronounced by the general assembly, on account of the censures of Mr. Erskine, in a sermon against patronage, they declare, that "their office and relation to their people should be held as valid as if no such sentence had passed;" adding that their "*secession* was not from the *constitution* of the church of Scotland, but from the prevailing party in the church, till they should amend their errors." In 1734 the general assembly authorized the synod of Perth and Stirling to restore them: but they declined it as an act of favour. Being men of great fame for ministerial talents, purity of life, and soundness of

* Life of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, prefixed to his Works, p. 18, 19.

doctrine, they received large accessions, and in 1745, they were formed into *three Presbyteries*. Loyalty distinguished this body; and many seceders voluntarily bore arms against the Pretender: but they differed concerning the following clause in the *burgess oath*, administered in the royal burghs of Scotland:—"I protest, before God and your lordships, that I profess and allow with my heart, the true religion, presently professed within this realm, and authorized by the laws thereof; I shall abide thereat, and defend the same, to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion, called Papistry." Those who allowed its lawfulness were called **BURGHERS**: those who disallowed it **ANTIBURGHERS**: but the latter claimed the title of **THE GENERAL ASSOCIATE SYNOD**.

This rupture took place in 1747, and during the remainder of the century they met in different synods: but holding the great doctrines of the gospel, and practising a rigid but popular discipline, they increased, by the manifest tokens of the Divine approbation on their ministry: so that at the close of the century they included about *three hundred congregations*.

4. **THE RELIEF SYNOD** originated in 1752, from the general assembly presenting Mr. Andrew Richardson, a very unpopular clergyman, to the church of Inverkeithing: they not only appointed him contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants, but required every member of the presbytery to be present, and witness his admission. Rev. Thomas Gillespie, and five other clergymen, refusing to obey, were deposed. The object of this synod was to relieve congregations from the necessity of receiving ministers imposed contrary to their wishes by the general assembly. Their numbers increased; and many eminent orthodox ministers have been raised up among this body: but though Presbyterians, Mr. Gillespie taught the propriety of holding communion with all who appear to hold communion with the Head, our Lord Jesus Christ, and with such *only*; and the synod decided, "that it is agreeable to the principles of the Relief body, to hold communion with visible saints in the Episcopalian and Independent churches."

5. **THE METHODISTS** gained some converts in Scotland by both the leaders of that increasing body of Christians. Mr. Whitefield's labours were attended with the most manifest indications of the Divine blessing: but he formed no party, and the converts by his ministry joined some of the other communions, chiefly among the Dissenters. Mr. Wesley formed societies in Scotland: but the peculiarities of the Arminian creed not being approved by the Scotch, who had generally been instructed in the Assembly's Catechism, the Methodists were not numerous. There were at the death of Mr. Wesley

	Circuits.	Preachers.	Members.
In 1791	8	18	1,086
In 1799	6	16	1,117

6. **BAPTISTS.** It is believed that there were some Baptists in Scotland in the seventeenth century: but Mr. Robert Carmichael, a deacon of a Congregational church in Edinburgh, became the first pastor of this denomination in Scotland. In 1765, he went to London to be baptized; and upon his return he administered that ordinance by submersion to *seven* persons, who, with himself, formed the first Baptist Church in that country. Mr. Archibald M'Lean, a printer of Glasgow, was one of the members of that church in Edinburgh; and he became the most active, zealous, and successful minister of that body, being co-pastor with Mr. Carmichael. Churches of this denomination were formed in several towns in Scotland; and they continued to increase; but chiefly by proselytes from other denominations, who became converted in the article of Baptism. They are esteemed scriptural in the doctrines of the gospel, and in church order they are strictly Congregational.

7. **BEREANS.** These are so called from the "noble disciples at Berea, who received the Scriptures with all readiness of mind, and searched them daily." Acts xvii, 10. Mr. John Barclay, a minister of extraordinary preaching talents in the church of Scotland, was the leader of this body, and himself chose the title of the denomination. He left the Establishment, but held fast the doctrines of the church as taught in

the Westminster Confession of Faith : this denomination is not numerous.

8. CONGREGATIONALISTS, OR NEW INDEPENDENTS. Congregational principles had been gaining ground in Scotland among all denominations during this century, and many churches had been formed : but this denomination received a powerful increase, by means of the zeal and liberality of Robert Haldane, Esq., about the year 1797. That gentleman projected a mission to India on a large scale, the expense of which he engaged to bear, for the sake of preaching the gospel among the Hindoos. The East India Company refusing permission for them to proceed, Mr. Haldane turned his thoughts towards his own country, and established an extended system of itinerancy. The circus in Edinburgh having been occupied by a congregation of Dissenters while their new chapel was building, Mr. Haldane formed a plan of keeping it open for public worship, supplied by ministers after the manner of the English Tabernacle of Mr. Whitefield. The Rev. Rowland Hill of London preached at its re-opening to immense crowds : a church was soon formed at Edinburgh, of which the Rev. James Haldane was pastor ; the Rev. Mr. Ewing of Edinburgh, and Rev. Mr. Innes, of Stirling, seceded from the national church to join this new body. More extensive operations were contemplated, of which Mr. Haldane thus speaks : "The Circus in Edinburgh had been already opened ; and while travelling to England with Mr. Hill, who had come to this country to preach for some weeks in that house, it occurred to me, that if places nearly of the same description were provided at Glasgow and Dundee, they might prove very instrumental in the diffusion of the gospel. On my return from England, about the end of October 1798, I stated this plan to Mr. Ewing, a part of which was, that my brother should supply the tabernacle in Edinburgh, while Mr. Ewing and Mr. Innes, if the latter agreed to it, should occupy the houses in Glasgow and Dundee."

By these means a surprising increase was gained to the Independents, especially as an academy was established for the education of pious young men for the ministry, at the

expense of Mr. Haldane. More than twenty students were soon placed under the care of Mr. Ewing at Glasgow; a second academy was established at Dundee, and a third at Edinburgh. Sound scriptural theology was taught by their respectable tutors, and the ministry of those thus instructed was eminently honoured of God.

9. EPISCOPALIANS. These considered themselves the original church of Scotland: and, after the subversion of the papal power in that country, much bloodshed was the consequence of endeavouring to force episcopal prelacy upon the unwilling Scotch. The persecuting Stuart dynasty being overthrown, William re-established the Presbyterian church; and in the reign of Anne the Episcopalians obtained a legal toleration. The nobility, members of parliament, and officers of government, being familiar with the forms and ritual of Episcopacy in England, preferred them in Scotland; especially as discipline was more lax among the Episcopalians. They therefore increased in Scotland; and at the close of the century they numbered about *sixty* chapels, with moderate congregations. Their discipline is regulated by sixteen canons, drawn up in 1743: they have no pluralities or non-resident clergy. Six bishops preside over them: but their dignity is little more than nominal, themselves being ministers of congregations; and they are of course regarded as Dissenters in Scotland.

CHAPTER XX.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Deplorable state of Religion — The Episcopal clergy enjoy the tithes — Neglected condition and ignorance of the people — Erasmus Smith's schools — Charter schools — Their origin — Their property — Their wretched condition — Their inefficiency — Popular discontents — "Society of United Irishmen" — Irish Rebellion — Union of the kingdoms — Dr. Haweis's testimony as to the state of religion.

RELIGION in Ireland, during the eighteenth century, was in a most deplorable condition: the description of which must occasion a blush to every sincere professor of Protestant Christianity. It never recovered its vigour and excellence, as

in the time of the pious and moderate Archbishop Usher, whose catholic spirit and prudence almost annihilated the difference between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians, laying aside the objectionable ceremonies, and both parties co-operating harmoniously in seeking the evangelization of the people.

Archbishop Laud's priestly haughtiness had occasioned the overthrow of the establishment, which was re-erected indeed at the Restoration, when the mass of the population remained catholics, except the colonies in the north: "the Episcopal church resumed all her ancient honours; to her clergy were transferred all the tithes, even in the north; while the Presbyterians had nearly all the people, and all the labour."

Arrangements like these, though calculated to support a hierarchy, were found ill adapted to promote scriptural Christianity: antipathies, therefore, were cherished by the catholics against the established clergy, who received all the church revenues, while they performed little spiritual service. Few of the papists, therefore, were brought over to the Protestant church, except those who were in the service of government, — dependents on the English nobles and other landed proprietors, — or such as had some interest in conversion from the faith of their fathers.

Popular education was generally neglected, not only by the Catholics, but by the established clergy, many of whom were pluralists and nonresidents in their parishes. Multitudes of the people were ignorant of any other than their native language; and yet the services of the church were all performed in English. Uninterested in the English common prayers, and sermons never being preached to them in Irish, the people readily believed their priests, who called the Protestant clergy *heretics*, and regarded the ministers of the "law-church" as their oppressors: consequently, many parishes being destitute of Protestants, the churches were shut up without the performance of divine worship.

Erasmus Smith, a benevolent alderman of the city of London, having property in Ireland, had religiously contemplated the education of the Irish youth; and his schools deserve special mention in this place. In the year 1669, he had

obtained a charter for the appropriation of certain estates in *six* different counties of Ireland, for that purpose. A corporation being obtained, three grammar schools were founded, one each in Drogheda, Galway, and Tipperary. A new act of parliament having been obtained in 1724, to extend the benefits of this society, various lectures, fellowships, professorships, and exhibitions, were established in Trinity College, Dublin, as the property increased in value. Besides boarding and educating *forty* boys in the Blue Coat School, Dublin, training them for trade or the ministry, many schools were supported in different parts of Ireland. Great benefits were doubtless the result of these institutions; but the dignified ecclesiastics being chief governors of the corporation, many were the abuses through extensive patronage, which have been regarded as attaching to the administration of the ample revenues of the worthy alderman.

Conscious of culpability in neglecting the population, while receiving the vast emoluments of the church, and alarmed at the prevalence of popery, which threatened, by its increase, to overwhelm the endowed church, Dr. Hugh Boulter, archbishop of Armagh, patronized a new series of efforts for the education of the Irish. The primate states, in a letter to the bishop of London, the reason of this solicitude:—"The great number of papists in this kingdom, and the obstinacy with which they adhere to their own religion, occasions our trying what can be done with their children to bring them over to our church." No worthy efforts were made on the principles of the Saviour's commission to his apostles, on which the founder of Christianity acted, and converted the world—faithfully preaching the gospel in the language of the people wherever they could be found assembling. Application was made to George II, in 1731, by a petition, signed by all the archbishops, and bishops, and thirty dignitaries of the Irish church, and many nobles and gentry, praying that his majesty would grant a charter for incorporating certain persons, with power to accept gifts, benefactions, and lands, for the support and maintenance of schools wherein the children of the poor might be taught gratis. A charter was granted in 1733, incorporating the chief dignitaries of the church, the officers

of state, and others, for the establishment of schools, for the education of the popish and other poor natives.

His majesty granted 1,000*l.* out of the national treasury, and many followed the king's example, by liberal subscriptions. The first school was opened in 1734, at Monasteren; and another at the close of 1737; and *seven* others were subsequently established under the title of charter schools. In 1745, government aid was sought, and a tax upon hawkers' licenses was made for this purpose, and about 1,100*l.* annually were produced by this means for the corporation. Additional grants were made in succession to a considerable amount; and in 1769 it was reported that the corporation had *fifty-two* schools and *five* nurseries, in which were 2,100 children. Reports were circulated that this charity was grossly abused, especially after the transfer of five hundred foundlings to the charter schools; and Howard the philanthropist finding so large an amount of misery in them, and such injustice in their management, urged the House of Commons in 1784, and again in 1787, to inquire into the state of the Protestant charter schools. A committee was appointed, and they found that instead of 2,100 children, the schools contained only 1,400; and that many of the schools were in a miserably dilapidated state. Mr. Howard stated, that "the children were pale, sickly, and such miserable objects, that they were a disgrace to all society; and their reading had been neglected for the purpose of making them work for their masters." In one school, he found *twelve* boys, sickly, and almost naked; and in another *thirteen* similar wretched objects. Others were induced to inspect these schools; by whom Howard's reports were confirmed, that they were receptacles of filth, wretchedness, and disease.

Parliamentary grants, however, continued to be solicited and obtained: and considerable estates were bequeathed to the corporation, by Dr. Pococke, the Earl of Ranelagh, Baron Voyhowven, and other benevolent persons. One anonymous benefactor bestowed 40,000*l.* in stock; and another, 56,666*l.*; and others sums of equal liberality. Still the management of the corporation fund was scarcely improved. Individuals profited by these large revenues: but little was gained by them in

honour of Christianity: for the commissioners testify, "It is certain, that, from the period of Mr. Howard's report, till some time after the rebellion of 1798, no considerable reformation had taken place in the state of the schools: even after that year, most of the buildings were in a very ruinous condition, and some of the schools were in a state of great neglect. These chartered schools were reckoned *forty-four* at the close of the century, containing 2,025 boys and girls, born of popish parents, or such as would have been abandoned by their parents: it was a rule of the corporation, that *five pounds* are given to every one educated in these schools, on his or her marrying a Protestant.

Auxiliary as these schools and their large revenues might have been made under a wise direction, in promoting the cause of scriptural Christianity, the prelates, spending their time in England or on the continent, and the principal beneficed clergy of Ireland being pluralists and non-resident, they were of little advantage, and nominal protestantism scarcely retained its ground; while the papists continued to increase, abhorring a system, which seemed created only to enrich the chiefs of the established hierarchy, by the fruit of the labours of the whole nation.

Protestantism thus pernicious, provoking the papists, led to the cherishing of infidelity in those who were at all educated, and prepared them for the reception of revolutionary principles. Having witnessed the successful struggle of the Americans for independence, and equal liberty being denied to the people of Ireland, "The Society of United Irishmen" was formed in 1791, professedly to seek "an equality of civil rights among all religious professions;" the members being "bound by oath to obtain a complete reform in the legislature on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty." Many gentlemen of the first rank enrolled their names as members of this association; and, in opposition, "Orange Societies" were formed by the political Protestants, to prevent the extension of any privileges to Roman Catholics. Popish superstition having generated infidelity, which had produced the bloody revolution in France, the same principles influenced multitudes in Ireland, and partly under French

excitement they rose in rebellion in 1798, in which it was computed thirty thousand persons lost their lives, besides several thousands who were transported and wounded. These calamities led to the introduction, the following year, of the consideration of a union between Ireland and England, which was at length determined by act of parliament in 1800, and commenced January 1, 1801, as "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," and the Episcopal establishment was incorporated with that of England, as "The United Church of England and Ireland."

Deplorable to a proverb as was the state of the Episcopal Church in Ireland at the close of the eighteenth century, vital godliness was not absolutely dead in that communion. God had graciously shed forth his Spirit upon some of its ministers, and they arose, amid serious discouragements, labouring to bring souls to Christ. Dr. Haweis speaks of this rising of new life among his clerical brethren in Ireland, in the following terms:—"God has of late also graciously raised up a precious band of clergy in the established church, though few indeed in number comparatively, and of small reputation among their fellows, yet they are earnestly endeavouring to revive a spirit of zeal and true Christianity; to make the name of Jesus more precious, and his authority more respected. Many, I trust, by their labours, will, in the day of God, be written among the righteous; and when the Lord shall collect his redeemed, be found to have been born there." Impressed, however, with the affecting condition of Ireland, the doctor adds, "It is to be lamented, that ignorance and popery still spread their thick mists over the bulk of the common people; and that the Protestants maintain but little more than their name, and immortal hatred to popery, the general profession of their fellow-subjects. Some change must shortly take place. The crisis approaches. May the God of all grace give a prosperous issue*."

* Impartial History of the Church of Christ, vol. iii, p. 287, 288.

CHAPTER XXI.

DISSENTERS IN IRELAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Parties in Ireland — Royal Grants to the Presbyterians — Missionary spirit — Increase of their congregations — Presbytery of Antrim — Arianism — Presbyterian Synod of Ireland — Reformed Presbytery — Synod of Munster — Regium Donum — Independents — Baptists — Moravians — Quakers — Methodists — Their persecutions — Their increase — Roman Catholics — Maynooth College — Prospects of Ireland.

WHILE “the church by law established” in Ireland was *episcopal*, and the great mass of the population was *popish*, a considerable portion of the more serious inhabitants, especially in the north, continued Dissenters. Being early trained by their ancestors in scriptural knowledge, they retained in Ireland their superior habits of industry, sobriety, and regard for the divine ordinances of Christianity. Prosperity in a high degree distinguished them; and Ulster consequently remained through the century, by far the most civilized province in Ireland.

Orthodoxy and piety flourished generally in this body: but the purity of their religious principles and zeal became marred in the reign of George I, with the errors prevailing in England.

William III, had not only manifested his respect for the rights of conscience, which allowed the Presbyterians the liberty of worshipping God according to their accustomed mode, but bestowed on them 1,200*l.* per annum towards the support of their ministers. Queen Anne acceded to a request for a renewal of the grant under these limitations: — “Upon trust nevertheless, that the money which shall be received thereupon, shall be distributed to and amongst the said Presbyterian ministers, or such of them, and in such proportions, as shall be appointed from time to time, in lists to be approved of and signed by our lieutenant deputy, or other chief governor or governors, of our said kingdom of Ireland for the time being.” In the reign of George I, 800*l.* per annum were added, to be divided in equal shares between the ministers of this synod, and those of the southern asso-

ciation, as an acknowledgment for their services in the Hanoverian succession.

Solicitude to promote the cause of Christ distinguished these descendants of the Puritans : for in the reign of Anne, complaints were made in the House of Lords, "That the northern Presbyterians had erected a meeting-house at Drogheda, where there had previously been no such place of worship for twenty years ; and that in their zeal for proselyting they had sent missionaries into several parts of the kingdom, where they had no call from the people, and no congregation to give them support."

How far a true missionary proselyting spirit influenced this body, may in a measure be apprehended from the fact, that the congregations included in it had increased from about *ninety*, at the close of the last century, to *one hundred and forty-eight*, by the year 1725 ; and to *one hundred and seventy-seven*, in the year 1804.

State patronage and endowments, however, it is stated, became unfavourable to the progress of vital godliness ; and Dr. Clarke's and Mr. Whiston's principles found some admirers in Ireland. Controversies arose in consequence, and occasioned, in 1724, the formation of the Presbytery of Antrim, which consisted of *eight* congregations of those who were excluded from the judicatories and jurisdiction of the synod. Still they continued to co-operate with the general body : but they had no vote, except in relation to the appropriation of the ecclesiastical funds.

Arianism prevailing in the Presbyterian body in Ireland, indicated declension from the purity and spirit of religion ; and the zeal of the Seceders in Scotland contemplated their case. A minister of that denomination went over to Ireland, about the year 1746 ; and other of his fellow-labourers following, planted the standard of the cross in the province of Ulster with great success. Wherever these new leaders were introduced, many of the orthodox abandoned the chilling moral ministry of their old teachers, and joined in communion with these devout and evangelical Seceders. This body, cherishing their distinguishing zeal and fidelity, increased, under the denomination of the "Presbyterian Synod of

Ireland," or the "Synod of Associate Seceders," to about a *hundred* congregations.

The Reformed Presbyterian Church was a respectable body, but not exceeding about *twenty* congregations. They held the principles of doctrine established by the church of Scotland: but they were more rigid in their discipline, and were identified with the Scotch Cameronians.

The Synod of Munster, called also the Southern Association, from its locality, were generally Unitarians, of the school of Arius or Socinus. They were connected with the Synod of Antrim, and scarcely exceeded them in number.

These several bodies, continuing still to be denominated Presbyterians, claimed a share in the *Regium Donum*; and this royal benefaction was increased. In 1753, the synod of Ulster resolved, "That in time to come, no minister be fixed in any congregation subject to this synod, unless they pay, by way of stipend, at least 40*l.* a year besides the regal stipend; while the congregations already planted were required to pay that sum yearly henceforward. In 1784, government granted an additional sum of 1,000*l.* per annum, to the ministers of the synod of Ulster, to be distributed at the pleasure of the chief governor or governors of the kingdom. In 1792, this royal grant was increased to 5,000*l.*, during pleasure, to be "divided among the ministers of the synod, the Presbytery of Antrim, the Seceders, the Southern Association, and the ministers of the French Church, St. Peter's, Dublin."

The Congregational Independents retained but little influence in Ireland after the Restoration: though during the Protectorate, Dr. Owen, Dr. Samuel Winter, Dr. Harrison, Mr. Charnock, Dr. Daniel Williams, and others, preached the doctrines of Christ in Ireland, among many other Independents of great fame and usefulness: but most of their successors united with the Presbyterians. Still, at the close of the eighteenth century, several churches of that denomination were gathered in Dublin and other cities.

The Baptists, in like manner, had several eminent preachers of their denomination in Ireland, during the seventeenth century; and endeavours were made at the close of the eighteenth to revive their cause, especially in Dublin; for which

purpose that city was visited by Mr. Pearce, a popular Baptist minister of Birmingham, and Dr. Rippon of London.

The Moravians also, and the Friends or Quakers, had several congregations in Ireland : but they were not numerous.

Mr. Williams introduced Methodism into Ireland in the year 1747 ; when, Mr. Wesley hearing of it, visited Dublin. His labours were the means of much excitement, and the manifest conversion of many souls to God. Mr. Charles Wesley visited Ireland shortly afterwards, and Mr. John Wesley, with several preachers, again the following spring. Their spiritual doctrines were received by many, and several societies were formed, and increased notwithstanding some shameful persecutions from the rabble, encouraged, in some instances, by magistrates ! Cork, especially, was thus disgraced ; and a wretched ballad-singer headed a mob which committed serious outrages upon the dwellings of some of the Methodists. Twenty-eight depositions were laid before the Grand Jury, August 19, 1749 : “ but they did not find one of those bills.” Instead of this, they made that memorable presentment, worthy to be preserved in the records to all succeeding generations : — “ We find and present Charles Wesley to be a person of ill fame, a vagabond, and a common disturber of his Majesty’s peace, and we pray that he may be transported ! * ” Nine others, preachers, were presented in like manner, and various insults were endured through the winter ; but, when they appeared before the judge at the Lent Assizes, the upright magistrate rebuked their accuser, the ballad-singer, ordering him away, and thus addressed the accused, — “ Gentlemen, there is no evidence against you : you may retire : I am sorry that you have been treated so very improperly. I hope the police of this city will be better attended to for the time to come.”

Methodism, having gained this triumph, prevailed ; and Mr. Wesley visiting Ireland again this year, many were added to his followers. Mr. Whitefield made a tour through Ireland in 1751, where he preached with extraordinary appearances of success nearly eighty times, at Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Belfast, and other places. Amid various opposition, and

* Life of Wesley by Coke and Moore, p. 376.

many encouragements, Mr. Wesley and his coadjutors persevered in their labours for Ireland, until his death, in 1791. At that period the state of the Methodist connection may be judged of by the following enumeration: there were, Circuits, 29; Preachers, 67; Members, 14,106. They increased to the close of the century, when their numbers were, Circuits, 34; Preachers, 83; Members, 16,227.

Popery continued its superstition and ignorance brooding over the mass of the population. Education was enjoyed by a few of the gentry; but the people were immersed in almost total ignorance. The Roman Catholic clergy for Ireland were partly educated at their seminaries in Carlow, Kilkenny, Tuam, Waterford, and Wexford, after which about a *hundred and fifty* annually resided at different colleges for the Irish, in Paris, at Salamanca, and at Rome: but in 1795, the college of Maynooth was established by an act of the parliament, with a grant from the public treasury. To affirm that no genuine piety existed among the Irish Catholics, would be presumption: still it is too painfully manifest that the mass of the people, denied the light of the Holy Scriptures, were "sitting in darkness and the shadow of death!" Yet there were those indications in Ireland, as well as throughout Britain, of the "Sun of righteousness arising with healing in his wings."

BOOK IX.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Introduction.

BRITISH Church History in the *nineteenth* century, presents to the pious mind the most instructive lessons. Enlightened persons cannot fail to be astonished in the contemplation; observing manifestly the gracious hand of God, in the unexampled progress of evangelical knowledge and pure religion. Infidel scepticism may be satisfied to attribute the improved state of our country to "the march of intellect"—"the spirit of the age"—"the progress of liberal opinions"—or any other cause: but Christian piety will be assured, that

neither, nor all of these could have produced that moral, benevolent, and religious feeling, which extensively prevails; and that while knowledge is advancing, and the arts and sciences improving, these, under the wise and gracious providence of God, are accomplished, to fulfil his eternal purposes, and subserve the interests of Messiah's kingdom.

Intelligence, discrimination, and candour, are indispensable qualifications for the taking of a moral survey of Britain in the nineteenth century: for a sectarian spirit limits its obscure views to the members of its own denomination. Divine revelation, however, requires us to acknowledge "all those that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," as constituting the approved members of the Christian Church. In this requisition we cordially acquiesce, assured of its infallible correctness; and whatever may be our own peculiar views, either as regards a perfect orthodoxy of doctrine, or the forms of ecclesiastical polity, the inspired decision will be the directory in guiding our decisions in the present review of the nineteenth century, relating to Church History in Britain.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Review of the church — The preaching ministry subverted for a priesthood — Holy orders — Dignitaries in the Church of England — Style of address — Church livings — Patronage — Residents and Nonresidents — Curates and stipends — Simony — Bishop Hobart's testimony — Examples of Simony — Mr. Scott's reflections on this "commerce of souls" — Appointment of bishops — Pluralists — Influence of the system — Testimony of Legh Richmond — Of Mr. Acaster — Lord Brougham's Bill to abolish pluralities — Commissioners' Ecclesiastical Report — Analysis of it.

CHRISTIANITY in Great Britain is reputedly established by the *two legal churches* of England and of Scotland. These corporations, in their constitution and forms of worship, are altogether dissimilar: but a correct view of them both is of the highest importance to the ecclesiastical inquirer: and it will appear indispensable, in this place, to contemplate the church of England in its *political* as well as its *religious* character. This will require a review of, *First*, The statistics of the Hierarchy; *Secondly*, The party regarded as the High Church, or Orthodox; *Thirdly*, The Low Church, or Evangelical.

Section I. Statistics of the Hierarchy.

Christianity, as established in England at the Reformation, it will be remembered, was not framed according to the divine simplicity of the scriptural ordinances. Jesus Christ and his apostles ordained for the conversion and edification of the world, a *preaching ministry*—"the ministry of reconciliation:" but this, in the second century, was subverted, by the *spirit* of popery. Rome established this system, which continued till the Protestant Reformation, when the civil and ecclesiastical rulers in England retained what the Romish church had maintained—a *priesthood*, with most of the sacerdotal *offices*, and the *titles* of their matured *hierarchy*. Three "Holy Orders," as they are called, *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, are maintained in this hierarchy, subdivided into Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Rectors, Vicars, Curates, &c. The following is a list of the principal dignitaries, as taken from the "Clerical Guide," &c.

Sees.	Arch-Bishops	Bishops	Deans.	Arch-deacons	Prebendaries.	Chancellors.	Canons
1. Canterbury.....	1	....	1	1	12	1	6
2. York	1	....	2	4	24	1	4
3. London	1	1	5	26	1	16
4. Durham.....	1	1	2	12	1	8
5. Winchester....	1	1	1	12	1	6
6. Bangor	1	1	1	2	1	3
7. Bath and Wells	1	1	3	42	1	6
8. Bristol	1	1	1	6	1	6
9. Carlisle	1	1	1	4	1	5
10. Chester	1	1	2	6	1	6
11. Chichester	1	1	2	27	1	4
12. Ely	1	1	1	8	1	4
13. Exeter	1	1	4	15	1	8
14. Gloucester	1	1	1	6	1	4
15. Hereford	1	1	2	23	1	5
16. Lichfield & Cov.	1	1	4	17	1	6
17. Lincoln	1	1	6	46	1	3
18. Llandaff	1	1	1	9	1	—
19. Norwich	1	1	4	6	1	8
20. Oxford	1	1	1	—	1	—
21. Peterborough	1	1	1	6	1	4
22. Rochester	1	1	1	6	1	6
23. Salisbury	1	1	3	38	1	6
24. St. Asaph	1	1	1	3	1	7
25. St. David's	1	—	4	14	1	3
26. Worcester	1	1	1	10	1	8
27. Sodor and Man.	1	—	1	—	—	—
	2	27	26	59	380	25	142

Appropriate epithets are employed with which to address these dignitaries, a notice of which may be deemed necessary in this place. HIS GRACE THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, WILLIAM, BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, CHARLES JAMES, BY DIVINE PERMISSION LORD BISHOP OF LONDON. THE VERY REVEREND THE DEAN, &c. THE VENERABLE THE ARCHDEACON. It may be left to the reader to determine how far these titles and style agree with Christianity as contained in the Holy Scriptures.

Besides the dignitaries above mentioned, the parochial benefices amount to upwards of 10,000, exclusive of chapels. Mr. Adams says, "The Livings of all descriptions amount to about 11,755, viz. 5,098 Rectories, 3,687 Vicarages, 2,970 Livings of other descriptions. By the return to parliament in 1818, the number of churches in the 26 dioceses then was 10,192, and 1,551 chapels, making in all 11,743. The crown presented to 1,041 pieces of church preferment, thus :

"The First Lord of the Treasury	103
The Lord Chancellor	899
The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster..	39
	—1,041
The 26 Bishops	1,303
30 Deans and Chapters	1,037
The 20 Colleges of Oxford	403
The 18 Colleges of Cambridge	280
300 Peers and Baronets	1,400
Six Schools, &c. in London, &c.	45
About 4,000 Private Patrons	6,491
Church Benefices, in round numbers	<u>12,011*</u>

Sixty-eight only of these church livings are in the gift of the inhabitants, according to the "Clerical Guide:" and as individual clergymen are allowed to hold several benefices each, those who are related to bishops or noble families, are

* Adams's "Religious World Displayed," abridged edition, p. 294, 295.

generally pluralists. From returns recently transmitted from the several dioceses of England and Wales, it was stated, that the

Total number of benefices was	10,560
Total number of Resident Clergy	4,649
Nonresident Clergymen by exemption... ..	2,506
by license	1,968
Cases not included among exemptions and licences	1,404
Miscellaneous cases	33
Total number of non-residents.....	5,911
	<hr/>
	10,560

Of those nonresident by *exemption*, 2,080 are resident on other benefices; 266 are ecclesiastical, collegiate, and cathedral officers; 94 are resident fellows, tutors, or officers of the universities; and 66 are exempted for various other causes. Of those nonresident by *licence* 1,227 are prevented from residing by the want or unfitness of the parsonage-houses, 418 by infirmity, and the remainder by various other causes. Of the third class of non-residents, 509 are cases of absence without licence of exemption; but of these, 478 perform the duties of their respective parishes; 412 returns are defective as to residence; 115 are vacancies. In 183 cases there are no returns; 81 are recent institutions, 53 are sequestrations, and the remainder benefices held by bishops, &c.

Curates who do the chief duty in the parochial churches, amount to the number of 4,373: of these, 1,532 reside in the glebe-houses, 1,005 in their parishes, and 1,915 are licensed. The stipends of 486 are under 50*l.* per annum; of 2,355 under 100*l.*; of 1,079 under 150*l.*; of 249 under 200*l.*; and of 33 upwards of 200*l.*; 78 have the whole income

Ecclesiastical patronage has produced a system of Simony in the Church of England, which excites astonishment in the minds of foreigners, while it occasions the most fearful evils in our own country. Dr. Hobart, "Bishop of the Episcopal Church in New York," having witnessed the operation of the hierarchy, while visiting England in 1824, published his views of it on his return to America. "Look," says he, "at the most important relation which the church can constitute,—

that which connects a pastor with his flock. In the church of England, this connection is absolute property. The livings are in the gift of individuals, of the government, or corporate bodies; and can be, and are, bought and sold like other property. Hence, like other property, they are used for the best interest of the holders, and are frequently made subservient to the secular views of individuals and families.

And they present an excitement to enter into the holy ministry, with too great an admixture of worldly motives, and with a spirit often falling short of that pure and disinterested ardour, which supremely aims at the promotion of God's glory, and the salvation of mankind. The connection thus constituted, entirely independent of the choice or wishes of the congregation, is held entirely independent of them. And such are the gross and lamentable obstructions to the exercise of discipline, from the complicated provisions and forms of their ecclesiastical law, that common, and even serious, clerical irregularities are not noticed."

Illustrations of Bishop Hobart's statement might be plentifully given, of the most appalling character: of which the two following will suffice. "The Morning Chronicle" of July 13, 1824, states—"The church livings in Essex, sold on the 1st instant, by Mr. Robins, in Regent Street, were not the absolute advowsons, but the next presentations, contingent on the lives of Mr. and Mrs. W. T. P. L. Wellesley, aged thirty-six and twenty-five years respectively, and were as under:—

Place.	Description.	Estimated annual value.	Age of Incumbent.	Sold for
		£		£
Wanstead	Rectory	650	62	2,400
Woodford	Ditto	1,200	58	4,200
Great Paindon	Ditto	500	63	1,600
Fifield	Ditto	625	50	1,520
Rochford	Ditto	700	62	2,000
Filstead	Vicarage	400	50	900
Roydon	Ditto	230	46	580

"The biddings appeared to be governed by age and health of the incumbents, residence, situation, and other local cir-

cumstances, with which the parties interested seemed to be well acquainted."

The "St. James's Chronicle" of Nov. 20 to 23, offers the following articles of "property for sale," specified and numbered from 1 to 79. *One* "clerical agent" *only*, publishes this advertisement; and there are several of those gentlemen, whose agency business in that line appears very great.

"20 Advowsons, income from 300*l.* to 2,000*l.* per annum.

"12 Next Presentations, income from 150*l.* to 700*l.* per annum.

"45 other livings for sale or exchange, including 'a sinecure of two parishes in Ireland,' for which 'a dispensation has been granted;' and two other livings, one estimated at 700*l.*, the other at 1,000*l.* per annum."

Dr. Lardner remarks, "England is the only country in Christendom where simony is now openly practised and vindicated. We do not hear it *whispered*, as in Roman Catholic countries: it is proclaimed in every newspaper*."

Language fails to characterize this species of vindicated wickedness. That upright and excellent clergyman, the Rev. Thomas Scott, in his Commentary on the threatenings of the Almighty against such enormities, says, "This commerce in the souls of men is *the most infamous* of all traffics that the demon of avarice ever devised, but by no means uncommon." Having referred to the slave trade, in his reflections upon Rev. xviii, 13, this pious commentator adds, "Yet even this, cruel, unrighteous, and hateful as it is, must not be considered as the worst traffic, *EVEN OF THIS OUR LAND; for the souls of men are traded for by those who take the care of them, for the sake of the emolument, and the abundance of the delicacies obtained by it; and then either leave them to perish in ignorance, or poison them by heresy, or lead them on the road to hell by a profligate example. How fervently should we then pray, that God would raise up Reformers, who may contend as firmly, perseveringly, and successfully against this vile merchandize, as some honourable and philanthropical persons have against the accursed Slave Trade!*"

* Cabinet Cyclopaedia—Europe in the Middle Ages, vol. i, p. 152.

Bishop Hobart proceeds : " Advance higher in the relations that subsist in the church, to those which connect a bishop with his diocese. The commission of the bishop, his episcopal authority, is conveyed to him by the bishops who consecrate him. But the election of the person to be thus consecrated, is nominally in the dean and chapter of the cathedral of the diocese; and theoretically in the king, who gives the dean and chapter permission to elect the person, and only the person, whom he names; and thus, in the actual operation of what is more an aristocratical than a monarchical government, the bishops are appointed by the cabinet or prime minister; and hence, with some most honourable exceptions, principally recent, the appointments have notoriously been directed with a view to parliamentary interest. Almost all the prelates that have filled the English sees, have owed their advancement, not solely, as it ought to have been, to their qualifications for the office; but to secular interest, extraneous from spiritual or ecclesiastical considerations."

These statements might be confirmed by the most unimpeachable testimonies of English episcopal writers, who have exhibited and deplored the enormous evils. Many of the bishops hold various preferments besides their bishoprics; and some of them have accumulated immense property, dying "shamefully rich," as one of them declared of himself. Nor will this be a matter of surprise, after one illustration. The "Times" newspaper of June 25, 1832, exposing these abominations, gives two lists of the "Pluralist Priests," with notices of their lucrative offices. The least shocking, names 33, who hold 5 Bishoprics, 5 Deaneries, 5 Chancellorships, 3 Precentorships, 2 Archdeaconries, 5 Canons Residentiary, 12 Prebends, and 51 other Livings!!

Simony and ecclesiastical "commerce in the souls of men," which Mr. Scott pronounces "infamous," may justly be supposed to occasion various pernicious customs in the church and the nation. The late amiable Rev. Legh Richmond cannot be suspected of the slightest deviation from truth and charity against his brethren: but in a letter to his son in 1820, he remarks—"The national church groans and bleeds, 'from the crown of its head to the sole of its feet,' through

the daily intrusion of unworthy men into its ministry. Patrons, parents, tutors, colleges, are annually pouring a torrent of incompetent youth into the church, and loading the nation with spiritual guilt. Hence souls are neglected and ruined—bigotry and ignorance prevail—church pride triumphs over church godliness—and the Establishment is despised, deserted, and wounded *.”

Mr. Acaster, a clergyman of York, in a recent work on the dangers of the church, condemns the fearful system of pluralities and nonresidence, and says, “Nearly *four-fifths* of the parishes throughout the whole kingdom have no resident incumbent; consequently, near four-fifths of the people are left, as it respects their paid and legal pastors, as sheep without a shepherd. They have no incumbent to watch over them, to feed them, or to care for their best and highest interests; none to whom they can resort for advice, counsel, or succour, in all their trials, sorrows, temptations, and difficulties; none to instruct, to soothe, and comfort them, on the bed of affliction and death; and none to assist them in their preparation for a boundless and never-ending eternity. Their *legal, paid, rightful*, and most solemnly avowed instructors are fled. *Some they never see or hear, for five, ten, fifteen, twenty, and even thirty years together. Some, again, are born, brought up, marry, have families, live, and die, and enter into eternity, without ever once either seeing or hearing their legal teachers.* I speak of numerous facts in all the above instances *within my own knowledge*, and of several incumbents *whose churches and parishes I can see from the place in which I sit and write*; so that, in regard to the incumbents, *there are millions through the land who have literally no man that careth for their souls.* What a consideration! What a fearful consideration!!

“And is all this known, and yet tolerated? Yes, it is known, it is tolerated; *it is often facilitated by those whose duty it is to stand in the gap*; and what is still more fearful and alarming, *it is barred from remedy by the dispensations and licences of our spiritual rulers†.*”

* Memoirs of Legh Richmond, by Grimshaw, p. 461, 462.

† The Church in Danger from Herself, &c, by John Acaster, Vicar of St. Helen's, York.

Enormities, so grievous, have aroused the nation to demand a reform in the church: but almost every effort to render the ecclesiastical administration conformable to the Holy Scriptures, has been effectually resisted by the prelates. Still a reform is demanded; and so necessary does it appear, that a multitude of plans of church reform have been proposed by different churchmen. No less than *thirty-six* different works on this subject have been noticed by the Christian Observer to April 1834, and they constitute but a small portion of the number published, chiefly by churchmen.

Public opinion has continued to advance, demanding the removal of ecclesiastical abuses, particularly the enormity of pluralities: and as the Archbishop of Canterbury submitted a measure which rather perpetuated than corrected the evil, Lord Brougham introduced "Two Bills for the prevention of Pluralities and Nonresidence, two evils," says the Christian Observer, "so great, that we could not but express our heartfelt satisfaction, that an adequate and effectual attempt was to be at length made for their extinction. The bill against pluralities provides, that no clergyman shall hold two benefices, either where the united income exceeds 300*l.* per annum (exclusive of the house, &c.) or where the churches are more than five miles apart, unless the parishes actually touch each other. Nonresidence above two months in a year, except by reason of sickness, or the dangerous sickness of a relation or friend, is mulcted with a fine of three times the value of the income of the living during the delinquency. These two leading provisions, which constituted the main features of the bill, appeared to us to furnish so decisive a remedy for an enormous evil, that we expressed our earnest hope that they would be upheld—of course with every requisite modification of the detail, by every true friend to the church*." Salutory as this measure would have been, almost every bishop opposed it, and it was lost in the Lords' House of Parliament.

Emolument being the sole inducement of many to enter the church, and benefices being heaped upon those who had interest with great families or the government, an investigation into the church revenues seemed indispensable, prepara-

* Christian Observer, July, 1834.

tions were made for the purpose by the appointment of a Royal Commission, whose Report was made in July 1834, of the Ecclesiastical Revenues for *three* years up to December 1831. The following is the estimate of that income, which, in many instances, it has since been found, was more than reported:—

Gross Annual Revenue of the twenty-six Archbishops and Bishops in England and Wales (averaging 6,683 <i>l.</i>)	£ 180,462
Gross Annual Revenue of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and the Dignitaries, &c. connected with them	350,861
Gross Total Income of 10,701 Benefices with and without cure of souls, average 304 <i>l.</i> each	3,253,662
	<hr/> £ 3,784,985

The archbishop of Canterbury received 19,183*l.*; of York 12,629*l.*; the bishop of Durham 19,066*l.*; of London 13,929*l.*; of Winchester 11,151*l.*; and of Ely 11,105*l.* per annum.

One fourth only of the whole is received by the working clergy, in the following proportions:—

Stipends of 5,834 Curates, several hundreds of whose salaries do not amount to 50 <i>l.</i> per annum each, average 80 <i>l.</i>	430,720
Benefices, of which there are 4,861, whose incomes are under 200 <i>l.</i> , average 110 <i>l.</i>	534,700

Total salaries of the working clergy

£965,430

Incumbents, whose benefices are under 300*l.* per annum, might be added to this estimate: but a deduction would be required from the above numbers, in consideration of the benefices held by pluralists, and the curacies held by beneficed clergymen. Taking the working clergy, as above stated, at 10,695 persons, who share among them the 965,430*l.*, or say 1,000,000*l.* sterling per annum, 2,784,985*l.* are left to the clerical aristocracy! Many of these are pluralists! and *sixteen* of the bishops were known, at the time of making the Report, to hold *sixty-one* pieces of preferment!

these included 16 bishoprics, 6 deaneries, 1 chancellorship, 3 archdeaconries, 2 cathedral treasurerships, 8 cathedral prebends, 21 rectories, and 2 vicarages! This pernicious example of ecclesiastical avarice has been generally followed by the inferior clergy, who were related to the nobility and gentry, or who could procure interest at court, "doing the duty," as they call it, of their various "livings," from which some derive revenues amounting to several thousands of pounds per annum, by means of ill-paid and degraded curates, to the guilty and perilous dishonour of Christianity!

Illustrative of these remarks, the following analysis of subsequent Ecclesiastical Reports will be found instructive, showing that the 11,331 rectories, vicarages, and chapelries in England and Wales, are held by 7,190 incumbents:

Incumbents.	Preferments held by each.	Total number of preferments.
1	8	8
5	7	35
12	6	72
64	5	320
209	4	836
567	3	1,701
2,027	2	4,054
4,305	1	4,305
<hr/> 7,190		<hr/> 11,331

"Dr. Copleston, Bishop of Llandaff, who is also dean of St. Paul's, London, is, or ought to be, resident three months in the year, to attend during that time morning and evening at the cathedral, and to preach every Sunday afternoon. His income for such duties is about 40*l.* per week. Now how is the duty supplied in the absence of the right reverend Father in God? Two canons, Mr. Watts and Dr. Birch, are paid *five shillings* each for attendance, *one guinea* for the sermon, *three shillings and sixpence* for the sacramental duties: so that Dr. Copleston is paid 40*l.* for doing what can be and is very often done for 4*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* *"

* Book of the Denominations, p. 419, 420.

London is only a pattern of others. "Carlisle is a small diocese: the tithes received by the dean and chapter for Hesket, amount to 1,000*l.* or 1,500*l.* a year: they pay to the curate who does the duty, 18*l.* 5*s.* a year, that is to say, *one shilling* a day, being after the rate of a bricklayer's labourer's wages! In Wetheral and Warwick, the dean and chapter draw about 1,000*l.* a year from tithes, and 1,000*l.* a year from the church lands; and they pay the working minister (probably one of the most exemplary and beloved men in England, in his station), the sum of 50*l.* a year, the wages of a journeyman cabinet maker. Mrs. Hannah More was therefore perfectly justified in describing the poorer clergy, as 'for the most part deserving gentlemen, bred to liberal learning, whose feeling that learning has refined to a painful acuteness, and who are withering away in hopeless penury, with a large family, on a curacy but little surpassing the wages of a livery servant *.'"

Section II. High Church, or Orthodox Party.

Spirit of high churchmen—Opposed to Bible Societies—Sentiments of Bishop Hobart, Archdeacon Daubeny, Bishop Gray, Archbishop Howley, Bishop Blomfield—Their uncharitableness—Apology of Rev. C. Girdlestone—Attainments of high churchmen—Encourage popular education—Remarks of Rev. J. Riland—Their pastoral qualifications—Societies—Christian Knowledge Society.

Ecclesiastical hierarchies necessarily produce a corresponding spirit among their members; and this appears remarkable in the Church of England. Patronage, pluralities, and "traffic in benefices," could not fail to introduce ministers into the church, whose sentiments and temper illustrate their system. From a review of the "Statistics of the Hierarchy," it will be natural to expect that the majority, especially among the dignified clergy, would require a peculiar denomination. *High Churchmen*, to which they are not averse, is their appropriate designation.

Orthodoxy is especially claimed by this body: but though

* Book of the Denominations, p. 419, 420.

subscribing to the same "articles of religion, and reading the same forms of prayer," they are far from being agreed in their doctrines: and, as appears from their writings, every shade of religious opinion is held by different individuals among them, from high Calvinism to low Arminianism, and from Socinianism to Antinomianism. Of the latter perversion of the Gospel there are many advocates; and the sentiments of the former are attributed by common report and by the Christian Observer, to Dr. Maltby, the present bishop of Durham. High churchmen are generally opposed to the peculiar doctrines of the Reformation, as sealed by the blood of the martyrs; and their evangelical brethren are contemned and shunned, as inculcating Puritanism and Methodism. As they are not remarkable for personal piety, so their spirit is exclusive, repugnant to that heavenly charity which affectionately embraces "all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," and precisely the same as distinguished this class in the reigns of William and Anne, as we have seen described by Bishop Burnet.

High churchmen have uniformly been hostile to the "Bible Society;" and even to the "Church Missionary Society," whose adherents, among the evangelical clergy and laity, they regard as a class of *schismatics* in the church, symbolizing with dissenters: but, with invigorated zeal, since the formation of those institutions, they have patronized the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge;" most of whose publications inculcate the peculiarities of the hierarchy, with a very meagre exhibition of Christian doctrine, and many represent the distinguishing opinions and spirit of its patrons.

High churchmen, however, will be most correctly represented by a portraiture from the pen of the Editor of the Christian Observer; and this we give from his notice of Dr. Hobart's discourse, entitled "America and England compared," published after his return to America in 1825, from a visit to England. Dr. Hobart was bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York, decidedly opposed to the Bible Society, and similar institutions, participating largely of the spirit of the English hierarchy: he was therefore welcomed by high churchmen in England, while he had but little intercourse

with any of the evangelical clergy : nevertheless, his "Discourse" proclaims the enormities which he beheld in our hierarchy, which he describes as a mere political engine of the state. This of course grievously offended his friends in England. "Its statements greatly astounded some of the Bishop's warmest admirers in this country," says the Christian Observer. "We shall not rehearse either the doleful lamentations or the angry words which have been uttered by certain of the periodicals which emanated from St. Paul's Churchyard and Waterloo Place."—"It is most disastrous also, that his unhappy opinions respecting the state of our church should have been formed, not among the Bible Society and Church Missionary *schismatics*, where no reasonable man could, of course, have expected any thing better, but in his intercourse with the warmest opponents of all such outrageous proceedings, to whom his well-known opinions, on these and similar matters, had introduced and recommended him. It seems to have been strangely concluded, that because Bishop Hobart was opposed to the Bible Society, and to what are called the *evangelical clergy*, he had of necessity forgot his Americanism also : that he was a friend to the union of church and state, and to tithes and pluralities, and official church patronage. But not so ; for the bishop chastises us mightily. If Bishop Hobart is an enemy, as some of his former friends begin to consider him, it is not unlawful to learn from a hostile quarter. Let, then, our *ultra-high-church* and *ultra-orthodox* friends reprobate, if they will, either the conduct or the motives of our right reverend castigator ; but let them not refuse to profit by his reprehensions.—It would be both folly and insincerity to say that there is not too much of substantial truth in many of Bishop Hobart's friendly charges*."

High churchmen, strange as it may appear in this age of prevailing Christian knowledge, generally will not allow that dissenters from their hierarchy are to be regarded as in a state of salvation ; assuming to themselves the privileges of the only true church of Christ, and denouncing others as guilty

* Christian Observer for 1826.

of *schism* and heresy. Bigotry, worthy only of the Romish antichrist, is cherished by many of the published works of this body. "The venerable archdeacon Daubeny," in his popular "Guide to the Church," declares concerning the pastors of churches among the Dissenters, "Let it be observed, *these ministers are not the ambassadors of Christ; nor are the sacraments which they administer the sacraments of Christ; for the essence of an ambassador's office is, that he should be commissioned by the party in whose name it is made. But ministers of the separation are not ambassadors of Christ, BECAUSE THEY HAVE NEVER BEEN SENT BY HIM; and with respect to the benefits to be derived from the sacraments administered by them, THEIR DISCIPLES MUST NOT LOOK TO GOD, for this obvious reason, because God is not bound but by covenants of his own making.*"

Popery, in its worst days, could scarcely express sentiments more abhorrent from Christian charity: but this unlovely spirit is nourished by the doctrine of many of the publications issued by the "Christian Knowledge Society."

Bishop Gray, in a tract entitled, "A Serious Address to Seceders and Sectarists of every Denomination, who exist in separation from the Church of England," &c.* having reprobated "instantaneous conversions to holiness," as taught by the Dissenters, remarks, "These opinions, however, and grounds of dissension, unreasonable and insufficient as they are, must not be considered as the real principles upon which all the followers of these respective sects separate from the Established Church: many incur the *guilt of schism* from motives the most evidently trifling and reprehensible. It is observable, that the preachers at *the different conventicles*, in their general discourses, often keep in the back-ground the peculiar tenets of their persuasion.—*The mischievous effects* of the delusions which are produced by ignorant and interested men, who set up as teachers in *these conventicles*, are sometimes exhibited even in the meetings in which congregations are assembled under the pretence of worshipping a God

* By the Right Rev. Robert Gray, D. D. Lord Bishop of Bristol, and Prebendary of Durham. Sixth Edition, 1829.

of purity. The dissenting preachers cannot have any pretence to a particular inspiration of the Holy Ghost, for they depart from the directions of Christ. They 'run, though they are not sent,' and act in opposition to the example and precepts of the apostles.—For what, then, are the noble structures in which our forefathers worshipped God, and called down the blessings which have raised our country to the highest eminence, for what are they at any time deserted? *For conventicles, in which the doctrine and service vary with every new teacher, in which the unprepared rhapsodies of the moment are poured out by individuals ignorant of, and despising the forms in which the Church, through all ages, hath offered up its praises and thankgivings to God.* I adjure you, who are teachers and *leaders of sects and heresies*, to consider what responsibilities you incur by misleading others." Turning to the laity, the zealous prelate thus appeals to their loyalty—"I entreat you, my brethren, to reflect on these things, and to be ashamed of these follies. When *every honest man* is desirous of ranging himself under the banners of *loyalty and religion* against the *enemies of government and good order*, be careful that you conspire not with the views of those who would pull down every institution, however venerable and sacred."

Even Dr. Howley, the present "mild and amiable" archbishop of Canterbury, exhibits the same spirit, speaking of them as the "promiscuous multitude of confederated sectaries"—a "dangerous faction"—combining "the joint machinations of infidels and sectaries"—"the insidious practices of schismatics *."

Dr. Blomfield, bishop of London, has carried his antipathy so far as to recommend to his clergy, in his late "charge†," a volume of *anonymous* "Letters to a Dissenting Minister," written by a *clergyman*. But this is shown, by a layman of the church of England, to be "an impure and malevolent volume—a tissue of falsehood, ignorance, calumny, and uncharitableness, directed against the personal character

* Primary Charge, in 1814. † In 1834.

of Dissenters — with a rancour of which even the bitterness of the controversy between Milton and Salmasius would fail to furnish a parallel example*.”

Dissenters, if these accusations were merited, would be the most *ignorant* and *wicked* people upon earth, deserving universal execration. But their loyalty is beyond suspicion. Intelligence and piety are well known to be possessed by Dissenters; and it seems difficult to say, which is most astonishing,—that learned prelates of the church of England should *write so ignorantly*, and *such slander*, or that the whole body of the dignitaries should sanction such violations of truth and charity as Bishop Gray’s tract and others contain, against a body of Christian ministers, who are seen to live in the affections of their people, and many of whom are acknowledged, even by churchmen, to have no superiors in learning, biblical knowledge, or pastoral qualifications, as ministers of Christ.

“Many would hinder if they could,” says a candid clergyman, “the success of the Dissenters’ preaching, in cases where they would take little or no pains for the Church to succeed instead. And men, who never so much as pray from their hearts for the conversion of their brethren, would forbid those, who to their prayers for that end, add costly sacrifices and patience in well-doing, under the pressure of poverty, persecution, and contempt: as if it were not better that men should believe in Christ, though with some erroneous impressions, than that they should not believe at all! *As if to rail at Dissenters were some kind of compensation for that practical indifference to the saving of souls, which when manifested in members of the church, is the most fruitful parent of dissent! Hence it is, that many, who in other points are deemed kind and tender-hearted, pitiful and courteous, no sooner hear mention of a Dissenter, than they are harsh or contemptuous in their expressions, and in their conduct either rude and arrogant, or distant and cold.* And hence it is—most strange consequence of all—that men, seemingly of lively faith and earnest piety, *will often more readily associate with a suspected sceptic, or a no-to-*

* See “A Remonstrance,” addressed to Dr. Blomfield, by C. Lushington, Esq. M.P.

rious profligate, so he but profess conformity to the Church, than with a Dissenter, who to a faith which has some shades of error, adds a life that has many rays of holiness and heaven."*

Literary and mathematical attainments are possessed by many high churchmen, in a superior degree : but clergymen of the church of England are considered as having no particular need of theological and pastoral training, because all their public forms of service are already published in the Common Prayer; and they need not make their own sermons, for which many of them are acknowledged to be incompetent, as they may be purchased of certain booksellers, who have them *written* and *lithographed*, and offered for sale to the clergy by advertisements in English and Latin. Clerical incompetency in this respect is deeply lamented by candid churchmen; and that most respectable organ of the evangelical clergy, the Christian Observer, remarks, "Almost every dissenting community has its theological seminary—and the advanced state of public information, the progress of popery, infidelity, and literary irreligion, the inroads to fanaticism, and the extension of schools of every class—all require high professional competency in the clergy of the established church. And yet to this hour there is no appointed seat of theological training for our clerical candidates. The universities afford the basis of a solid education, and require such a general knowledge of sacred literature as may be expected from lay as well as professional students: but *they go no further*, and the graduate must glean, where and how he can, the great mass of what is necessary to the efficient discharge of his function. The Word of God says, 'Not a novice;' but novices, so far as respects any public provision for instruction, must be not a few of our candidates for holy orders; and as the bishop can ordain only the best he can get, *novices are every day thrust into our parishes to take the oversight of souls, and often with less scriptural information even to compose a*

* Affection between the Church and Dissenters, a Sermon, before the University of Oxford, July 27, 1833, on Luke ix, 49, 50, by the Rev. Charles Girdlestone, A. M.

sermon, or to follow up the details of pastoral duties, than falls to the share of many a well-taught national school boy."*

High churchmen, as may be supposed, were long unfriendly to the general education of the poor, especially as it was so zealously taken up by the Dissenters; and Bishop Horsley, in his famous "Charge" to his clergy, in 1800, only expressed the sentiments of this class: but the ignorant accusations and uncharitable insinuations of that learned prelate, against "the associations" which supported the "itinerant preachers and Sunday schools in conventicles, in many parts of the kingdom," were ably answered by the Rev. Rowland Hill and the Rev. John Townsend. Latterly, however, this party, perceiving the impossibility of arresting the progress of knowledge, has patronized Sunday schools in connection with the "National" school system, as the means of securing a portion at least of the children of the poor in attachment to the church.

"Nominalists," as these clergy are sometimes called by their evangelical brethren, constitute, not only the *majority*, but according to their own computation about *four-fifths* of the entire episcopal body, and a far greater proportion of the dignitaries; and though they are complained of, as being "to the establishment, as the dry-rot to the timbers in the roof of a cathedral—a silent, progressive, and unseen mischief†," the evil, it is said, cannot be remedied, so long as the church is furnished by the present mode,—patronage and simony. Reform from this class is hopeless: for "numbers, among the most eager sticklers for the divine right and secular privileges of the Episcopacy, will never advance—no, not an inch—at the bidding of the entire bench, beyond their own calculations of self-interest, and a determination to allow Christianity no further influence than within the circle of profession and ceremony‡."

High churchmen have contributed but very little to the advancement of biblical knowledge; the most valuable works in that department, by which the church of England has been adorned, having been almost exclusively produced by

* Christian Observer, January, 1832.

† Church Reform, by Rev. John Riland, A.M. p. 38. ‡ Ib. p. 30.

the evangelical clergy. And as to vital religion, they have uniformly been its most determined opposers, not only as it has been advanced among the several denominations of Dissenters, but by regular clergymen of their own communion. Hence, wherever high churchmen have continued as the successive parochial ministers, without an evangelical clergyman in the neighbourhood, the parishioners have remained deplorably ignorant of scriptural Christianity; as one short sermon, or rather moral essay, at most two such, constitute the whole of the direct instruction imparted weekly by this class of legal teachers. Cathedral cities, therefore, except Bristol, have been notoriously destitute, above other towns in the kingdom, of the manifest influence of Christianity.

Religious institutions are but few among high churchmen: their chief object has been to strengthen and extend the form of Christianity by an established hierarchy. Their principal institutions are,

Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in	1698
Society for Propagating the Gospel.....	1701
Society for Building Churches.....	1818
Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy.	
Society for Relief of the Clergy and their Widows.	

Indifference to the advancement of scriptural truth, as existing among this dignified and wealthy class, may be further illustrated by the fact of the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge" circulating its publications almost exclusively in the English language, having upon its catalogue of books, Bibles in no more than *two languages*, besides the English and Welch: those are French and Arabic; in which very few copies of the Scriptures have been circulated by this Society. Several improvements have, however, taken place recently, by the determined zeal of a few evangelical clergymen, who succeeded in obtaining, Feb. 10, 1834, the appointment of a committee to arrange for the translation and circulation of the Scriptures in foreign languages: and for this purpose they voted "a sum or sums of money, to be drawn from time to time, as the Committee may require, to an amount not exceeding 4,000*l*."

Section III. Low Church, or Evangelical Party.

Piety in the Church of England — Rev. S. C. Wilks's character of the evangelical clergy — Their increase during the last century — Several evangelical bishops — Instruments of revival in the church — Scott's Commentary on the Bible — Simeon's Homileticæ — Horne's Introduction to the Scriptures — Evangelical writers — Church Missionary Society — Evangelical reform in the church — Revival of bigotry — Hon. Baptist Noel's Tracts "Unity of the Church."

Genuine piety, truly scriptural and catholic, bearing the fruits of divine charity, flourishes among a considerable party in the church of England. This body in the Establishment forms a distinct class, variously denominated as "Realists," "Evangelicals," and "Low Churchmen;" but though many of these co-operate cordially with other denominations of Christians, in the Bible Society and other Institutions, some of them hold the lofty notion of the "divine right of diocesan episcopacy," and cherish, in no small degree, the lamentable bigotry of high churchmen, in relation to dissenters. But their general character and spirit at the present time, will be found most correctly exhibited in the following passage from one of their own body.

Rev. S. C. Wilks, the able editor of the *Christian Observer*, reviewing the "Charge" of Bishop Philpotts to his clergy, in 1833, says, "The truly pious members and ministers of the Church of England were wont to be, and we believe the great majority of them still are, men of large understandings, liberal views, and warm hearts; men who, if Christ was preached and souls were saved, by whomsoever, or whenever, rejoiced at it; men who upon principle and conviction were zealously attached to the Established Church of these realms, but who bore no animosity to those who, though out of her pale as to matters of ecclesiastical discipline, yet agreed with her as to the great points of Christian doctrine; men who, in questions of secular import, instinctively inclined to the side of civil and religious freedom — freedom restrained from licentiousness by salutary laws, peaceful contented habits, and above all by religious principle; but still freedom, large, liberal, expansive, as opposed to all that is unjust, slavish, despotic, or that gives one man the power or the authority to tyrannize over another; — men who felt their

hearts glow with exultation at the progress of our religious and charitable institutions; who beheld in the extension of education, and the unprecedented circulation of the Holy Scriptures throughout the world, the dawn of brighter days; — men who wished to look cheerfully upon the aspect of things around them, contending earnestly with evil, but hailing every symptom of improvement; and not anxious to discover and exaggerate in every good work that leaven of imperfection which must of necessity attach to it, or to find or fancy everywhere, even in the most blessed deeds of Christian mercy, something to embitter enjoyment and to turn honey into gall. And such we believe to be still the feeling of the great majority of pious men in the Church of England: *but it is not to be concealed that a root of bitterness has sprung up even in this little sanctuary*; that there is a small, but active and proselyting, body of individuals, who, as we have already said, have allowed their political notions, or their peculiar views or prejudices respecting some society or measure, or their antipathy to some particular set of men, or their personal hopes, fears, or interests in regard to passing events, to jaundice their vision, *and to impede in no small degree the cause of Christ and the welfare of the human race.* One most evil effect of this spirit has been its reflex action upon the Church of England. *It is well known*, that among those of the Evangelical Dissenters who have of late banded together in bitter hostility to that Church, *not a few have been goaded on by the unjust and unchristian spirit displayed towards them — and in many instances personally and by name*.*”

“Realists,” we have seen, had happily arisen in the Church of England towards the close of the last century; and it is believed, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, a large addition had been made to their number. The Rev. Mr. Venn, in the Memoir of his excellent grandfather, remarks, “Some idea of the rapid increase which took place in the number of the Evangelical Clergy may be formed from the fact, which has been recorded, that when Mr. Romaine first began his

* Christian Observer, Jan. 1834, p. 61.

course, he could reckon up as many as *six* or *seven* only who were like-minded with himself: in a few years the number was increased to *ten*; and before he died (1795), there were above *five hundred* whom he regarded as fellow-labourers with himself in word and doctrine. At what rate the increase has proceeded, since that time, I will not take upon myself to say: but assuredly it has been such as to fill the heart of every intelligent observer with praise and gratitude to God*."

Episcopal dignitaries, with few exceptions, being high churchmen, have generally opposed the promotion of evangelical clergymen; but various means have been employed to increase the number of that devoted class. Many excellent pastors have been brought forward by the pious liberality of wealthy individuals, who have supported serious young men at the university, particularly under the late venerable Mr. Simeon of Cambridge; and purchased livings in the church for their occupation. In many towns also, where the inhabitants have the privilege of choosing extra clergymen as afternoon or evening lecturers, the Dissenters have united in voting for candidates of reputed piety. Many chapels too have been erected by individuals, or by subscription, particularly in London and populous towns, which, being licensed by the bishops, have generally been supplied with pious, faithful ministers. The new churches, to the number of about *two hundred*, built principally by means of the parliamentary grants of 1,500,000*l.*, have been furnished generally with clergymen of popular talents, and not a few of them men of sincere personal religion. But besides these various means, it is manifest that the Spirit of God has been largely shed forth upon many churchmen, both incumbents and curates, whose zeal and piety have diffused innumerable blessings through the country. These have been almost exclusively among the inferior clergy, and very few of the evangelical class have attained high preferment in the church. There are, however, several instances of exception worthy of a record in this place.

* Life of Rev. Henry Venn, 1834, Preface, p. xiv, xv.

Dr. Ryder, the late exemplary bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who embraced evangelical doctrines while rector of Lutterworth, was advanced to the episcopacy in 1815, by the personal interest of his brother, Earl Harrowby; and the present pious Dr. C. R. Sumner, bishop of Winchester, and his worthy brother, Dr. J. B. Sumner, bishop of Chester, elevated to the episcopacy in 1826, through their interest with friends about King George IV. These three prelates have promoted many pious ministers in different parts of their dioceses, by whose labours the Establishment has been strengthened and the country blessed.

Evangelical religion, we have seen, had been aided in the last century, by the writings of Mr. Romaine, Mr. Newton, and Mr. Cecil, of London, and Mr. Robinson of Leicester, diffusing or nourishing, in a high degree, a spirit of vital godliness among thousands, not only in the Establishment, but also among all denominations of Christians. Rev. Thomas Scott, by his "Family Commentary on the Scriptures," conferred an inestimable benefit on the Church of Christ; and which the most judicious divines regard as far superior to any thing of the kind previously produced in the Church of England. The excellency of this work may be estimated by the fact of its incorporation with that of Matthew Henry, in forming the substance of the Commentary on the Bible, published by the Religious Tract Society. Evangelical clergymen have been laid under immense obligations to the Rev. Mr. Simeon of Cambridge, for his "Homileticæ," short sermons, or outlines, upon the whole Bible. But without question, the *most* useful work to biblical students, which has in this country been given to the public by this body, or by any other denomination, is the "Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures," by the Rev. T. H. Horne, originally compiled and published, while its author was a layman, and a dissenting preacher, a member of the Methodists; and this valuable production procured him ordination in the Church of England. A suitable companion to this work of Mr. Horne, is the "Chronological Arrangement of the Scriptures," with ample notes, by Rev. George Townsend, the son of a dissenting minister.

Several other writers of great worth for evangelical orthodoxy and utility in promoting and extending the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom might here be mentioned; especially Dr. J. B. Sumner, bishop of Chester, and Dr. Wilson, bishop of Calcutta; but, perhaps more than any others, Rev. Legh Richmond, and especially Rev. E. Bickersteth.

While influenced by the saving doctrines of Christ, as restored at the Reformation, and which were held by the great body of Dissenters, several of the evangelical clergy, at the beginning of the present century, cordially co-operated with them in some of the flourishing religious Institutions, particularly the Missionary Society, the Religious Tract Society, and the Bible Society; but many were fearful of participating in this union, as it gave serious offence to their high church brethren, and they commenced in 1800, a new institution, called "The Society for Missions to Africa and the East." After struggling against the prejudices and censures of high churchmen for about *twelve* years, without one English clergyman entering as a Missionary, the institution was roused to action by the appeal of the Rev. Melville Horne, in 1811, and it entered upon a prosperous course of labour, calling forth the zeal and liberality of the pious members of the church, though numbering only a very few of the prelates among its patrons, its constitution as a voluntary society, principally under the direction of laymen, being regarded as subversive of the principles of the ecclesiastical corporation in the church.

Divine truth is believed to be manifestly progressing in the Church of England, and exemplary, faithful ministers of Christ, who zealously preach the gospel of his salvation, are found in most large towns, and in many parts of the kingdom, though the existing system of "church patronage" is regarded as the great barrier to the universal triumph of evangelical godliness in that communion. Reform is nevertheless silently progressing in the church; and in many instances, patrons are consulting public opinion in the bestowment of "the livings in their gift." Evangelical doctrine is extensively preached, and the prevailing power of vital religion never appears to have been so manifest as at the present time,

in the whole history of the Church of England, demonstrating the gracious influences of the Spirit of God.

That spirit, however, so severely censured by Mr. Wilks, in the *Christian Observer*, has recently been indulged to a more lamentable extent by many evangelical clergymen, while Dissenters have been asking of the Legislature relief from their remaining grievances. Their opposition to Dissenters has been exceedingly active, exhibited in much of the policy of high churchmen, endeavouring to excite popular prejudice against them, and denying the *ministerial*, and even the *Christian character*, of those who separate from the Church of England. But this procedure has occasioned a few noble and upright minds to protest against such an unholy and pernicious policy of their clerical brethren. The Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel has done himself immortal honour, as a minister of Christ, by his able pen in favour of sacred truth and divine charity, on this subject, in relation to Dissenters. "*THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH, another Tract for the Times*," addressed especially to members of the Establishment," is a fine specimen of his Christian faithfulness and piety; and the following paragraph is valuable, as illustrating the present history of religious opinion among churchmen.

Mr. Noel says, "Another Christian, bearing in his life and character all the marks of a child of God, wished to determine whether he should join the Episcopalian section of the Church of Christ, or the Presbyterian. He, too, examined Scripture, weighed the evidence on both sides, conversed with upright and intelligent men in both communions, and prayed to be directed right. After much deliberation, he became convinced that Diocesan Episcopacy has no foundation in the Word of God, and that the orders and discipline of the Presbyterian body are most conformed to the usages of the church in the New Testament; that Presbyterian orders are of Divine appointment, and that it was the will of Christ that he should be so ordained. With that opinion, he became a Presbyterian minister. Am I now to separate from his society? How has he sinned? He was obliged to follow what seemed to him the will of Christ. His conclusions were

supported by the decisions of several of the Protestant churches. The Lutheran, Swiss, French, Dutch, and Scotch churches, the church of the Vaudois, and a large and pious section of the American churches, were all on his side. While in favour of Episcopacy, besides the church of Rome, 'the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth, drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus,' Rev. xvii, 5, 6, and the Eastern churches, which are nearly as corrupt, he found only the Church of England, and three or four small sections of the church of Christ elsewhere, who had retained Diocesan Episcopacy. Under these circumstances, am I to separate from him? Not to have examined the Scripture doctrines would have been sin. Not to have followed the convictions of duty, to which the examination led him, would have been sin. In fidelity to Christ, he was obliged to act as he did; and if I separate from him, I do it only because he did his duty."—Speaking of such Dissenters, he says:—

"Their present conduct is determined by a religious regard to the will of God, and can only be altered by showing them from Scripture, that it is not agreeable to his will. They as much believe us to be in error, as they think themselves right. An intolerant, imperious, and unbrotherly course, which, utterly contrary as it is to the spirit of the Gospel, is yet dignified with the name of Churchmanship, is of all things the most calculated to exasperate dissension and to perpetuate error. From this a sectarian, jealous, and uncandid temper grows on all sides. Arguments and declamation abound, not for 'the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood,' but for 'our church;' not for the diffusing of the saving name of Christ to the ends of the earth, but for 'the Dissenting cause,' or for 'our venerable Establishment,' that is, our venerable selves. To deny, against the evidence of Scripture, those to be his children who are really so, is to be guilty of the sin of schism. If a Dissenter bears all the foregoing marks of a child of God, and I, overlooking them all, pronounce him to be no member of Christ, because he is no Episcopalian, I am, in the sight of God, a schismatic; I introduce an unscriptural test of Christian character, and am responsible

for all the division and heart-burning in the church of God, which must follow from my bigotry.

“Lastly, let us pray for all our brethren, for their prosperity, temporal and spiritual, for themselves, their families, their churches, and their missions. Their grace will be our gain. The more every part of the church of Christ manifests his spirit, the more truth will triumph, the more Christians will be united. Rejoice in the grace of God wherever you may witness it, and pray that the Holy Spirit may speedily render the whole church of God resplendent in every land with wisdom, holiness, and love; which may God of his infinite mercy grant, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.”

Evangelical churchmen have ever manifested a disposition, as far as their canonical restrictions would allow, to promote, both at home and abroad, the pure principles of Christianity. Many of them have broken through their trammels, diligently labouring with Dissenters in the Bible Society, the Tract Society, and several other institutions: but they support some peculiarly their own; and in these they are aided by many of the more moderate high churchmen. The following are their principal institutions:—

Church Missionary Society, founded in 1800.

London Society for the Conversion of the Jews, 1809.

Prayer Book and Homily Society, 1812.

CHAPTER II.

DISSENTERS FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Christianity and liberty advance — Acts of Parliament favouring Dissenters — Statistics of Dissenters — Episcopal and Dissenting places of worship compared — Comparative attendance at both — Cost of Dissenting chapels — Influence and liberality of the two bodies compared, as to efforts for evangelizing the world.

CHRISTIANITY and the principles of liberty have continued to advance during the *nineteenth* century, with the progress of knowledge and the circulation of the Scriptures. Various legislative measures have, therefore, been adopted for the

relief of Dissenters from the established hierarchy. Increasing in numbers and influence, the following Acts of Parliament have passed, chiefly through their persevering efforts, by which great advantages have been conferred on all classes of the United Kingdom. The New Toleration Act, in 1812, securing protection to "religious worship and assemblies, and persons teaching or preaching therein;" the tolerant provisions in the Charter to the East India Company, July 21, 1813, in answer to 908 petitions, presented to parliament from the Independents, Baptists, and Presbyterians, the General Body of Three Denominations, and the Dissenting Deputies, praying for a clause securing protection to Christian Missionaries in India; the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, May 9, 1828; the Catholic Relief Bill, April 13, 1829; the Reform Bills, for England, June 7, 1832; for Scotland, July 17, 1832; and for Ireland, August 7, 1832; the Act for abolishing Colonial Slavery, August 28, 1833; the Municipal Corporation Reform Bill, September 9, 1835; the National Registration Act for Births, Marriages, and Burials, August 17, 1836, to commence March 1, 1837; and the Act enabling Dissenters to marry, August 17, 1836, to commence July 1, 1837.

Dissenters require, however, to be contemplated in a *three-fold* point of view, for any one to gain a correct idea of their *number, character, and influence*: it will be necessary, therefore, to survey their *Statistics*, their *General Character*, and their *Colleges of Learning*, previously to the review of them in distinct religious communities.

Section I. Statistics of Dissenters in England and Wales.

Statistical Tables, from the most authentic sources, have, for many years, been published by the learned and indefatigable editors of the Congregational Magazine; and from that respectable journal, for January 1836, we give the following statements respecting Dissenters:—

"The total number of congregations separate from the Established Church at the present time stands thus:

Roman Catholics	416
Presbyterians	197
Independents	1,840
Baptists	1,201
Calvinistic Methodists	427
Wesleyan Methodists	2,818
Other Methodists	666
Quakers	396
Home Missionary and other Stations.....	453
Total in England and Wales	8,414

“ Now it appears from the best authorities, that the number of Episcopalian churches and chapels in England is 11,825, giving to the established denomination 3,411 more places of worship than are possessed by all the other denominations united. It doubtless has a very imposing sound to talk of 11,825 : but more than half of them are not equal to our Home Missionary stations in the number of their worshippers.

“ The following summary of the parishes and townships of England, we extract from the Report of his Majesty’s Commissioners on the Poor Laws.

“ Parishes, &c. with a population

From 2 to 10 souls	54
From 10 to 20	145
From 20 to 50	511
From 50 to 100.....	1,117
From 100 to 300	4,411

“ Thus it appears, that there are 6,308 parishes in England alone, that have only an average population of 120 souls each. Now it must be remembered, that about *three-tenths* of that number are children under ten years of age, and other *two-tenths* are made up of sick and aged ; it is therefore obvious, that if we assume that all the villagers are disposed to go to church, there will not be an average of more than *sixty* persons who *can* attend public worship in each of these parish churches. We therefore are disposed to believe, that were all the sec-

tions of the Nonconformist body in England to return all the places used by them exclusively as places of worship, they would find that the gross number, both of places and attendants, would approximate very near to, if not actually exceed, that of the Established church."

Estimating the average cost of the 8,000 chapels at 1,000*l.* each, the whole amount thus expended will be 8,000,000*l.* sterling; and reckoning the salaries of their ministers at 110*l.* per annum, which is believed to be much under the amount, and yet is 30*l.* higher than the average of the curates of the Established church, and allowing 16*l.* each for repairs and the ordinary expenses of worship, which also is supposed to be too low, their annual contributions for public worship alone, will amount to more than a million sterling!"

Dissenting statistics may be further understood, so far as regards their numerical strength and active zeal, from other considerations. Nearly twenty seminaries, or small colleges, in which are about 250 students for the Christian ministry, are supported at an annual expense of about 25,000*l.*

Comparing the Conformists with the Nonconformists, with respect to zeal and liberality, the *Congregational Magazine* says: "But as the members of the Episcopal church have not to bear the expenses of their own worship at home, it may be supposed that they do more for the extension of Christianity in foreign parts. To illustrate this part of the subject, we have carefully analyzed the efforts of the Episcopal and Nonconformist Missionary Societies in every county in England. Two advantages result from this examination; first, as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, &c. is mainly supported by the orthodox or canonical clergy and their friends, and the Church Missionary Society is maintained by the Evangelical clergy and their adherents, the comparison between the contributions to each Society will show the relative strength or activity of these two great parties in the church in each county; while in the second place, in writing their receipts, and comparing the total with the contributions of the several Nonconformist Missionary Societies in the same county, the relative strength or activity of the two great parties that now divide the kingdom may be fairly ascertained.

"The following totals will suffice to show which party is making at the present time the most powerful efforts to evangelize the world.

<i>Episcopalians.</i>	£.	s.	d.
Propagation Society	13,037	5	5
Church Missionary Ditto	64,985	17	5
	<hr/>		
	£78,073	2	10
	<hr/>		

<i>Nonconformists.</i>			
London Missionary Society	49,181	15	11
Wesleyan Ditto	46,170	17	6
Baptist Ditto	23,383	7	9
	<hr/>		
	118,736	1	2
	78,073	2	10
	<hr/>		

"Leaving a balance of £40,662 18 4 in favour of the missionary efforts of the voluntary churches for the last year."

Section II. General Character of Dissenters.

Dissenters misrepresented—Their character by Dr. J. P. Smith—Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel's testimony—His appeal for the admission of Dissenting ministers to the pulpits of the Church of England—Testimony of Rev. J. Riland—Dissenting writers—Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary on the Bible—Dr. Boothroyd's new Translation of the Bible, and Commentary.—Dr. Morrison—Dr. Carey.

DISSENTERS from the hierarchy are not generally known according to their genuine principles and character. Both are almost universally represented by high churchmen, in a most unfavourable light. This is manifest from their writings, already referred to, especially from Bishop Gray's "Address to Seceders and Sectarists." Charity and truth are equally violated by this dishonourable policy; while many of the evangelical clergy mourn that such slanders are thus perpetuated against their Christian brethren, especially by a Society, under

the direct influence of all the prelates and a large majority of the clergy of the Church of England.

Dissenters' principles are doubtless best understood by themselves; but respecting their general character, those from whom they differ shall furnish the principal testimony.

Dr. J. P. Smith, in his "Reply to Dr. Lee, Regius Hebrew Professor at Cambridge," says, "*Protestant Dissent* is nothing more than the PROTESTANT REFORMATION from Popery, carried out, not to the extravagant lengths by which hot and weak heads often degrade true principles, but only so far as is required by consistency and sincerity in obedience to the Scriptures."—"The orthodox Protestant Dissenters of England and Wales consist principally of the middling and the working classes: the proportion among them of wealthy families is small, and from the communal aristocracy and the nobility of the land we have scarcely a slender twig belonging to us; what offerings we can bring to the altar of sacred beneficence come mostly from hard earnings; and our power is not a little cramped by the pressure (in ways which appear to us mean, as well as flagrantly unjust) of your rich hierarchy. Yet, observe what I say, and let it sink into your profoundest meditation;—*your church does not supply the half of the scriptural, evangelical, and effective instruction which is dispensed to the English population; but more than the half is the offspring of VOLUNTARY contributions and actions from Dissenters and Non-conforming Methodists* *."

The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, regarded by many of all classes as the most popular, and one of the most devoted and exemplary of the episcopal clergy in London, in his recent work on Church Reform, denouncing the exclusive bigotry which prevails in his own communion, says, "Almost the only Protestant Church who have retained the episcopal form, are we, in this nineteenth century, to exhibit to the world the odious intolerance which would unchurch almost all the churches of Christendom, except that which has long been defaced by inveterate corruptions, and stained with the blood

* A Letter to the Rev. Samuel Lee, D.D., &c. p. 41—73.

of the saints? Never again, I hope, will any one who calls himself a minister of Christ in the Church of England, so offend against Christ through his people, as to deny his commission to the great and good men who laboured with Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, and Knox, to establish the profession of the Gospel in Germany, Switzerland, and Scotland.—But if we fraternize with the churches of the continent, we are equally bound to recognize the churches of America, and the Dissenters of England. Their orders are the same—their discipline little differs. What reason is there for allowing the Presbyterian orders of Geneva, and denying the Congregational orders of New England? And if the Congregational orders of New England be allowed, why should we disallow those of Bristol, of Birmingham, or of London?—Why must the Scotch Presbyterians alone have the benefit of the instructions of Dr. Chalmers in London, when every pulpit of the Establishment ought to welcome him? Why must Dr. Cooke betake himself to Surrey Chapel? Why must the Dissenters alone listen to Dr. Wardlaw or Mr. Jay?—On the whole, it is the writer's sorrowful conviction, that even now, *a far smaller proportion of the established clergy, than of dissenting ministers, are sound theologians and serious men*: and that it were much safer for an orthodox minister at a watering-place, or at any place of large resort, as, for instance, the exemplary vicar of Cheltenham, without previous knowledge or inquiry, to admit an Independent minister into his pulpit than a minister of the Establishment, supposing him to be equally unacquainted with both. From the one he would hear the doctrines of Henry and Doddridge, of Robert Hall and Fuller; from the other, too probably, those of Whitby or of Tomline*.”

Rev. John Riland says, “I am no Dissenter myself; neither have I the honour nor disgrace—an opponent may take his choice of the term—of numbering five Nonconformists among my personal acquaintance. It may procure me a more favourable hearing with their enemies, if I state, that I am a clergyman myself, lineally descended, for nearly two centuries, from clerical ancestors; some of whom were, in a degree, confes-

* Fundamental Reform of the Church Establishment, p. 44—51.

gers for the Church of England, during the ascendancy of Cromwell, and the reign of James II. But, as a member and minister of the universal Church of Christ, I dare not be so ungrateful to the Dissenting body, as to forget their past and present services to the general cause of Christianity. Many of their community have shone, in their respective æras, as the light and glory of the Catholic Church. As composers of what Dr. Johnson calls 'Hortatory Theology,' their claims to our gratitude may be equalled, but never have been surpassed, by episcopalian writers. No library can make any pretensions to completeness, in the department of practical divinity, unless it be enriched by the works of Howe, Owen, Edwards, Baxter, Henry, Doddridge, Watts, and many others of scarcely less inferior name. Of our most useful and popular commentaries on the entire Scriptures, the greater number have proceeded from the pens of Nonconformists. In theological science, the names of Lardner, Chandler, Campbell, Mac Knight, Leland, and Jereimiah Jones, appear among our standard divines. Of living writers, it is sufficient to enumerate Ewing, Townley, Watson, Douglas, Adam Clarke, Wardlaw, Fletcher, Boothroyd, Foster, and Chalmers. Let it further be considered, that the doctrinal system of their practical writers is substantially the same with the formularies of our Church. In truth, the leading divines in both communities, have, for centuries, made common cause against the direct enemies or perverters of the Gospel. They have fought in the same ranks, and partaken of the same conquests. And it is but an act of grateful acknowledgment to Dr. J. P. Smith, to remark, that his recent work on the Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, in reply to Mr. Belsham, is, as a competent judge (Mr. Hartwell Horne) has pronounced it to be, 'one of those biblical works of which the student will never regret the purchase, and unquestionably the most elaborate defence and proof of the Deity of Jesus Christ extant in our language.' From my own acquaintance with the writings of Dissenters, I gather that they are quite as good judges as ourselves of the nature and obligations of Christianity, and of the order and discipline of the Christian Church. They have access to the same means of information; and of these they have availed

themselves with extraordinary assiduity and success. This circumstance deserves the more honourable mention, as they are necessarily excluded from the privileged seats of learning. It will, however, be recollected, that Bishop Warburton, the greatest master of human learning that in modern times has adorned the English episcopacy, went to no university. The author of the *Divine Legation of Moses* began life as an attorney's clerk, and continued in the legal profession till he was twenty-five years of age! In this place it may be advisable to remind such as need the information, that two of our most eminent prelates, Archbishop Secker, and that unequalled analogist, Bishop Butler, were severally the offspring of Dissenters, and by Dissenters were they baptized! They were also educated, together with Archbishop Horte, by a Nonconformist minister, whose investigation of the canon of the New Testament is the established work on that subject; and, as such, has been republished at the Clarendon press*."

Honourable as are the foregoing testimonies to the learning and labours of Drs. A. Clarke and Boothroyd, it would be unjust to them and to the Dissenters generally, to omit in this place a reference to their imperishable writings; and not less so, to pass over those of the venerable missionaries, Dr. Morrison and Dr. Carey.

Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary on the Bible is a splendid proof of his general and extensive learning, in which, it is believed, that few, if any one, surpassed him.

Dr. Boothroyd's edition of the Hebrew Scriptures, with notes and critical apparatus for biblical scholars, and his new Translation and Commentary on the Bible, on which he expended a laborious life, form a noble monument of his profound biblical learning, in which it is believed that he had scarcely an equal, and no superior.

Dr. Morrison's translation of the whole Bible into the Chinese language, and also that of the Church Liturgy, and

* Reflections on Recent Occurrences at Lichfield; including an Illustration of the Opinions of Samuel Johnson, L.L.D., on Slavery, and the General Distribution of the Scriptures; addressed to the Rev. T. Gisborne, M.A., Prebendary of Durham. Hatchard and Son, 1826.

the completion of his Chinese Dictionary and Grammar, are regarded as prodigious evidences of his extraordinary learning, zeal, and labour as a Christian Missionary.

Dr. Carey is regarded as having far exceeded all his contemporaries as an oriental scholar: and his having actually completed, by his own labours, several translations of the Bible, and materially aided in others, to the number of about *forty* languages and dialects of the East, exhibit him as the most successful in this department of labour in the service of Christ.

Section III. Dissenting Colleges and Seminaries of Learning.

Homerton College — Coward College — Western Academy — Rotherham College — Highbury College — Newport Pagnell Institution — Airedale College — Hackney Academy — Blackburn Academy — Glasgow Academical Institution — Carmarthen Academy — Newaddlwyd Academy — Bristol Baptist Academy — Bradford Baptist Academy — Abergavenny Baptist Academy — Stepney Baptist College — General Baptist Academy — Cheshunt College — Wesleyan Theological Institution — Manchester College — The University College, London.

Dissenters have always been strenuous advocates for learning in their ministry: not indeed as an essential qualification for a preacher of the Gospel, but as most desirable for the expounder of the Holy Scriptures. Hence the number of their eminently learned pastors, and their zeal and liberality in supporting their several colleges and seminaries. Subjected to exclusion from the national Universities, which they regard as flagrantly unjust, and one of their grievances under the privileged hierarchy, they have had recourse to private means of ministerial education.

Preceding chapters have in a degree illustrated this feature in the Nonconformists: but it will be necessary here to notice their existing colleges.

1. HOMERTON COLLEGE, near London. This “consists of two foundations, one of which dates as far back as 1690; and the other, to which the property belongs, commenced in 1739. It was removed to its present most eligible situation, from Mile End, in 1772, at which time its professors were

Drs. Fisher, Conder, and Gibbons. It has always been in the highest repute for classical learning; and the distinguished rank which its present Divinity tutor, the Rev. Dr. Pye Smith, holds in the theological world, has procured for it an equal degree of celebrity, as it regards accurate and profound biblical knowledge, and extensive and practical views of ecclesiastical literature." The present building was erected in 1823, at an expense of 10,000*l.* to receive *twenty* students: their term of study is *six* years, and their classical tutor, aided by others, is Rev. W. Bishop.

2. COWARD COLLEGE, London. This originated in the munificence of William Coward, Esq. an opulent merchant of London, who left a large property to trustees for the education of young men for the ministry, and the advancement of religion. Dr. Doddridge was the original tutor, at Northampton, but upon his death, in 1751, it was removed to Daventry, under Dr. Ashworth. In 1789 it was again removed to Northampton, and in 1799 to Wymondley: but recently a noble College has been erected near the University College, London, in connection with which it enjoys the advantages of its professors: its president is the Rev. Thomas Morell.

3. WESTERN ACADEMY, Exeter. This seminary arose from the zeal of the Congregational Fund Board of London, to destroy the Arian doctrine in the West of England. This institution was first under Rev. J. Lavington, 1752, at St. Mary Ottery, Devon, and successively under Rev. Messrs. Rooker of Bridport, Reader of Taunton, and Small of Axminster, from which, a few years ago, it was removed to Exeter, where it now flourishes under the able superintendence of Rev. Dr. Payne.

4. ROTHERHAM COLLEGE, near Sheffield. This originated in a Society formed in 1756. In 1766 the academy commenced under Rev. James Scott. Among its able tutors have been the late Rev. Dr. Edward Williams, and Rev. Dr. James Bennett: but it now enjoys the labours of Rev. T. Smith, M. A. and Rev. W. H. Stowell.

5. Highbury College, London. This arose out of the exertions of some zealous lay gentlemen in 1778, who formed an institution called "The Evangelical Academy." Dr. Ste-

phen Addington was its first tutor. In 1791, the establishment was removed from Mile End to Hoxton, where it flourished under the diligent care of Rev. Dr. Robert Simpson, Rev. Dr. William Harris, Rev. Dr. H. F. Burder, and other eminent men. Several hundred excellent ministers and missionaries were sent forth by this Seminary, and its growing importance rendering a more eligible situation necessary, Thomas Wilson, Esq. its Treasurer, gave a piece of ground, for which he paid *two thousand guineas*, and an elegant college was erected, and opened October, 1826. This commodious building, situated at Islington, cost more than 20,000*l.*, and accommodates *forty* students. Their term of study is *four* years, under the able tuition, aided by others, of Rev. Drs. Henderson and Halley.

6. NEWPORT PAGNELL INSTITUTION. This seminary was formed in 1783, chiefly under the influence of the poet Cowper, aided by that excellent clergyman, Rev. John Newton. It has continued to prosper under the direction of Rev. T. Bull, and his son, Rev. T. P. Bull.

7. AIREDALE COLLEGE, near Bradford, Yorkshire. This institution originated in 1784, chiefly by the influence of Edward Hanson, Esq. of London, with the churches in Yorkshire. Rev. W. Vint, of Idle, was for many years its able tutor, by whom about a hundred efficient ministers were trained for the work of Christ. Recently a new college has been erected at Undercliffe, through the magnificent bequest of two estates, by an excellent lady, Mrs. Bacon; and the institution continues to enjoy the superintendence of Mr. Vint, with Rev. W. Scott, and Rev. W. B. Clulow, as tutors.

8. HACKNEY ACADEMY. This arose in 1803, out of the operations of the "Village Itinerancy, or Evangelical Association, for spreading the Gospel in England." See chap. viii. This institution, projected by Rev. J. Eyre, A. M. has continued to flourish, under the devoted labours of Rev. G. Collicson, M. A. its first tutor, with whom is now associated Rev. S. Ransom.

9. BLACKBURN ACADEMY. This institution arose in 1816, from the more private seminary of Rev. W. Roby, Manchester, when Rev. Dr. Fletcher, and Rev. W. Hope were ap-

pointed tutors. It now flourishes under the care of Rev. G. Wardlaw, A. M. and Rev. W. L. Alexander, A. M.

10. **GLASGOW ACADEMICAL INSTITUTION.** Rev. Dr. Wardlaw and Rev. Greville Ewing, A. M. are the tutors of this seminary; and the students enjoy the advantages of the Glasgow University.

11. **NORTH WALES INDEPENDENT ACADEMY,** New Town, Montgomeryshire. Rev. Messrs. Davies and Brown are its tutors.

12. **CARMARTHEN ACADEMY.** This institution has flourished many years under the care of Rev. Mr. Peter.

13. **CONGREGATIONAL ACADEMY,** Newaddluyd, Cardiganshire, Rev. T. Philips, Tutor.

These institutions belong to the Congregational Independents, who have several others of a more private character: and provision has been made for the founding of a new College in Birmingham, by the munificent bequests of the late Charles Glover, Esq. and of his brother in law, — Mansfield, Esq.

The Baptists have several Colleges for the education of their ministers: the following are the principal.

14. **BRISTOL BAPTIST ACADEMY.** This was founded in 1710: and, under a succession of able tutors, especially Dr. Caleb Evans and Dr. Ryland, many eminent ministers have been trained for the church of Christ. It has twenty students, and its president is Rev. T. S. Crisp, D. D.

15. **BRADFORD BAPTIST ACADEMY.** This was established in 1804, having originated with the "Northern Education Society." This institution receives twenty-two students; and its tutors are Rev. J. Ackworth, A. M. and Rev. J. Clowes.

16. **ABERGAVENNY BAPTIST ACADEMY.** This was founded in 1807, for the education of Welsh Baptist ministers: its means of support are very limited, and its students are only ten in number.

17. **STEPNEY BAPTIST COLLEGE.** This seminary arose in 1810. It has flourished under several able tutors, among whom were Rev. Dr. Cox and Rev. Dr. Newman. Its present students are twenty, and its tutors are Rev. W. H. Murch, D. D. and Rev. S. Tomkins A. M.

18. **GENERAL BAPTIST ACADEMY, Loughborough.** This is prospering, and supplying some able ministers to that denomination.

19. **CHESHUNT COLLEGE.** This institution originated with the Countess of Huntingdon, whose munificence established a seminary at Trevecka, in North Wales, whence it was removed in 1792 to Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, where it flourishes under the tutorship of Rev. Y. K. Foster.

20. **WESLEYAN THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION, Hoxton.** This establishment was formed by the Methodist Conference for the preparation of a more learned ministry: it commenced in 1834, and has twenty-seven students. Its tutors are Rev. J. Hannah, and Rev. S. Jones, A. M. Rev. Dr. Bunting is president.

Justice requires it to be stated, that Trinitarian and evangelical doctrines are taught in all the above institutions; and that while classical and mathematical studies are not disregarded, as circumstances will admit, the chief attention is paid to the sacred languages, and the various branches of Theological and Biblical learning, as the grand requisites in the able minister of Jesus Christ.

21. **MANCHESTER COLLEGE, York.** This is a Unitarian seminary, and the only one belonging to that denomination: and this has been supported, principally by the perverted trusts of orthodox Christians, and of Lady Hewley's Charity, from which its tutor, Rev. Mr. Wellbeloved, received, as a "poor godly minister of Christ's holy gospel," 80*l.* per annum. Several Unitarian seminaries have failed, though enjoying the tuition of their most celebrated men, as Drs. Taylor, Aikin, and Priestley. Mr. Wellbeloved's sentiments are reputedly low Socinian.

THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, London. Dissenters being virtually excluded from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, united in founding one for themselves, in London. His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex laid the first stone of it, April 30, 1827. It is to consist of a central part and two projecting wings: the first portion is finished, extending from north to south 430 feet, with a depth from east to west of 200 feet. The course of instruction comprehends the lan-

guages ancient and modern, European and Oriental, mathematics, physics, the mental and moral sciences, history, political economy, the law of England, and the medical sciences; and whatever is regarded as constituting general knowledge. Professors of the most eminent talents have hitherto directed the several branches of study; and the late Dr. Morrison's Chinese Library, nearly 10,000 volumes, having been presented to the Trustees, a Professorship of that language has been instituted (in the autumn of this year, 1837), and the Rev. S. Kidd appointed to the chair, formerly Professor of Chinese in the Anglo-Chinese College, Malacca.

Jealousy was excited by this institution, and the greatest opposition made to it by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, especially against the granting of a charter by the King: after about four years delay it was granted, in December, 1835, its name being changed to its present title, instead of LONDON UNIVERSITY.

CHAPTER III.

DENOMINATIONAL STATE OF DISSENTERS.

Section I. Congregational Independents.

Independents the chief Nonconformists—Congregational Episcopacy—Number of their chapels—Their learned divines—Reason of their name—Their doctrinal principles—Congregational Union—Series of Lectures—Deputation to America—Publications of the Union—The Missionary Societies of the Independents.

CONGREGATIONAL Independents are so called on account of their *practising* the great principle of Protestantism—that *the Holy Scriptures are the only authority in religion*; and that no human power, therefore, civil or ecclesiastical, has any right to interfere with the faith or worship of any congregation of Christians: their only law, in things sacred, being the inspired oracles of God.

Independents hold a *congregational episcopacy* as the only *apostolical* system of church government, in opposition to the *diocesan prelacy* of the Church of England. They maintain that no other than *congregational bishops*, as all pastors of churches are, existed in the first ages of Christianity. In this

opinion they are supported by the Dissenters generally—by the Church of Scotland, and by most of the Foreign Protestants: and they appeal, in justification of their belief and practice, to the language of the New Testament—the testimony of the most ancient Christian writers—the best-informed ecclesiastical historians—and the most learned critics on the Holy Scriptures.

Considering their antiquity, their numbers, their learning, and their influence, the Independents are regarded as the chief denomination of regular Nonconformists in England. Their chapels are reported to amount to 1,840, in England and Wales, exclusive of numerous village and preaching stations, and of the Home Missionary stations, which properly belong to them: but the number of individuals composing their congregations, or the communicants in their churches, is not published.

Learning, as we have seen, is most laudably cultivated by this denomination: hence their numerous theological colleges and seminaries in different parts of the country, to secure an educated and faithful ministry. Christianity has, therefore, found among the Independents some of its most learned translators and expounders of the Holy Scriptures, and the most able defenders of its evidences and divinity. Their popular writers on practical divinity also, of the present century, have shown themselves worthy of being regarded as the successors of Owen, Howe, Watts, Henry, and Doddridge.

Notwithstanding the acknowledged piety, orthodoxy, and learning of this body, strong prejudices have been excited in the minds of many churchmen against the Independents, on account of their rejecting all ecclesiastical authority, beyond that of the inspired Scriptures, in the management of their religious affairs. Many of their opponents, who ought to be better informed, have accused them of being themselves Socinians, or of sympathizing with those who are such in sentiment, as being true Christians: but it is not known, or even suspected among themselves, that there is a single minister of the body, who entertains the opinions of Socinianism. Their principles are reputed as near to what are called Calvinistic, according to the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England;

and it is believed that among no denomination of Christians does there exist so full and perfect an agreement of religious opinion. Their doctrinal sentiments have recently been published, in a "Declaration of their Faith, Church Order, and Discipline," by the "Congregational Union of England and Wales."

This "Union" was formed in London, in 1829, for the express purpose of cordial co-operation in advancing the Kingdom of Christ through the world, according to their convictions of obligation to promote the observance of his institutions, as given in the New Testament. Most of the churches of the Independent denomination in England, Scotland, Ireland, America, and in the British colonies, have united with this voluntary association, which meets annually in London. They have established a library for their body, and an annual series of lectures on the most important subjects of Christian theology. Five volumes have already been published by Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, on "Christian Ethics;" by Rev. Dr. Vaughan, on the "Causes of the Corruption of Christianity;" by Rev. J. Gilbert, on "Atonement for Sin;" by Rev. Dr. Henderson, on the "Inspiration of the Scriptures;" by Rev. Dr. Redford, on "Holy Scripture verified by Science, History, and Human Consciousness."

Anxious to cultivate Christian sympathy with the churches in America, the Congregational Union sent, in 1834, Rev. Drs. Reed and Mattheson, as a deputation to visit them; and their "Narrative" of that visit evinces the importance of that deputation. This body have published, besides their "Declaration of their Faith, Order, and Discipline," and a "Pastoral Letter" annually, addressed to the churches, a "Congregational Hymn Book," to promote and improve the spirit of devotion in their worshipping assemblies.

Every one will admit that the Independents have always been among the first to contemplate and labour for the evangelization of the whole population, and of every tribe of mankind. They have contributed their full share towards the support of the Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, and other of the great Christian institutions, whose labours have been crowned with the blessing of God.

Their principal religious institutions are the following:—

London Missionary Society	formed in 1795
Irish Evangelical Society	1814
Home Missionary Society	1819
Christian Instruction Society	1826
Colonial Missionary Society	1836

Besides the above, the following may be noticed:—

County Associations throughout the kingdom for Home Missionary purposes, in extending religion through the country.	
Congregational Fund Board, for the Relief of Poor Ministers.....	1696
Society for the Relief of Aged Ministers	1818
Associate Fund for Relief of Infirm Ministers..	1825
Congregational School for Educating the Sons of Ministers, at Lewisham, Kent.....	1811
Ditto at Silcoates, Yorkshire	1826
Protestant Dissenters' Grammar School, Mill Hill	1806

Section II. Baptists.

Particular Baptists—Their statistics in England and Wales—Open communion in their churches—Learning among the Baptists—Ministers of great note—Eminent Missionaries—Present state of their churches—Baptist Union—Baptist churches.

England and Wales contain many eminent Christians of the denomination of Particular Baptists. They assume this title of *Baptist*, in the belief that baptism can be administered only by the submersion of adult believers; and that of *Particular*, as holding the doctrine of *Election to salvation and eternal life*, as taught in the *seventeenth* Article of the Church of England. They have existed as a body, in England, since the reign of Charles I; and greatly increased during the last *forty* years; so that they now constitute a religious community, including about 1,086 churches, comprising nearly 100,000 members in full communion, besides about 120 churches of the General Baptists, in England and Wales.

Particular Baptists are altogether congregational in their church government; and, except in the ordinance of baptism, they agree almost entirely with those denominated Independents. Many of the Baptist churches are strict communionists; that is, they do not allow the members of other churches to unite with them in the Lord's Supper, unless they have been baptized by submersion. This exclusive system has, however, been modified or abandoned, especially during the last *twenty* years, since the controversy on this subject between Rev. Robert Hall and Rev. J. Kinghorn; so that now many churches maintain *open communion*, admitting those who make a credible profession of the Gospel, to the Lord's table with them, without their submitting to their form of baptism.

Many of the Baptist churches formerly disesteemed learning, as not necessary to be possessed by their preachers or pastors; but no denomination, at the present time, more highly appreciates the importance of a learned ministry; and several of the ministers of this denomination have done the highest honour to the Christian profession in the present century: among these, it would be unjust to omit the names of some who have gone to their reward within a few years: Drs. Ryland, Newman, Robert Hall, Steadman, and Rippon. Drs. Carey and Marshman have already been noticed as eminent missionaries, and translators of the Scriptures in India. Rev. Andrew Fuller, Secretary to the Baptist Missionary Society, was a man of very superior talents; and Rev. Joseph Hughes, the Founder and Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of the Religious Tract Society, was a Baptist. Ministers of first-rate learning or talents for preaching are believed to be at present not very numerous among the Baptists; but many of their churches are very large, including from 500 to 700 members, and prosperous, under pastors of rare endowments and the most useful qualifications. The most eminent men among the Baptists at present, are Rev. Drs. Cox, Hoby, and Murch, Rev. J. Foster and J. H. Hinton, and Dr. O. Gregory and J. Sheppard, Esq.

Various plans for the improvement of the Baptist community, and to enlarge its power, arose out of the working of

their Missionary Society. Their formation of a denominational association in 1812, including their ministers and churches, has been the means of essential benefit to them ; as it has not only made the whole acquainted with their own statistics, but led them to combine their energies for their increase, purity, and influence. The Baptists have shown themselves equally zealous with other Christians to extend the boundaries of Messiah's kingdom, both at home and in foreign countries. This will appear, not only from the successful labours of their Missionaries in both the East and West Indies, and from their co-operating in the support of the Bible Society and Tract Society, but from a review of their appropriate institutions, the principal of which are the following : —

Baptist Missionary Society.....	founded in 1792
Baptist Home Missionary Society	1797
Baptist Irish Society.....	1814
Baptist Fund for assisting Poor Ministers.	1717
Society for Educating Baptist Ministers' children..	1830
Baptist Chapel Building Fund	1824

See "DISSENTING COLLEGES," for their seminaries of learning.

Section III. General Baptists.

Origin of General Baptists—New Connection—General Baptists' Academy—Number and state of their churches—General Baptist Mission to India—Some churches not in connection.

Differences of opinion, relating to the doctrine of the Divine decrees, occasioned a separation between the two parties in the Baptist body, during the eighteenth century. Those holding Arminian sentiments, or the doctrine of general redemption, assumed the title of *General Baptists*. Arianism, however, prevailed in several of their churches, as it had affected the Presbyterian churches ; and it was ascertained that some had sunk into the low doctrinal sentiments of Socinianism.

A "New Connection" of the General Baptist churches

was therefore formed, in the year 1770, of those who were esteemed evangelical and sound in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and the divinity of Jesus Christ. This body also, with a view to the education of pious young men for the ministry, established a seminary for that purpose in 1798, called the "General Baptist Evangelical Academy," and placed it under the direction of the Rev. Dan. Taylor, a minister of eminent talents, in London. This excellent man died in 1816, and the academy was removed into Lincolnshire, and afterwards to Loughborough: the last minutes of the General Baptist Association for 1837, mention an Academy at Wisbeach, in Cambridgeshire.

This Connection has progressively increased, and, from the minutes of their last annual meeting, in June, 1837, it appears that they have in union 118 churches, with 226 chapels and preaching places mostly in the midland counties. Their church-members in full communion are reported as 13,377.

Missionary labour has been undertaken by the General Baptists, and they have an important station at Orissa, in the East Indies.

Rev. Mr. Peggs, one of the General Baptist ministers, has gained himself honour in the missionary field; and Rev. J. G. Pike is well known by his various useful writings, which have been published by the Religious Tract Society.

Some General Baptist Churches are not in the New Connection; besides the few, chiefly those whose chapels have endowments, which have sunk into Socinianism.

Section IV. Presbyterians.

Presbyterian government — Presbyterianism declining in England — Causes of its declension — Evangelical Presbyterians in England — Their numbers — Eminent Presbyterians.

Presbyterians are so called, as they hold that the apostolic churches were governed by presbyters, that is elders, the senior persons of the congregations, associated with their

pastors, all having equal powers, without any superiority either by order or office. Many of the early Reformers were Presbyterians; and according to this plan, many of the churches of Protestants on the continent were established. Most of the Puritans and Nonconformists in England were Presbyterians, after the discipline of the foreign Protestants, and the constitution of the church of Scotland. This body formed a large majority of the Dissenters at the time of the Revolution: but "Arianism," which prevailed in the eighteenth century; as already remarked *, "was the grave of the Presbyterian congregations;" for many of their ministers, yielding to the prevailing Arminianism, became latitudinarian in their principles, and fell from their adherence to the doctrinal standards of the churches of England and of Scotland, into Arianism, and even Socinianism: the old Presbyterian places of worship fell into the hands of Socinian trustees, and no new chapels were required to be built for the declining body; because those who loved the doctrines of evangelical truth withdrew from a ministry now become lifeless, to be united with the increasing Independents. This declension will be found more fully described under "*Section XI. UNITARIANS, or SOCINIANS.*"

Evangelical Presbyterians, however, still exist in considerable numbers in England and Wales: they comprise, it is believed, about 70 congregations, chiefly in the northern counties; *forty* being in Northumberland, and *fifteen* in Durham; mostly frequented by natives of Scotland, or by those of Scotch extraction. London contains about *ten* of these congregations; some of them are branches of the Secession church, and the rest are in connection with the church of Scotland. The most distinguished place of worship belonging to the Presbyterians in London is the church erected for the late eccentric Rev. Mr. Irving.

Presbyterian form of church government seems scarcely practicable in England, even in those churches in connection with the church of Scotland, and they are nearly independent in their practice. The ministers of this denomination are regarded as men of highly respectable talents and character;

* Page 390.

and few of the London pastors have ever been more deservedly esteemed and beloved than the late Rev. Drs. Hunter and Waugh, and Mr. Broadfoot. Rev. J. Young has distinguished himself by a series of very able Lectures on the peculiar doctrines of the Roman Catholics.

The Presbyterians contribute to the support of the London Missionary Society and the Scottish Missionary Society.

Section V. Quakers, or Society of Friends.

Quakers, or Friends — Their number — Religion among them — Their controversies — State of their doctrine — Their orthodoxy — Their morality — Their approved Christian Societies — Eminent Quakers, Elizabeth Fry, Joseph Sturge, Bernard Barton, William and Mary Howitt, Joseph John Gurney.

“Quakers” is a term of reproach given to some of the early members of this community: their chosen appellation, as distinguishing them from other Christians, is that of “FRIENDS.” This Society is numerous, comprising about *four hundred* congregations: their ministers are not salaried pastors, but usually men in business, of the greatest reputation for wisdom and piety among them, and some of them are distinguished females. They have manifestly experienced a large measure of the Divine influences since the commencement of the present century, and the power of religion is known to prevail among many in this community.

Scriptural knowledge having increased so remarkably in the present century, many of the pious Friends have been dissatisfied with their peculiar modes in religion, especially the omission of reading the Scriptures in public worship. Controversy as to the rule of faith has arisen among them; and considerable discussions have therefore taken place in their “district,” “quarterly,” and “yearly meetings,” many making their appeal from the uncertain “light within,” and from the writings of their “fathers,” Penn and Barclay, to the infallible testimony of Holy Scripture.

These proceedings have shaken the Society; and many of

the more serious have seceded, to join other Christian communions: and notwithstanding the majority have postponed, for the present, the graver questions brought before the last "yearly meeting," there is a large body formed in the society, called "Evangelical Friends;" and there appeared a greater disposition than formerly to make a final reference to the testimony of the written word of God.

Socinianism is thought to have been cherished by the Quakers: and it seems probable that some of them have held its peculiar opinions, as a large party of that denomination have done in America: but none of their leading members are known to hold such opinions; and the "Yearly Epistles of the Society" are considered as fully orthodox in regard to the divinity and atonement of Christ. It is only just to record the high reputation which the Society bears in the nation for morality and commercial integrity. Their zeal in the cause of general education is evident, in their cordial support of the British and Foreign School Society; their testimony against war is carried out in their activity in the Universal Peace Society; their love of freedom is manifest in their generous devotedness to the Anti-Slavery cause; and none seem more decided in their attachment to the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Elizabeth Fry is a name dear to every Christian, as one of our most devoted and honoured philanthropists: her labours to improve our prisons and to promote the religious welfare of prisoners, and to supply the choicest Christian books and libraries to hospitals and to our Coast Guard, deserve a lasting memorial.

Joseph Sturge merits a record in this place, as a generous philanthropist labouring to terminate Colonial Slavery, and to promote the religious improvement of the negroes.

Bernard Barton and Mrs. Howitt are poets of considerable talents; and William Howitt, her husband, is a writer of great intelligence: but Joseph John Gurney has surpassed every one of the "Friends" as a learned and orthodox writer; as is evident from his *Biblical Notes and Critical Dissertations*, his "Evidences of Christianity," &c. &c.

Section VI. Moravians, or United Brethren.

Origin of the Moravians — Count Zinzendorf — Episcopal discipline of the Moravians — Their settlement in England — Their Establishments — Their Missionary labours.

“Unitas Fratrum,” or “United Brethren,” is the distinguishing title chosen by this body of Christians: their other appellation is derived from Moravia, a province of Austria, in which some of them, descended from the ancient Waldenses, were persecuted, in 1732, when they settled at Fulnec in Upper Lusatia, under the protection of Count Zinzendorf. This nobleman became their bishop in 1735; on which occasion Dr. Potter, archbishop of Canterbury, congratulated the Count on his assuming the sacred character, allowing the claim of their church to be *episcopal*. Their bishops are chosen by the votes of the synods, but they allow them no elevation of rank or pre-eminent authority, their church having from its first establishment been governed by synods, consisting of deputies from all the congregations, and by other subordinate bodies, which they call *Conferences*. In their opinion, episcopal consecration does not confer any power to preside over one or more congregations; and a bishop can discharge no office but by the appointment of a synod, or of the Elders’ Conference of Unity. Presbyters among them can perform every function of the bishop, except ordination. Deacons are regarded as assistants to the presbyters, much in the same way as it is professed in the Church of England.

Some of the Moravians soon settled in England; and in 1735, a considerable body went as Missionaries, with Mr. Wesley, to Georgia, in America: but they have not succeeded greatly in proselyting; and they have scarcely *twenty* congregations in Great Britain. Fulnec, near Leeds in Yorkshire, is their principal settlement in England: they have an establishment also at Fairfield near Manchester, one at Ockbrook near Derby, and one at Ayr in Scotland*. Ortho-

* The United Brethren have six regular settlements in Saxony, *one* in Wirtemberg, *four* in Silesia, *one* in Moravia, *one* at Sarepta near As-

doxy, piety, and zeal have eminently distinguished the Moravians; but few of their congregations are large; the most considerable are those in London, Bristol, and Bedford.

Missionary devotedness, however, is the most conspicuous feature of the Moravians: they seem indeed to have considered themselves as a church of Missionaries; and their apostolic zeal has been crowned with the blessing of God.

When brethren or sisters find themselves disposed to serve God among the heathen, they communicate their wishes, in a confidential letter, to the committee appointed by the synods of the brethren;—and when vacancies occur, or new missions are to be commenced, the list of candidates is examined, and the proposition made to those who appear suitable for the particular station. The state of this Society's missions will be noticed in Chapter IX. **BRITISH EVANGELICAL SOCIETIES.**

Section VII. Wesleyan Methodists.

Increase of Methodism — Causes of its increase — Methodists have objected to be called Dissenters — Policy of high-churchmen — Attempts to destroy Methodism — Lord Sidmouth's Bill — Dissenters oppose it — Lord Castlereagh's new Act of Toleration — Methodists favoured by it — Methodist Missionary Society — Methodist Catechisms — Number of Methodists — Secession of Members — Methodist Institutions.

Wesleyan Methodism has continued to make astonishing progress, during the present century, in most parts of the British empire and in America. Its peculiarity of ecclesiastical polity — the union of all its branches with the Conference, and their consequent dependence on that body, and the extensive employment of a *lay agency* in its numerous

tracans in Russian Asia, *one* at Neuried on the Rhine, *one* at Zeist in Holland, *one* at Christiansfeld in Denmark, *one* in Ireland, *six* in North America, besides societies in various towns and villages in most Protestant countries. Their only Colleges are those at Nisky in Upper Lusatia, and at Guadenfeld in Silesia. They have also, or had lately, an Academy at Barby in Upper Saxony.

local preachers, with the frequent meetings of its members,—are regarded as the principal means of its success, under the blessing of God.

Though practical *nonconformists* in the fullest sense of the term, and protected also by the Act of Toleration, the Methodists have been accustomed to object to be called Dissenters. High churchmen, therefore, both lay and clerical, have spared no ordinary pains or expense to nourish this objection, and to detach them from all co-operation with the “Three Denominations,” in seeking the extension or establishment of civil and religious liberty. In this crafty policy they have succeeded with some of their leaders; yet, except the Independents, no other class of the Dissenters has been so much dreaded by high churchmen, as dangerous to the Establishment, on account of their number and ecclesiastical combination.

Methodism so greatly increasing, the prelates of the Church of England became seriously alarmed; and they resolved, therefore, to aim a blow near the root of the system, which they contrived, in 1811, employing Lord Sidmouth to bring a Bill into parliament with a view to prevent uneducated men from being licensed as preachers or teachers, unless they were pastors of congregations. The noble viscount alleged, that “*very improper persons had intruded themselves into the ministry, such as blacksmiths, chimney-sweepers, pig-drovers, pedlars, cobblers, &c.*” and expressed a fear that we should have a *nominal established church, but a sectarian people*.” The Dissenters arose in a body to withstand so pernicious a measure; called by the “Dissenting Deputies” of the Three Denominations, they obtained an interview with the Chancellor, to lay their objections before the Government; and, aided by the Methodists, they procured above *six-hundred* petitions, *two-hundred and fifty-six* of which were from the Methodists, against the Bill, which was consequently lost on the second reading, May 21. Hence arose the “Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty.”

Divine Providence now favoured religious freedom: for public opinion, thus seasonably expressed, forced upon the

Government the necessity of granting further protection to the worshippers of God; as many, and even clerical magistrates, had recently fined pious people for meeting in houses, praying and preaching: many cases of this kind are on record. A Bill for a new "Act of Toleration," therefore, to defend Dissenters from this species of persecution, was brought into Parliament July 10, 1812, and finally passed July 29, by Lord Castlereagh.

Methodism now received a new impulse from the overthrow of Lord Sidmouth's anti-christian artifice, and the consequent extension of religious freedom by the new Act; as greater facilities were afforded for the licensing of preachers dissenting from the Church of England.

Annual conferences of the Wesleyan preachers are of the utmost importance to the union, stability, and efficiency of this great community: and numerous plans for the advancement of the whole are seasonably adopted, with the utmost practical effect. One of the most effectual means of enlarging this body was the formation of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, in the year 1817, by which the whole community became interested in their long-established missions to various parts, especially the West Indies. Among the measures taken for the spiritual benefit of Methodist families, and the children in their Sunday schools, which are very large, perhaps nothing is more worthy of commendation than the preparation of a series of Catechisms for the young. They are admirable manuals of Christian instruction, deserving to be regarded as models for those of other denominations, and reflect the highest honour on their gifted author, the late Rev. Richard Watson.

"Conference," in 1837, met at Leeds, to the number of *nearly four hundred and fifty* preachers, when the following was reported as the aggregate of the Wesleyan Methodists in Great Britain and Ireland:—

Great Britain, Members in.....	292,693
Ireland, ditto..	26,023

Total Members in Great Britain and Ireland 318,716

Great Britain, Regular Preachers	867
Supernumerary and Superannuated ditto	134
	<hr/> 1,001
Ireland, Regular Preachers	97
Missionaries	25
Supernumerary and Superannuated ditto ...	39
	<hr/> 1,162
Total Preachers in Great Britain and Ireland	1,162

Considerable agitation has prevailed in the Methodist community within the last few years, on account of the alleged despotism of the Conference, and of the superintendent ministers in many of the districts. Secessions and expulsions have therefore been numerous, especially of local preachers; and they found a zealous and able leader in one of their suspended preachers, Dr. Warren: a new sect of Methodists has therefore arisen, by some called "WARRENITES."

Alluding to these things, the Methodist Magazine, for September, 1837, says, "One of the most painfully interesting sessions was that in which the number of members in Society was reported. It was found, that though in various districts the increase amounted to 3,898 (nearly one-third of which was in the Manchester district only), the decrease in the other districts was 4,337, leaving a deficiency of 439. The foreign stations have been favoured with continued prosperity, and exhibited an increase, on the numbers reported last year, of 4,204; from which, if the decrease of 850 in Great Britain and Ireland be deducted, the total increase will be seen to be 3,354."

Increasingly convinced of the importance of an educated ministry, the Wesleyan Methodists instituted, in 1834, a seminary for this purpose in London; it is denominated the "WESLEYAN THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION." See "DISSENTING COLLEGES."

Wesleyan Missions	commenced in 1784
Wesleyan Missionary Society	organized in 1817
Kingswood School for the Sons of Methodist Preachers	1748
Woodhouse Grove School, ditto	1812
Itinerant Methodist Preachers' Annuity.	

Section VIII. Calvinistic Methodists.

English Calvinistic Methodists—Their number—Rev. R. Hill—They have no ecclesiastical system—Some of their chapels become Independent, others Episcopal—Episcopal clergymen cease to preach in Calvinistic Methodist chapels—Calvinistic Methodist Institutions.

English Calvinistic Methodists comprehend those who worship in the chapels erected by Whitefield and his colleagues, and in those opened by clergymen and others, holding the doctrinal principles of the Church of England, and using its liturgy. There are supposed to be about *sixty* of these chapels in England: *seven* of them, besides the *two* large “Tabernacles” of Whitefield’s, and two in the Countess of Huntingdon’s connection, are situated in London. The most celebrated of these is Surrey Chapel, built by the Rev. Rowland Hill, and for about *sixty* years the scene of the honoured and useful ministry of that extraordinary servant of Christ. Many of the congregations of this community, especially those in London, Bristol, &c. are large, and religion is believed to flourish in them.

Calvinistic Methodism, not having been sustained or regulated by any ecclesiastical system or association, has increased but little during the present century; and within the last few years several of its commodious chapels have been fully identified with the Independents; while *three* in London, and *one* at Reading, have been transferred to the established church, and licensed by the bishops, for the use of episcopally ordained ministers. Both these cases of change have appeared natural; as the pulpits were supplied, generally, by Independent ministers, while the people were, for the most part, churchmen, seceding from the Establishment only to enjoy the privilege of evangelical pastors.

Several of the episcopally ordained clergymen, at the beginning of the present century, were accustomed to preach in some of these chapels: but this practice, certainly *uncanonical*, it is believed, has altogether ceased, to the regret of many excellent clergymen, who cordially concur in the truly Catholic sentiments of the Honourable and Reverend Baptist Noel.

Calvinistic Methodists have ever been zealous and liberal in supporting the Missionary and Bible institutions, co-operating with the Independents. They may be said, with correctness, to have originated the "Village Itinerancy or Evangelical Institution," to promote the diffusion of the Gospel in the villages of England; and with its seminary at Hackney, for the education of pious young men for the ministry, it has been rendered a great blessing to our country, in advancing the kingdom of Christ.

Section IX. Countess of Huntingdon's Connection.

Religion in the Countess's Connection—Number of its chapels—Its principal members call themselves churchmen—Itinerancy of its ministers—Many of them have come settled pastors—Funds of the Connection—State of doctrine in the Connection—Cheshunt College.

Religion, in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection, is believed to flourish in many places: still, upon the whole, it is not considered in a prosperous state; and indeed, it is supposed that it has scarcely increased since the death of her Ladyship. The chapels in this Connection are reckoned at between *fifty* and *sixty*, most of which are in the hands of the Countess's trustees. Many of the principal persons in this body, as it has been the case with the Wesleyan Methodists, though all practical Dissenters, desire to be considered as members of the Church of England: and in some of their chapels, a greater degree of liturgical ceremony is observed than among the followers of Wesley or Whitefield. This predilection, so remarkably apparent in this Connection, has evinced itself by many leaving it altogether, when they have been favoured with an evangelical minister in their parish churches.

Most of the leaders, in the two chief branches of the Calvinistic Methodists, appear to have been profoundly ignorant of all principles of church government: their ecclesiastical system, therefore, having no particular bond of union, it is expected that their congregations will ultimately be united with the established hierarchy, or with the regular Independents.

During many years, it was the practice of the ministers in this connection to officiate at the various chapels in succes-

sion, for *six, ten, or twelve* weeks at a time, as appointed by the trustees, by whom also they were paid, as the Countess had entrusted to their hands all the ecclesiastical property, for the service of the ministers. But this itinerant system has generally been abandoned, except in the case of two or three chapels; and the several congregations have been allowed to choose their own ministers, who have been settled over them, and supported by the people as congregational pastors. The general funds of the Connection are consequently believed to have accumulated, and the manner of their appropriation is become with many a subject of anxious inquiry. It is now understood, that the trustees wish to return to the original system of itinerancy, discountenancing ministerial residence in the chapels which they hold: but this scheme is generally obnoxious to the people; and it is supposed, therefore, that the whole question of the property, its application, and the power of the trustees over the ministers, will at length be referred to the decision of the Court of Chancery.

Ultra-Calvinism prevailed in this Connection for some years, greatly impeding its usefulness: but its later ministers have received more solid theological training, under several able tutors, at Cheshunt College, and some of them have been distinguished through the country as the faithful servants of Jesus Christ. Perhaps the most eminent minister in our time, in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection, is the Rev. James Sherman, who has been called to succeed in the pastorate to the late venerable Rowland Hill, in London.

Cheshunt College, Hertfordshire, belongs to the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection, for the education of pious young men for the ministry. See "*DISSENTING COLLEGES.*"

Section X. New Methodists and their minor sects.

Peculiar agencies of Methodism — Secessions from the Wesleyan Conference — Mr. Wesley's supremacy — Refuses the wishes of his societies — Conference yields those requests — The people ask to have representatives in Conference — The preachers refuse — Secessions — Methodist New Connection — Their increase — Primitive Methodists — Bryanites — Independent Methodists — Protestant Methodists — Warrenites — Doctrines of the Methodist sects — Their usefulness.

Methodism, employing so peculiarly every one of its members capable of instructing others, as a preacher or an ex-

horter, is admirably adapted to increase its numbers, especially from among the lower classes. Considering also the fallen nature of man, and the imperfections attaching to associated bodies, not excepting even those which are truly Christian, it might have been expected that authority would be regarded by some as oppressive, or be in reality abused, and that divisions would arise, producing new combinations. This would naturally be the case among such a body as the Methodists.

Divisions and secessions have arisen from this great community: but as most of the existing sects are still unorganized, they can scarcely be considered as having increased numerically during the last few years; for many who had been awakened by them to serious reflection and religious feeling, have been led to join with other denominations of Christians. Eight years ago they were computed to amount to about 70,000 members in the different classes of New Methodists, and about 700 congregations. The Editor of the *Congregational Magazine* for January, 1836, was enabled to report 666 chapels.

Mr. Wesley, the founder of the community which bears his name, was regarded by all the "Societies," during his life, as their supreme ecclesiastical head. Every chapel, therefore, that was erected for the use of the preachers acting in connection with him, was vested in Mr. Wesley, or in other persons whom he appointed; and he had a Trust "Deed of Declaration*" prepared, by which all the chapels were transferred, at his death, to the preachers, as the perpetual property of the Conference.

During Mr. Wesley's life, various laws and arrangements were made at the annual meetings of the preachers in Conference, without any delegates or representatives sent by the congregations, which were far from agreeable to the people. Many of the societies desired to have preaching "during church hours," and the administration of the Lord's Supper in their chapels, by their regular preachers: but these requests were generally refused, which, with other things, were

* See page 453.

felt as grievances. After the decease of their venerated "father," in March, 1791, their complaints were repeated: the Conference held at Manchester, that year, published a declaration, in which they said that they would "take the *plan* as Mr. Wesley had left it." Many of the preachers as well as the people were dissatisfied, desiring that their former wishes might be granted. Conference yielded as to the administration of the Lord's Supper and preaching in church hours, and this stimulated the societies to request that they might send approved members, as their representatives, to share in the legislative management of their church affairs, so agreeable to the spirit of Christianity—to the practices of the primitive Christians—and to their rights as Englishmen. In 1797, about *seventy* delegates from different societies met at the Conference, held in Leeds; when the preachers debated:—"1. Shall delegates from the societies be admitted into the Conference?" "2. Shall circuit stewards be admitted into the district meetings?" Both these questions were decided in the negative, and hence arose immediately the

1. METHODIST NEW CONNECTION. A plan for a New Itinerancy was then formed by the several friends of religious liberty, assembled at Ebenezer Chapel, Mr. William Thorn being chosen President, and as Secretary, Mr. Alexander Kilham: from the latter they have frequently been called KILHAMITES. These two brethren drew up a form of church government, which was published as "Outlines of a Constitution, proposed for the examination, amendment, and acceptance of the members of the Methodist Itinerancy." This plan, with some alterations, was accepted, providing for the union of preachers and delegates, in all matters of business, in their various meetings, particularly their annual conferences.

Many of those who were dissatisfied, fearing the difficulties inseparable from the founding of a new system of Methodism, remained with the Old Connection; so that there were included in the first organization of the New Connection only *seven preachers*, in as many *circuits*, with *few chapels*, and about 500 widely separated members.

Serious obstacles impeded the progress of the new commu-

nity, its members and leaders being represented as factious : but they increased ; and in 1814 they reported as follows :—

Circuits.	Chapels.	Societies.	Travelling Preachers.	Local Preachers.	Members.
23	101	207	44	229	8,292

In 1829 their conference reported as follows :—

Circuits.	Chapels.	Societies.	Travelling Preachers.	Local Preachers.	Members.
59	162	—	—	492	11,777

This connection, like the Old Methodists, appears to succeed most in the manufacturing districts, where they are generally most numerous. They have succeeded also in their “mission” to Ireland : so that in 1837 their conference reported as follows :—

	Chapels.	Societies.	Circuit Preachers.	Local Preachers.	Members.
England	265	329	88	829	19,899
Ireland	11	21	8	8	784
Total	276	350	96	837	20,683

2. **PRIMITIVE METHODISTS**, vulgarly called Ranters. These affirm that they are preserving the original spirit of Methodism : they are generally illiterate, and allow women to preach in their assemblies, where they are rather noisy, especially in their responses to the prayers offered by their ministers. Primitive Methodists abound among the colliers in the north of England : but it is impossible to accurately ascertain their numbers. Several years ago they reported 403 chapels, 2,700 local preachers, and 53,720 members.

3. **BRYANITES**. These have been so denominated from their connection with a zealous preacher, a Mr. Bryan ; and they reported, a few years ago, 13,000 members. They are found chiefly in the western counties of England ; and they may be regarded as identified with the Primitive Methodists.

4. **INDEPENDENT METHODISTS**. These are principally found in Yorkshire, and the

5. **WESLEYAN PROTESTANT METHODISTS.** These also are found chiefly in Yorkshire, being seceders from the old Wesleyan body, in consequence of what they deem acts of arbitrary power, by an assumed authority at variance with the institutes of Christianity in the New Testament. These classes seem to have at present no ecclesiastical organization; and their numbers, as sometimes given, are entitled to little regard; otherwise the "Independent Methodists" were said to have comprised several years ago upwards of 100 local preachers, and about 4,000 members, chiefly in the vicinity of Leeds, but many in and about London.

6. **WARRENITES.** They are so called from Dr. Warren, one of the Wesleyan preachers of considerable talents and influence, who seceded, or was expelled, from the old connection, after a protracted and bitter controversy, in 1834 and 1835, arising partly from circumstances in the establishment of the Wesleyan Theological Institution, and the alleged arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of Conference. Great numbers of the members, local preachers, and other officers, took part with Dr. Warren in his complaints, in most of the populous districts in England. This body is at present in an unorganized state: it is said to include great numbers, who have several new chapels.

Orthodox Christianity, so far at least as relates to the divinity and atonement of Christ, the influences of the Holy Spirit in regeneration and sanctification of the heart, and personal holiness, is believed to be cherished by all these classes of New Methodists, and they generally make their final appeal, in proof of their doctrines, to the Holy Scriptures. The **METHODIST NEW CONNECTION** is an increasingly respectable body; and though various indiscretions and unseemly extravagances have characterized some of the proceedings of the minor sects, labouring, as they generally do, amongst the lowest classes of the working population, there exist the most satisfactory evidences, in the reformed lives and exemplary holiness of many of their converts, that their services have been auxiliary to Christianity, crowned with the special blessing of God.

Section XI. Unitarians, or Socinians.

Unitarians call themselves *Presbyterians*, to retain trust property—Eminent Unitarians—Number of Unitarian congregations—Manner of their gaining possession of the property of Christians—Dr. Henderson's account—Rev. R. W. Hamilton's appeal to Dr. Hutton—Amount of the unrighteously-retained trusts—Lady Hewley's property in Chancery—Decision against the Unitarian Trustees—State of the Unitarian congregations—Their secession from the Three Denominations.

Unitarians sometimes call themselves *Presbyterians*, as a matter of policy, for the purpose of retaining certain trust property, especially chapel endowments, which they unrighteously hold, contrary to the well-known will of the original donors. Various circumstances, some of them of recent occurrence, render it necessary to give a somewhat extended account of this small body of professed Christians.

Unitarian is a title assumed by those who deny the glory and attributes of Divinity being possessed by the Son of God and the Holy Spirit, limiting them exclusively to the Father. As they do not distinctly hold the unity of the Godhead, which is held by Trinitarians, the legitimate use of the term has never been conceded to them. Socinians is their more appropriate title, as the peculiar doctrine of most of the Unitarians is the distinguishing article of the creed of Socinus, the simple and mere humanity of Christ.

Dr. Priestly, Mr. Belsham, and Dr. Carpenter, are the most celebrated names connected with modern Socinianism in England: but notwithstanding their reputation and zeal, the denomination is seen to decline. "This denomination has, in England, Scotland, and Wales, about 223 meeting houses; of this number about 171 have been built by persons most decidedly orthodox; and as many of this number as are endowed, and many of them are plentifully endowed, were enriched by the orthodox also. The remaining 52 were built by the Socinians *."

Many serious persons have very confused notions respect-

* Lectures on Ecclesiastical History and Nonconformity, by J. Mann, p. 309.

ing the Unitarians, and the manner of their having obtained possession of so many chapels of orthodox Christians. Dr. Henderson thus explains the way in which the property fell into their hands:—

“Arminianism and Arianism having increased at the beginning of the last century among the Presbyterians, ministers of lax sentiments were at first associated as lecturers, or co-pastors, with older ministers of orthodox views; and as these died, they naturally came to be possessed of the entire charge of the congregations. Trustees of Arian or Socinian opinions appointed such ministers over orthodox congregations, and many therefore left them and joined the Independents. Endowments that were founded expressly with the view of maintaining the preaching of the doctrines of our Lord’s deity and atonement—the doctrines of the Assembly’s Confessions and Catechisms—were appointed to the support of a system which the founders held in utter abhorrence. In this way have upwards of *one hundred and seventy* chapels come into the hands of the present generation of Socinians, who, in order to retain them, *most disingenuously arrogate* to themselves the name of Presbyterians; though they have nothing in the shape of Presbyterian church government; and not so much as a shred of those doctrinal principles, *to transmit which to posterity*, the pious endowed these chapels. These endowments, and charities which have been similarly alienated from their original purpose, the Socinians retain to an annual amount of not less than 7,000*l.*, besides the proceeds of 50,000*l.* left by Dr. Williams for the support of orthodox sentiments. Yet, notwithstanding all this temporal provision, *pseudo-Presbyterianism* is struggling for its existence,—disturbed as it is on the one hand by the influence of enlightened criticism, and the zealous promulgation of Christian doctrine; and, on the other, paralyzed by the torpedo touch of infidelity*.”

Socinian trustees and ministers are certainly guilty of misappropriation of a large amount of property, which they thus hold in violation of every principle of religion, morality, and honour. “I would rest all here,” says Rev. R. W. Hamilton

* Dr. Henderson’s Buck’s Theological Dictionary, p. 776.

of Leeds, to Dr. Hutton, a Socinian minister in that town, “acting in agreement with your best and soundest impressions of the covenants and trusts for whose operation you are responsible. But all special pleading and pettyfogging must be debarred. What does such agreement call you to do? Not to inquire how you may escape censure—not how you may keep within the particular law—not how you may boast that the very letter is on your side; but what is the construction of the bond? What is the intention of the founder? *It is a curious fact, that no chapel which the Socinians build do they call Presbyterian—no, it is Unitarian.* If there were no Presbyterian endowments and edifices, our Socinian friends would quickly renounce any unpleasant remembrances of the Puritans and first Nonconformists*.”

Orthodox Presbyterian property, as held by the Socinians in this unjust manner, has been thus estimated :

	£.	s.	d.
Chapel endowments which are ascertained	3,017	0	0
Lady Hewley's Fund, about	4,000	0	0
Funds of Chamberlain, Hull; of Butterworth, Manchester; and of Mrs. Clough, Liverpool; about	183	0	0
Dr. Williams's, about	2,000	0	0
Total per annum	£9,200	0	0

Lady Hewley's property, it is right to state, is now in Chancery: both the Vice-Chancellor and the Lord Chancellor have decided against the present Trustees, as being Anti-Trinitarian; but the final decision is to be pronounced in the House of Lords.

Socinianism exists among several denominations of Christians; but the Unitarians, as forming its distinct religious body, is declining; their congregations do not average more than about thirty persons, except in a few large towns, and scarcely *six* of their chapels are crowded or well attended.

Lady Hewley's cause having been decided against the Unitarian Trustees, the ministers of that denomination in

* Hamilton's Animadversion, &c.

London seceded from the Three Denominations, March 1836, incensed against the orthodox for instituting that suit. They have united, to the number of about nineteen, though only about five have congregations; and they have the courage to call themselves "*the Protestant Dissenting ministers of the Presbyterian Denomination in and about the cities of London and Westminster!*"

CHAPTER IV.

Section I. Established Church in Wales.

Statistics of Wales — The Church in desolation — Royal Cambrian Institution — The Prize Essay on the Causes of Dissent in Wales — Number of places of worship in Wales — Calvinistic Methodist Schools — Mr. Johnes's Conclusions — English bishops appointed for Wales — Nepotism — Pluralities — Their lamentable consequences — South Wales injured — North Wales — Anglesea — Exhibition of the enormities in the diocese of St. Asaph.

Wales contained, in 1831, a population of 805,236: it is divided into 869 parishes, under the ecclesiastical government of four bishops; those of St. Asaph and Bangor, in the north, and in the south, those of St. David's and Llandaff.

Religion, among the members of the established church, is represented by those who are best acquainted with the principality, as in a very deplorable state. Patronage with its inseparable consequences has wrought desolation, which has excited the utmost grief among intelligent natives of Wales, especially as it was notorious that the dignitaries had enriched themselves by the church revenues, neglecting their spiritual duties, while the majority of the population have not been receiving religious instruction.

The ROYAL CAMBRIAN INSTITUTION of London, a few years ago, offered therefore a Medal for the best "Essay on the causes of Dissent in Wales." This "Royal Medal" was awarded at an EISTEDDVOD of the Institution, in May 1831, to Mr. Arthur James Johnes; and from the *second edition* of that masterly publication, which contains a great mass of various information, we give the following ecclesiastical statistics, and other important statements:

“Churches and Chapels of Ease in Wales in 1832 829
 “Some new chapels,” Mr. Johnes says, “have been built within the last century, but more have fallen to ruins.”

“Total number of Dissenting chapels in 1832..... 1,428”

They are believed now (1838) to amount to nearly 1,600.

Mr. Johnes pays a just tribute of honour to those devoted servants of Christ, referred to in the review of Wales in the eighteenth century *; and declares of Mr. Charles, “To him we owe much of the civilization of our land. It was he who, in exchange for the popish ignorance of the last century, diffused among the North Wales peasantry those deep moral and religious feelings, and that thirst for information, which at present characterize them. Nor was his influence confined to his own country; he was the founder of institutions which extend over the whole Christian world. ‘The Bible Society’ commenced with him and two of his countrymen; and according to Dr. Pole, he is to be considered as the originator of the ‘adult schools†.’”

Mr. Johnes having established the fact of “a most remarkable change, from profligacy to piety, from immorality to virtue, “by means of schools and the preaching of the Dissenters in Wales,” says, “We are irresistibly led to three conclusions:—

“1. That before the rise of Methodism in Wales, the churches were as little attended by the great mass of the people as now.

“2. That *indifference* to all religion prevailed as widely then as *Dissent* in the present day.

“3. That if the influential members of the church had evinced the same zeal for the religious instruction of the people, as was done by Griffith Jones and his coadjutors, the Welsh peasantry would have continued to look to the church for instruction, instead of seeking it from the Methodists ‡.”

Welsh bishops have generally, for the last century, been Englishmen; and it is said to have been “many years since the people of Wales had a prelate that was at all imbued with a religious spirit, or who paid personal and unremitting regard

* Chap. xviii, Book viii, p. 465—471.

† Johnes's Essay, p. 42.

‡ Ibid. p. 26, 27.

either to their temporal or spiritual interest." From the year 1601 to 1640, St. Asaph, as Mr. Johnes states, "was governed by Welsh bishops: from the year 1761 to 1800, he says, "its prelates were exclusively Englishmen. During the English period, the best benefices were generally bestowed on gentlemen, conspicuous only for their connection with the prelates or their patrons—that they were constant absentees from Wales, and that neither reason nor justice required that the principality should be drained to reward them. On the other hand, though pluralities existed in the Welsh era, it was to a much less extent, and on principles much less injurious to the rights and interests of Wales, as those who were benefited by them were almost uniformly natives of the country, generally resident in some part or other of the diocese, and not, *like most of the present modern English sinecure pluralists of St. Asaph, stationed on another cluster of pluralities in the remotest counties of England* *."

Mr. Johnes declares, "The history of the Cambro-British Church is the record of one unremitting wrong;" in illustration of which he states, that from the year 1745 to 1830, of "the higher dignities of the church, *seventy-three* were enjoyed by Englishmen, and *ten* only by Welshmen †."

Episcopal visitations in Wales are spoken of by Mr. Johnes as useless to the clergy. "As for the people," he adds, "they crowd the church, it is true, dissenters and churchmen; but it is in the spirit in which Englishmen abroad go to see a popish procession; they hardly understand one word that is said; their bishop's dress, his words, all that he does, are a mere topic for idle gossip and guess-work—often of sectarian ridicule ‡."

"Should an English bishop be guilty of nepotism in England, the duty may still be efficiently performed; but in Wales, every relation of a bishop is in language a foreigner; and his uncouth attempts to officiate in a tongue unintelligible to himself, can be felt by his congregation as nothing but a profanation of the worship of God. Now were I to affirm, that the English bishops of Wales have been more fastidious in the distribution of their patronage than their brethren of

* Ibid. p. 97.

† Ibid. p. 138, 189.

‡ P. 63.

England, I should contradict the indignant assertions of almost every intelligent writer on Welsh subjects. Nowhere has the church of England been *more disgraced by a selfish distribution of patronage*. On putting to a gentleman upon whose accuracy I can rely, the following questions, '*What proportion of the collective income of the Welsh church is held by Englishmen?*' I received the following answer,—'*Four bishoprics; a great proportion of the deaneries, prebends, and sinecure rectories; and many, if not most of the canonries!*' During the reign of the houses of Tudor and Stuart, several Welshmen were mitred; but not one since the accession of the house of Brunswick! The consequence was, that *the prelates brought into their respective dioceses, their sons, nephews, and cousins, to the ninth degree of consanguinity*; the next consequence was, a change of service, on the borders, from Welsh to English; and a third and important consequence was, the desertion of the church*!"

This intelligent and zealous churchman illustrates these and other statements by various affecting examples and statistical tables: a few only can here be given.

SOUTH WALES. "Most of the church patronage is shared between laymen, the Crown, and sinecurists in England and Wales; hence, under the influence of personal friendship or political connection, the parishes are filled with ministers unsuited to them. The bishops usually take but very little pains to encourage deserving pastors, and often prefer Englishmen to Welsh benefices. *Pluralists and absenteeism exist to a great extent*. Thus a very small fund is left for the generality of the clergy, who are reduced to abject poverty. Many of them are obliged to keep farms, situated often in distinct parishes from those which they serve. *A great many of them serve two or three places of worship every Sunday; in many churches service is performed only once a day, and that at an inconvenient hour*. These abuses exist to a less extent in the southern parts of South Wales; but in Cardiganshire Radnorshire, and Carmarthenshire, this is the general course of things.

"Of *seventy-one* parishes in Cardiganshire, including chapels

* Ibid. p. 62, 63.

of ease, not more than *thirty* are held by *residents*; at the same time, the revenues of the church are squandered in sinecures, under the local circumstances just described *."

NORTH WALES. "ABSENTEEISM. — Anglesea contains seventy-five parishes, chapelries included; sixty-two of these are in the hands of *nonresident incumbents*: fifty-five have no *resident minister whatever*! Total number of incumbents, forty; nonresidents, twenty-two. Benefices without either incumbent or curate, nineteen. **CURATES.** — Nineteen parishes are served by *six* ministers. The curate of Llanrhuddlad and three other parishes travels fourteen miles every Sunday. The curate of Ceirchiog and of two others has to travel ten miles along a wretched road. The curate of Llanvachreth and of two others has to travel *eight* miles †."

"**BISHOPRIC OF ST. ASAPH.** Dr. Carey, bishop. Manors and lands in Flintshire, 1,600*l.* Manor of St. Martin's, 200*l.* Ditto at Llandegle, 80*l.* The above manors produce little emolument to the present bishop, in consequence of their having been almost all leased on very advantageous terms, by bishops Shipley and Luxmoore, and in most instances to their relatives. The Rev. C. S. Luxmoore is lessee of Llandegle. Mrs. Shipley, of one half of St. Martin's, &c. Pensions, spiritualia and lactualia, 400*l.* Rectories of Llanasaph, 600*l.* Llan-y-Blodwel, 150*l.* St. Asaph, 30*l.* Rhuddlan, 12*l.* Tithes of Aberchwiler, 400*l.* Hellan, 800*l.* Llansilin, 130*l.* In 1567 the following rectories were annexed: Newmarket, 250*l.* Abergele, 150*l.* Llangwstenin, 300*l.* Llysyaen, 35*l.* Llanelian, 130*l.* Bettws, 120*l.* Dyserth, 400*l.* Llan St. Ffraid, 300*l.* In 1662, taken into commendam, Llandrinio, 560*l.* Llandysilio, 450*l.* Melvrey, 200*l.* Added in 1687, Northop, 800*l.* Flint, 60*l.* Added 1759, Llandrillo, 320*l.* In 1810, Pennant taken into commendam, 360*l.* Some of the preceding parishes are leased. Aberchwiler is leased to Mrs. Shipley. Llanasaph, the Very Rev. C. S. Luxmoore.

"Total amount of the revenues of the bishopric, 9,267*l.*

"**RELATIVES OF BISHOP LUXMOORE.** C. S. Luxmoore, dean and chancellor. House, &c. belonging to the deanery,

* Ibid. p. 163.

† Ibid. p. 182.

40*l*. Parishes of Hellan, 1,500*l*. St. Asaph, 426*l*. Llan Nevydd, 300*l*. Llanvair-Tal-Haiarn, 220*l*. Darowain, 120*l*. Chancellorship, from fees, 400*l*. Total, 3,066*l*.

"Besides the above, the reverend gentleman enjoys at least 600*l*. in this diocese as lessee under certain leases granted to him by his father, Bishop Luxmoore, of tithes and manors belonging to the see. He also owes to the same patron the following preferments in Hereford diocese. Cradley R., 1,200*l*. Bromyard V., 500*l*. Prebend of Hereford, 50*l*. portion of Bromyard, 50*l*. at present; but on the expiration of a lease, dependent on a very old life, this preferment will be worth 1,400*l*. Thus, the reverend gentleman is possessed of no less than *eleven* sources of emolument! The total value of all his church preferments, may be estimated at least at 6,356*l*.!

"J. M. Luxmoore, brother of the Rev. C. S. Luxmoore. Marchwial, R., 720*l*. Llanarmon-yn-Ial, 500*l*. Prebend of Meivod, in St George's parish, 60*l*. Morton Chapelry, 800*l*. from land purchased with Queen Anne's bounty! Whitford, 1,000*l*. Total, 3,020*l*.

"Besides the above, the reverend gentleman enjoys 200*l*. as joint registrar of Hereford; but the tithes of Whitford being on lease, they are not at present of any great value to him. The total actual value of his church preferments may be stated at about 3,000*l*.

"C. Luxmoore. Berriew, 450*l*. Llanymynach, 450*l*. conferred when the reverend gentleman was only twenty-four years of age. Total, 900*l*.

"Coryn Luxmoore, 300*l*.

"Total enjoyed by relatives of Bishop Luxmoore, in the diocese of St. Asaph alone, 7,225*l*!

"The value, however, of church property belonging to the relatives of Bishop Luxmoore, in Hereford and St. Asaph, is 10,776*l*.! Such is the amount *at present* in the hands of this single family. In the time of the late Bishop Luxmoore, the case stood thus:—Such was the prosperity of the times, that the revenues of the see of St. Asaph were worth at least 12,000*l*. and the parishes belonging to his relatives were

worth at least 15,000*l.*; so that the country has had to pay 27,000*l.* per annum for the services of one prelate!

“RELATIVES AND CONNECTIONS OF BISHOP HORSLEY.

“H. Horsley. Gresford V., 450*l.* Castell Caereinion V., 600*l.* Llanvair-Tal-Haiarn Preb., 220*l.*

“G. Robson, prebendary of ditto, 200*l.* Chirk V., 600*l.* Erbistock R., 350*l.*

“H. Neve. Llan-St.-Ffraid V., 250*l.*

“Total enjoyed by connections of Bishop Horsley, 2,690*l.*

“RELATIVES AND CONNECTIONS OF BISHOP CLEAVER:

“J. Cleaver. Corwen, 300*l.* Newtown, 400*l.* exchanged for a living in England.

“W. Cleaver, as precentor of St. Asaph; lands, 6*l.* Llangernyw, 250*l.* St. George's, 30*l.* St. Asaph, 500*l.* Dinmeirchion, 300*l.* as a sinecure rector. Llanvawr, 340*l.*

“Total enjoyed by relatives of Bishop Cleaver, 2,126*l.*

“RELATIVES OF BISHOP BAGOT.

“R. Wingfield. Rhiwabon, 700*l.* C. Wingfield. Llan-llwchaiarn, 400*l.*

“Total enjoyed by relatives of Bishop Bagot, 1,100*l.*

“DEAN AND CHAPTER, consisting of the relatives and connections of bishops. Llansilin R., 670*l.*

“SINECURISTS, who owe their preferment to mere influence and personal favour, who are unconnected with the country, have never done any duty in this diocese, and are all resident in remote parts of England! —

“S. Thurlow, son of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, Hope, 600*l.* Llandrillo-in-Edeyrnion, 350*l.* Gibson, Llanbryn-Mair, 300*l.* R. Finch, Cwm, 210*l.* F. Corie, Kilcain, 400*l.* H. Milner, Treasurer of St. Asaph, Meliden, 300*l.* J. Drake, Chancellor of St. Asaph, 15*l.* C. Thoroton, Llan-St.-Ffraid, 500*l.* Total, 2,675*l.*

“Dean and Chapter of Winchester, Gosford and Wrexham, 2,400*l.*

“SINECURISTS AND ABSENTEES, but connected with the diocese. S. Holland, Llangwm, 260*l.* R. Clough, Llansannan, 200*l.* Total, 460*l.*

“CATHEDRAL OF ST. ASAPH, 1,040*l.* added in the reign of Charles II. 1,040*l.*

"COLLEGES. Guilsfield, £00/. Pool, 900/. Buttington, 200/. Meivod, 500/. all added since the time of Henry VIII. Total, 2,500/.

"To schools of Llanrwst, not properly applied. Eglwys-fach, 860/.

"Incumbents ignorant of the Welch language, Llanrhaidr, 450/. Machynllaeth, 400/. Total, 850/.

"Absentees from the country in which their benefices are situated, and residing remote from them, 3,185/.

"Total unemployed as above (*deducting* salaries of £ curates of bishops, absentees, &c., 2,680/.) 34,369

"Total enjoyed by the general body of the resident clergy, (*including* the salaries of the curates of bishops, absentees, &c., 2,680/., and exclusive of Queen Anne's bounty and fees, 2,230/.) 18,361

"The amount enjoyed from this diocese, by the bishop and the relatives of former bishops alone, amounts to 23,679/. and thus, on the most liberal calculation, exceeds the whole amount enjoyed by *all the resident clergy* put together!!!

"Such is a picture of the Church in North Wales in the *nineteenth* century! I shall abstain from all comment; for I can little hope to add any thing to the plain force of facts, by any comment of mine,—facts, indeed, which it is equally impossible to strengthen, to palliate, or to deny *!"

Section II. Dissenters in Wales.

Statistics of Welsh Dissenters—Their character—Progress of Dissent in Wales—Religious exercises of the Dissenters—Their increase—Testimony of Rev. D. Davies—Of Rev. D. Peter—Denominational review—Calvinistic Methodists—Independents—Wesleyans—Baptists—Presbyterians—Quakers—Roman Catholics.

Dissenters have continued to increase surprisingly in Wales during the *nineteenth* century; and, according to Mr. Johnes, their places of worship have been in number as follows:—

In the year 1715 they had	35 chapels.
1810	954
1832	1,428

* Ibid. p. 216, 219.

Our author classes them thus: —

Calvinistic Methodists.....	500 chapels.
Independents	440 "
Wesleyan Methodists.....	250
Baptists	200
Presbyterians and Unitarians	23
Quakers	9
Roman Catholics	6

Total in 1832 1,428

They are now believed to be nearly 1,600: for though the Editor of the Congregational Magazine for January, 1836, reports only 1,091 chapels in Wales, his returns are acknowledged to have been deficient. He gives only 300 Calvinistic chapels: but this is corrected in the number for February, on the best authority, stating, "*The Calvinistic Methodists of Wales have 607 stated chapels, besides a large number of school rooms, in which religious services are regularly conducted every Sabbath day.*"

Mr. Johnes adds to his remarks on the several bodies of Dissenters: "The mere number of dissenting chapels, enormous as it is, furnishes but an inadequate idea of the popular feeling towards the Establishment: in many districts, the churches have hardly any congregations whatever: many of those who frequent the church, go quite as constantly to chapel; and it is a very common remark, that when a clergyman is beloved, it is generally rather as a benevolent layman, than as a clergyman; and that even then, the people chiefly confide in the dissenting ministers for religious guidance and consolation*."

Mr. Johnes states, that "Dissent has progressed in Wales as far as the means of her population will enable them to carry it; and that there are as many dissenting chapels in the remote parishes in Wales, as there are in many flourishing English towns." He appears, notwithstanding, to be in doubt as to the *positive* and *real* causes of the increase of

* Ibid. p. 169.

Dissenters in his country. He says, "Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than to rank ignorance and eccentricity as in themselves causes of dissent in Wales; because dissent has advanced with knowledge, and not with ignorance. Nor is it more philosophical to ascribe the strength of dissent to the influence which views of worldly advantage may sometimes possess, in swelling its numbers: mercenary views may, indeed, make converts to a cause already prosperous, but can rarely contribute to raise it to prosperity*."

This well-informed writer amply testifies to the intelligent piety of the Welsh Dissenters; and both the nature of godliness, and the whole history of religion, demonstrate, that such devotion can be produced among a people, only by the blessing of God on the faithful preaching of the Gospel, diffusing scriptural knowledge. Such has eminently been the case in Wales. Special prayer meetings for the effusion of the Holy Spirit were frequent in the several communions, as well as for extraordinary sermons; and corresponding results have followed the labours of the faithful ministers of Christ.

Rev. David Davies, in referring to Carmarthenshire, wrote, January 10, 1829, "In the course of the year, the addition of members to these and other congregations or churches in the same county, including a few on the borders of Breconshire, have been, to the Calvinistic Methodists, 1,800; to the Independents, 1,450; and to the Baptists, 445."

Rev. D. Peter, of the College at Carmarthen, in a letter, Feb. 7, 1829, wrote, "*Fourteen* years ago, when I was publishing my '*History of Religion in Wales*,' I found, from authentic documents, that there were in the principality, *two hundred and fifty-five* Independent churches; *one hundred and twenty-six* Baptist churches; *three hundred and forty-three* Calvinistic Methodist societies; and *two hundred and five* Wesleyan Methodist societies. The number of churches and societies at present is much greater. I am not in possession of a correct account of the numbers added to the Baptist and Calvinistic Methodist churches; but the general opinion is, that upwards of 3,000 souls have been added to the churches

* P. 109.

of Christ, including all denominations in *South Wales*, within the last year. There is at present, throughout South Wales, a general desire for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit: and there are union monthly prayer meetings in various parts, for the outpouring of the Spirit, which are numerous attended. Indeed, I have no doubt that *many ministers and churches*, beside those which I have mentioned, do already experience, in some degree, the outpouring of the Spirit. Great additions have been made to many dissenting churches, not mentioned in this letter, in the course of the last year: and, from the aspect of things throughout the country, we have every reason to hope that God will cause revivals to be general in Wales."

Every reader will doubtless consider it necessary here to take some further notice of each dissenting community in Wales.

1. CALVINISTIC METHODISTS. Howel Harris, Esq. is regarded as the founder of this body, about the year 1735; at least as early as the time that Whitefield and Wesley entered upon their great denominational work in England. Shocked at the impiety and immorality which he witnessed at Oxford, Mr. Harris declined taking orders in the Established Church, and laboured zealously and successfully as a teacher and preacher of Christianity, until about *three hundred* societies were formed, of those who had been converted by his ministry to the faith and obedience of Christ. Several others of eminent gifts and piety, especially the apostolic Griffith Jones, united with Mr. Harris, and hence originated the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales. This important section of the Church of Christ was organized by the distinguished Thomas Charles*, under whose counsels and directions their preachers were first ordained for the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper, in the year 1810†. This great body is governed by, 1. *Private Societies*, who meet weekly for religious conference and prayer, under the superintendence of two or more leaders: 2. *Monthly Societies*, including the preachers,

* See chap. xviii, book viii, p. 465, &c.

† Morgan's Life of Rev. Thomas Charles.

leaders, and officers from neighbouring counties, for the regulation of discipline: 3. *Quarterly Societies*, including the preachers and leaders, for the more important business of the general body: these assemble alternately in North and South Wales. The principles of the Calvinistic Methodists are those contained in the doctrinal "Articles of the Church of England," including "the *grammatical sense*" of the *seventeenth*: their preachers are esteemed men of good sense, and ardent piety; but they are not *generally* of that class who have been favoured with a learned education.

2. INDEPENDENTS. Mr. Johnes states, "In 1740 they had only *six* places of worship in North Wales. They began to revive at the first breaking out of Methodism, and we may gather from Griffith Jones's writings, that if the Methodists had not occupied the country, the Independents would have done so. They are a liberal body in their views of secular learning. In the last century, their ministers were all men of education: this is not generally the case now, though some of them are men of respectable erudition*."

This body has three seminaries, for the education of its ministers: one at Newton, in North Wales; one at Carmarthen, and another at Newaddluyd, in South Wales†. The Welsh Independents hold the same essential doctrines of Protestant Christianity, and maintain the same discipline in their churches, as their brethren in England.

New energy has, within the last few years, been acquired by this denomination, through their formation of a Congregational Union of their ministers and churches; and having found that their chapels were encumbered with debts, to the amount of 34,430*l.*, they resolved on removing this impediment to their philanthropic labours. In two years they made additional subscriptions, to the amount of 18,404*l.*; and then sent a deputation in 1835, to solicit aid from their brethren in England. At the meeting of the delegates of their Congregational Union in May 1835, they reported about 3,000*l.* thus collected, making a total of nearly 22,000*l.*, and thus reducing their chapel debts to about 12,000*l.*

* Essay, p. 159.

† See "Dissenting Colleges," No. 11, 12, 13.

3. **WESLEYAN METHODISTS.** Mr. Johnes states, "Though Dr. Coke, the most celebrated of Wesley's missionaries, was a native of Wales, the Wesleyans had not one preacher in the Welsh language till the year 1800. Their great success since that time, appears from the table above: it arose, in some measure, from the attractive style of singing introduced by them; but where various classes of Dissenters succeed, there must be some general *predisposing cause* of dissent." Probably Mr. Johnes would find it difficult to discover any other *predisposing cause of dissent* than the adaptation of the Gospel of Christ, which is preached, in its essential doctrines, by all the evangelical Dissenters. The Wesleyans are under the government of the English Conference.

4. **BAPTISTS.** Originally the Baptists and Independents were only one body: but they separated, on the sole difference between them regarding the ordinance of baptism, in the time of Howel Harris; and since that period, they have increased as reported. The Welsh Baptists have a seminary for the education of their ministers, at Abergavenny*.

5. **PRESBYTERIANS and UNITARIANS.** Many of the old nonconformists being Presbyterians, their descendants were drawn away from the principles of their forefathers, in the same manner as their brethren in England, their ministers being appointed by the trustees; many, consequently, sunk into Arianism and Socinianism. They have not therefore increased; but it is believed that now, most of their *twenty-three* chapels echo with the sound of the pure Gospel of Christ, preached by ministers from the orthodox seminary at Carmarthen, which was at first nominally Presbyterian.

6. **QUAKERS.** Although the Quakers are not numerous in Wales, it is believed that they are increasing. Some of them are not only men of industry and wealth, but persons of sterling scriptural Christianity.

7. **ROMAN CATHOLICS.** Popery has made some advances in Wales; though Griffith Jones declared, that in his day *there was not a single Welshman*, acquainted with no other language than *his mother tongue*, professing the *Roman Catholic religion*: now they have at least *six* chapels in Wales.

* See "Dissenting Colleges," No. 16.

CHAPTER V.

SCOTLAND.

Section I. Ecclesiastical Statistics of Scotland.

Scotland agitated—Statistics of Scotland—Clergy in 1817—Religious statistics—Religious instruction in Edinburgh reported by the Commissioners—Religious statistics of Glasgow—Second Report of Commissioners, regarding Glasgow.

SCOTLAND, at the present time, viewed in regard to religion, presents a most interesting field of contemplation to the intelligent observer of Divine Providence. Knowledge and religion have made surprising advances, and great principles are now in powerful conflict in that noble division of the United Kingdom; many of the most cultivated, lofty, and holy minds, having entered upon a determined Christian contention, for the inestimable boon of *religious liberty and equality*, as established by the Gospel of the Son of God.

Scotland is divided into 911 parishes; and, in 1831, it had a population of 2,365,807. Perfect statistical information, regarding its religious condition, is not possessed by any one: and many are waiting, with intense solicitude, for the publication of the "Reports" of the "Commissioners" appointed in 1836, by Parliament, to ascertain the state of "Religious Instruction in Scotland."

Mr. Gorton, in the last edition, 1833, of his invaluable "Topographical Dictionary of Great Britain and Ireland," says, "In 1817 there were 937 clergymen on the establishment, and 52 attached to the chapels of ease, besides itinerant missionaries. The number of the dissenting ministers has been stated at 500. The number of persons above *ten* years of age, belonging to the Scottish Kirk in 1830, was estimated

Scottish Established Church	900,000
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Scottish Dissenters :	
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Presbyterian Seceders	330,000
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Independents and others	610,000
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Roman Catholics	100,000
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Episcopalians	60,000
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	<hr/> 1,100,000
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Making in the whole	<hr/> 2,000,000 *
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* Vol. iii, p. 353.

Mr. Gorton's computations appear somewhat incorrect : still they may serve to give a general idea of the religious statistics of Scotland, aided by the following particulars, from more recent and accurate authorities.

Edinburgh contains *twenty eight* churches and chapels of ease belonging to the Establishment; and the various bodies of Dissenters have, within the same, *thirty-nine* places of worship. From the "First Report of the Commission of Instruction for Scotland," relating to Edinburgh, published in April, 1837, we learn that the places of worship in that city afford

In Dissenting Chapels, sittings	42,705
In the Establishment, do	36,001

Difference in favour of Dissenters	6,704
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Sittings let, in Dissenting chapels	23,193
Do. do. in the Establishment	20,995

Difference in favour of Dissenters	2,198 *
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A respectable Scotch periodical of April, 1834, referring to Glasgow, states : — "The church accommodation in Glasgow, according to Dr. Cleland's large work, second edition, is as follows, at three different periods; and it affords a beautiful illustration of the power of the voluntary principle to adapt itself to the increasing population.

	Population in City and Suburbs.	Sittings in Churches and Chapels of Ease.	Sittings in Dissenters places of Wor-hip.
1780	42,832	14,780 ..	8,101
1821	147,043	24,780	32,397
1831	202,426	30,928	42,497

"In 1831 there were *ten* city, and *two* suburban churches, and *fourteen* chapels of ease, in the city and suburbs. Dissenting chapels *sixty-two*; making in all *seventy six* voluntary churches. The Dissenters exceed the churchmen in

* Edinburgh Almanack, for 1838, p. 295.

Glasgow, in a much greater ratio than appears from a glance at the foregoing results. The dissenting places of worship, being built to meet actual demand, are, generally speaking, much better filled than the churches."

The "Commissioners' *Second Report*" regards the Presbytery of Glasgow; it is just published, January 1838, and further illustrates the above statements, showing the following particulars: —

Church sittings provided by Dissenters	48,230
Ditto by the Establishment	33,100

Difference in favour of Dissenters ..	15,130
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Daily average attendance in Dissenting Chapels	41,539
Ditto in the Establishment	28,374

Difference in favour of Dissenters.....	13,165
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Communicants in Dissenting Chapels.....	27,141
Ditto in the Establishment	15,744

Difference in favour of Dissenters.....	11,397 *
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Section II. Established Church of Scotland.

Presbyterianism — Church courts — General Assembly — General view of the Church of Scotland — Chapels of Ease — Revenues of the clergy — Patronage — Moderate and Evangelical parties — Evangelical preaching increases — Antipatronage movements — Synod of Glasgow — Decision of the General Assembly — Money grants solicited from Parliament — Commission of inquiry — Home Missions — Colonial Church — Church Societies.

The established Church of Scotland is *presbyterian*, maintaining as the only Christian doctrine of bishops, a *congregational episcopacy*, like the Independents and other Dissenters. The government of the Scotch national church, is by several courts, rising in authority above each other: these courts are *kirk-sessions*, *presbyteries*, *synods*, and the *general assembly*.

* Scottish Pilot, Jan. 3, 1838.

The *kirk-session* consists of the minister of a parish, assisted by one or more lay-members of the congregation, called *elders*, assembling to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of the parish. A *presbytery* consists of the ministers of several contiguous parishes, with an elder from each, elected for that purpose half-yearly by the session, and, during that period, he is denominated the *ruling elder*: each presbytery meets four or five times a year, superintending the trial and ordination of candidates for the ministry, and taking cognizance of all ecclesiastical matters within its bounds. A *synod* consists of several ministers and ruling elders: each usually meets twice a year, for the dispatch of business, referred to it by the presbyteries within its bounds: there are *sixteen* synods, and *eighty-two* presbyteries in Scotland. The *General Assembly* consists of a certain number of ministers and ruling elders, delegated by the several presbyteries, and of commissioners from the royal boroughs: it consists of

Ministers representing Presbyteries	200
Ruling Elders, ditto.....	89
Ditto, royal boroughs.....	67
Ministers or Elders representing Universities	5
	<hr/>
	361
	<hr/>

This Assembly is honoured with the presence of a nobleman, to represent the sovereign, as Lord High Commissioner, with a salary of 1,500*l.* per annum.

The following is a general view of the Church of Scotland.

Synods.	No. of Presbyteries.	No. of Ministers.
1. Lothian and Tweeddale.....	7	137
2. Merse and Teviotdale	6	66
3. Dumfries	5	58
4. Galloway	3	38
5. Glasgow and Ayr	8	184
6. Argyll.....	6	56
7. Perth and Stirling	6	91
8. Fife	4	74
9. Angus and Mearns.....	6	98

Synods.	No. of Presbyteries.	No. of Ministers.
10. Aberdeen	8	117
11. Moray	7	59
12. Ross	3	26
13. Sutherland and Caithness...	3	29
14. Glenelg	5	38
15. Orkney	3	21
16. Shetland	2	14
	<hr/> 82	<hr/> 1,006 *

Population having so greatly increased, especially in the manufacturing districts in Scotland, "to accommodate the people, and in some instances to avoid the grinding operation of patronage, chapels of ease, as they are called, have been resorted to. These chapels, under the sanction of the presbytery, are built by the people, who in return are allowed to elect their own minister, who dispenses the word and sacraments among them, but has no voice in church courts. He is indeed in many respects subjected to the will of the minister of the parish, in such a manner as must often fetter him in the discharge of his duty, leaving him in the humble situation of an English curate, rather than of an independent presbyterian minister. The scheme is however popular†." These ministers have been constituted members of Presbyteries, by the General Assembly of 1834.

The clergy of the established church are supported chiefly by *tithes*, or *teinds*, as they call them in Scotland, the deficiency being made up by parliamentary grants. An act of parliament was passed in 1810, granting 10,000*l.* per annum, for augmenting the smaller parish stipends in Scotland. By this act, the lowest stipend, assigned to a minister of the Establishment, is 150*l.* sterling, with a small sum, generally 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for communion elements. Some salaries amount to 350*l.* per annum; and to 500*l.*, or even 700*l.*, in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The whole Church Establishment, "as a burden on land, may be stated in one view as follows:

* Edinburgh Almanack, 1838.

† Glasgow Geography, vol. ii, p. 413; article "Religion."

viz. a glebe, of perhaps about six or seven acres, out of nearly 21,000, and the grass, where it is allowed; a stipend of about 9*d.* in the pound of the land rents; and building and communion charges, amounting to 4*d.* or 6*d.* more in the pound of these land rents. All these, put together, are supposed to amount to about 300,000*l.* per annum*.”

Chapels of ease, and some new churches, have increased the Church of Scotland during the present century; and a recent writer states, “In the Kirk of Scotland, there are 1,052 congregations, and 1,087 ministers. In *only five* parishes is the minister chosen by the people. In 581 he is selected by individual noblemen or gentry, in 289 by the crown, in 52 by town councils, in 31 by the crown in conjunction with nobles or gentry, in 10 by universities, &c. The right of patronage is considered as part of an estate, and *is sold and bought as such*. As we have intimated, the ministers of this establishment, *though they solemnly subscribe the same articles of faith*, are divided into two classes. The terms *Moderate* and *Evangelical*, will sufficiently explain their difference of character. The former have the greatest number, reckoning *six hundred* ministers out of ten, or *three-fifths* of the whole. The moderate preachers do not elevate their standard, either of doctrine or practice, too high: indeed, the moderation of merely intellectual and official religion is in such bad repute, that the town councils, though moderate themselves, will patronize only the evangelical minister; as where the Gospel is not preached, the congregation dwindles, and policy therefore may introduce it, to keep out dissent. But besides that, the evangelical ministers are admitted into high places, not only because their aid is needed, but because their doctrines are esteemed, or at least are considered true, and in many of the higher circles are not in disgrace. Dr. Chalmers, as a preacher, has done much to gain from the wealth, the fashionable, the ears polite, of the principal cities of Scotland, a frequent and respectful hearing for the evangelical doctrine†.”

* Rev. W. Singer’s “Statement of the numbers, &c. of the Church of Scotland.”

† Book of the Denominations, p. 342, 343.

“Patronage,” as we have seen, continues in the Church of Scotland, to the injury of religion, impeding its progress, and to the grief of pious ministers, as it opens the way to men of no serious godliness into its ministry; though it is not attended with all the simoniacal enormities, connected with that system in the Church of England*. Many faithful and able pastors are found among the evangelical party; and these have formed anti-patronage societies, for the abolition of this anti-christian and pernicious practice, in most parts of Scotland. *Twenty-six* of these are reported, in the Edinburgh Almanack for 1838. Besides, the synod of Glasgow and Ayr resolved on overturing the General Assembly, in 1834, thus:—

“That, as it is inexpedient and injurious to the interests of the Church of Scotland, to induct ministers without the consent of a majority of the congregation; and as the declaration of the General Assembly on this subject is not clearly enough expressed, to prevent the recurrence of the evil, the synod resolve to overture the Assembly, to carry into effect the great principle of the church, that no minister be inducted to any charge, without the consent of the people.” This being carried by a majority, Dr. Burns, of Paisley, brought forward an overture, in the form of a petition to Parliament. The overture was signed by *nineteen* ministers, besides *six* or *seven* elders of the presbytery of Paisley, praying for a repeal of the obnoxious act of Queen Anne†. Dr. M’Farlane moved in the synod the rejection of the petition; but on the vote being taken, there were 28 for the motion of Dr. Burns, and only 20 for that of Dr. M’Farlane. This subject having been brought before the General Assembly, May 27, 1834, by Lord Moncrieff, son of the late Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff, one of the most distinguished ministers of the Scottish Establishment, it was resolved, by a majority of 184 to 138, “*That it is a fundamental law of the church, that no pastor shall be obtruded on any congregation, contrary to the will of the people.*” This important decision has already begun to operate; and it is believed, that the practical

* See p. 476 — 480.

† See p. 476.

application of it will in time lead to a most beneficial revolution in the Church of Scotland, preventing mere professional clergymen being forced into parishes, the sons or relatives of interested patrons, and prepare the way for universal prosperity in that communion, under the blessing of God upon faithful ministers of Christ.

Alarmed at the progress of the Dissenters in Scotland, the General Assembly have made applications to Parliament for grants of money *to build new churches*, for the accommodation of the increasing population, or *to endow those* which might be erected by subscription: but against this the Dissenters have protested, as *unjust to themselves* and to the whole country, complaining at the same time of the representations to the government, as to the *destitution* of church room, *being false*, the General Assembly making no mention of the religious instruction in their places of worship, in number equal, or nearly so, to those in the whole established church. Hence the government, having been compelled to yield to public opinion, appointed the "Commission of Enquiry;" and reference has already been made to their first *two* instructive "Reports."

Besides the churches and chapels whose ministers have been enumerated above, there are other places of worship, amounting to *six* in Scotland, and *sixty-three* in England, reported * as in connection with the church of Scotland: but the latter have been referred to under the head of "Presbyterians in England."

During the last forty years, and especially since the rapid increase of the several Dissenting communities, the evangelical party in the General Assembly have manifested commendable zeal for the cause of Christianity. Home Missionaries, *thirty* of whom are reported for this year, 1838, are employed within the bounds of the different Presbyteries; and through their successful labours, new influence has been acquired by the Church of Scotland.

Various Christian societies exist in connection with the Church of Scotland: but not many of them are believed to

* Edinburgh Almanack for 1838, p. 365, 366.

have been supported with any remarkable degree of activity and zeal; a better spirit has, however, been increasing among the evangelical clergy of that community. The Church of Scotland has sent out many clergymen as chaplains for the Scotch in our several colonies: the "Colonial Church" is reported as follows: 53 congregations in Canada; 21 in Nova Scotia; 12 in New Brunswick; 6 in New South Wales; 4 in Van Dieman's Land; 5 in Guiana; 8 at the Cape of Good Hope; 5 in the East Indies; 6 in the West Indies. Most or all of the ministers of these, are supported by salaries from the Government. This church has 4 Missionaries at Calcutta; 1 at Madras; and 3 at Bombay*.

The principal institutions of the church are,

1. Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, incorporated in 1709. This Society employed *nine* Home Missionaries, as reported in 1837.
2. Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, 1736.
3. Scottish Missionary Society, instituted 1796.
4. Society for the support of Gaelic Schools.

Section III. Dissenters in Scotland.

Dissenting clergy of Scotland—Chosen by their congregations—Number of their churches—Dissenters regarded with jealousy by churchmen—Dissenters object to be taxed for the church—Resolutions of the "United Associate Synod"—Resolutions of the "Scottish Central Board of Dissenters"—Rev. A. Thomson's Letter to Lord Melbourne—Review of the principal denominations—Presbyterians—Scotch Episcopalians—Independents—Baptists—Catholics.

Religion has continued to flourish during the present century among most of the different bodies of Dissenters in Scotland. Their ministers generally receive the same education as those of the established church, the same colleges and universities being open to them; but some have peculiar theological training under distinguished divines, as those of the Independents and Episcopalians. Their doctrines are, excepting the Roman Catholics and Unitarians, almost universally the essential principles of Protestant Christianity, the same as those of the evangelical party among the established clergy of Scotland and of England.

* Ibid. p. 370, 371.

Chosen to their pastoral office by the several congregations who support them, solely on the ground of their piety and talents, their learning being equal, the official abilities of the Dissenting ministers have been supposed to surpass those of the Establishment, while their zeal, fidelity, and diligence have been the means of the remarkable increase of the several denominations in Scotland, their devoted labours being honoured with the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit.

From the "Edinburgh Almanack," and other sources, so far as it has been possible to gain information, the following table is given, to show the numerical importance of each Dissenting body in Scotland. The aggregate number is rather smaller than that of the places of worship in the Establishment: but as the chapels of the Dissenters are generally large, and situated for the convenience of their congregations, the aggregate of persons who frequent them is believed to exceed those attending the ministry of the church of Scotland.

	Congregations, or Ministers.
1. United Associate Synod	351
2. Relief Synod ..	110
3. Reformed Presbyterian Church	34
4. Associate Original Seceders	37
5. Original Burgher Associate ..	53
Total Presbyterian Dissenters...	585
6. Scotch Episcopalians	83
7. Church of England Chapels	3
8. Independents	96
9. Baptists (supposed)	30
10. Methodists ditto.	60
11. Quakers ditto.	10
12. Glassites, Bereans, &c., ditto.....	50
13. Roman Catholics	66
14. Unitarians.....	5
Total Dissenting Congregations in Scotland...	988

Dissenters from the church establishment would naturally be regarded with some degree of unfriendly feeling by its

adherents, as their secession must be considered a standing protest against the system, or its administration. This feeling has latterly been exhibited with an augmented degree of rancour against them, on account of their objecting to be taxed in support of the establishment, from which they derive no benefit, but suffer continually. Their complaints having been disregarded, while the alleged unrighteous exactions were rigorously enforced by the clergy, as allowed by law, and they having made repeated applications to the Government for additional grants of money in aid of the Establishment, the spirit of the Dissenters has been roused to protest against such an appropriation of public money, as violating the principles of equity, doing injustice to the whole body of Dissenters in the kingdom, and outraging both the letter and spirit of Christianity. The following will more clearly illustrate this part of the history of religion in Scotland.

“At a Meeting of the United Associate Synod, held at Edinburgh, January 3, 1838, regarding additional endowments being prayed for by the Church of Scotland, the following Resolutions were proposed, and, after mature consideration, were most cordially and unanimously adopted : —

“1. That it be respectfully represented to the British Legislature in general, and to the members of Her Majesty's Government in particular, that this Synod, consisting of the ecclesiastical rulers and representatives of by far the largest body of Dissenters in Scotland, disclaim all interference with political matters which do not immediately bear on the religious interests of the country; and never, in any former instance, during their existence as a Church Court for more than a century, have held a meeting for the special and exclusive purpose of taking into consideration any measure of any kind, which they knew to be under discussion, or had heard of as likely to be proposed for the sanction of Parliament.

“2. That nevertheless it has been judged expedient, under the unparalleled urgency of the case, to convene the present meeting, with a view promptly to adopt, and vigorously to prosecute, such measures as may be thought requisite, in order, if possible, to prevent a threatened consummation on the part

of Her Majesty's Government, of which less cannot be said, than that *it would outrage the principles, insult the feelings, and seriously affect the interests of all the Dissenters in the empire.*

"3. That this Synod feel justified in employing this strong language in reference to a current report, which has filled them with the utmost apprehension and regret, and of which no representations and remonstrances made to the proper quarter have, as yet, called forth a contradiction:—That it is in the contemplation of Her Majesty's Government, to propose to Parliament that an additional endowment shall be granted to the Established Church of Scotland, as a concession to the clamour and importunity of some of her alleged friends, for her further extension; and that it is intended to appropriate what are called the 'Bishops' Teinds' for the purpose.

"4. That in present circumstances hardly any thing could be more impolitic or unjust, than to show special favour, and to make pecuniary grants from any public source, to a Church which can now be regarded only as one sect, though numerous; since it will be found, that a vast proportion of truly religious persons, and indeed *the majority of the Church-going population, are Dissenters from it*,—most of them on the ground, that, in their view, no church ought to be established by law, or supported by compulsory assessment; and all of them, because they conscientiously disapprove of *the intrusion of ministers on congregations by patronage, and laxity of discipline, with which the Church of Scotland, by many within her pale, as well as others, has long been charged.*

"5. That the present application of that church for further endowments, in order to secure her almost unlimited extension, ought to be firmly and universally resisted, on the grounds, that *the representations made in support of it are most fallacious—that the plans adopted to enforce it have been most unwarrantable—that the destitution, now so much deplored, had never been discovered by her till lately, during the course of an age when it must have been equally great, if not greater than it is alleged to be at present,—that in particular instances, when church extension by means of chapels of ease was pro-*

posed in some districts, the utmost opposition was made to it by numbers of the very same men, who now so zealously advocate the novel scheme—that the obvious, and in some instances the avowed object is to aggrandize their own Church at the expense of crushing all the Dissenters in the land, whom, in the mean time, they haughtily refuse to acknowledge as being capable of supplying any portion of the destitution complained of—that the whole system, as it respects churchmen, may be regarded as a singular and most repulsive specimen of pure sectarianism; and, as it respects their lay friends, judging from the demonstrations made by some of the most influential among them in Parliament, can be regarded only as a mere political movement, which, under the garb of religious zeal, so awkwardly assumed at first, and so inconveniently worn in continuance, has no other object than that of promoting the interests of a miserable partisanship.

“6. That if in some districts there may be found numbers of our countrymen in a state of spiritual destitution, the void might well be supplied by the voluntary exertions of benevolent Christians, which was the apostolic plan of spreading the gospel, — a plan which, though of late so heartlessly assailed by the most vulgar and senseless vituperations, would, if unfettered directly or indirectly by state interference, and if unimpeded by carnal policy and power, soon show an efficiency worthy of its origin. And indeed, this plan of Christian benevolence has on a grand scale, and in our own times, been brought to the test of actual experiment with marvellous results. In proof of this, it is sufficient to refer to the mighty and blissful operations alike of Church and Dissenting Missionary Societies, conducted entirely on the voluntary principle, for the conversion of the heathen abroad. This Synod, and other Dissenting denominations holding the same doctrinal opinions, besides maintaining and extending the institutions of the Gospel at home, without seeking or wishing Government aid, contribute thousands of pounds annually for foreign missions. And a much greater proportion of the sums thus raised would have been devoted to the conversion of practical heathens at home, had it not been that all attempts made in the Highlands, and other sequestered and destitute places,

have met with the greatest, and often lamentably successful opposition from Conservative landlords, as *the friends of the Established Church*, or *from endowed ministers*, who, if they did not aspire to the honour of being church-builders in any sense, seem to have regarded with peculiar suspicion all attempts to diffuse the light of evangelical truth among those most destitute of it, from whatever quarter that light might proceed, but especially if it was seen to emanate from any body of Dissenters.

“7. That the plan proposed by the church extensionists, of the supplying of Christian instruction and ordinances to those most destitute of them, by laying an additional tax on the country, which must necessarily be wrung from it by compulsion, is at variance with the genius and design of Christianity itself. Nor can it be doubted that the attempt, if made, must prove a signal failure. Their scheme, too, has been brought to the test of experiment, and, they themselves being judges, the results have been most deplorable. And yet (with amazing simplicity, or with intolerable presumption) they appeal to its utter inefficacy as their most powerful argument to have the experiment repeated on an enlarged scale! All this is demonstrated by the single fact of the alleged gross darkness to be dispersed, and the mass of heathenism to be excavated in the very midst of an endowed church, from which, on their own hypothesis, the light and power of truth should have issued, so as to have prevented, if not the very existence, yet the rapid and appalling increase of these enormous evils.”

Another public meeting of the “*Scottish Central Board for vindicating the rights of Dissenters*,” was held in Bristo-Street Church, January 4, 1838, at which were present “Deputations” from most of the principal towns in Scotland: the following among other Resolutions were unanimously passed.

“1. That this meeting express their unabated attachment to the principle, that the maintenance and propagation of Christianity is the duty of those who enjoy its privileges, and their deep conviction of the importance of exhibiting this principle in the evidence of its truth as inculcated by the word of God, and in the power of its influence as exemplified by

the practice of the Christian Church in her earliest and purest times.

"2. That the support of Christianity, by the interference of the civil magistrate, is a mode of promoting the interests of religion which has proved itself to be in various ways obstructive of the end in view; and, involving as it does an invasion of the rights of conscience, is objectionable in every form, whether that of the patronage of one sect to the prejudice of others, or that of the patronage of many, and the consequent confounding of truth and error, for the purposes of secular policy.

"3. That, as opposed to the principle which this meeting recognize as scriptural and just, the civil establishment of religion in this part of the kingdom is an evil, from which the best interests of the national church herself demand her deliverance; and any additional grant of the property of the state to serve her sectarian purposes, ought, from a regard to her true interests, as well as in justice to Dissenters, to be resisted as a gross misapplication of the public money.

"4. That besides, the Reports of the Commission of Enquiry which have been published, disprove the exaggerated statements regarding the destitution of the means of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence, alleged to exist in those places to which these reports refer. And while this meeting admit, and deeply regret, that there exists in many parts of our country much irreligion and vice, they conceive that the proper means for the removal of these evils is not the multiplication of churches and state-paid clergy, but the support and encouragement, by voluntary contributions, of Missionary and Christian Instruction Societies. That these means have been already eminently successful, and their increased activity and usefulness may be expected from the growing interest felt by all denominations in the spread of the Gospel; while by interfering on such a subject in favour of one religious denomination, the legislature is stepping out of its proper province, and will do much to paralyze the efforts of Christians of all denominations, in a department of duty which blesses him who gives equally with him who receives."

Rev. A. Thomson, an eminent minister of the United Associate Synod, in his "Letter to Lord Melbourne," says, "Leaving us
" "

to provide for ourselves, from our own resources, but not impairing these resources by compelling us to provide at the same time for the support of others, with whom we have no connection, and from whom we can derive no benefit, by the continuance or enactment of laws, which, even if they impoverish us but little, must yet degrade us much. In short, my Lord, we claim nothing more than that we may enjoy equal *civil* rights and privileges with our fellow-citizens. That we can be placed on the same footing, however, while the present state of things continues, we maintain to be impossible. And if this can be proved, your Lordship will allow our title, in equity, to claim that the present state of things, as it respects the treatment given by Government to the Church and the Dissenters, ought to be changed *."

Protesting against a compulsory tax on Dissenters, for the support of the Established Church, Mr. Thomson proceeds, "Let that portion of the inhabitants, then, be freed from a burden, which on no rational and recognized principle, either of liberal policy or common justice, they can be obliged any longer to bear. And let the original theory of the establishment,—that its support must come from those connected with its communion, and who profess to derive advantage from its ordinances,—be tried at length by the test of actual experience. Since churchmen approve of a compulsory tax for the support of religion, let Government tax them according to their heart's content. This, my Lord, would effectually and for ever put an end to the complaints of Dissenters, in as far as the endowment of the Established Church is concerned †."

Refuting the ordinary plea of his opponents, Mr. Thomson says, "It is very remarkable, my Lord, that in many, if not in most, of the parishes where additional churches and endowments are prayed for, the existing churches are half or more than half empty, either owing to the prevalence of Dissent, or the incompetence of the present incumbents. If it be the former of these reasons, why oblige the country to provide that for others, which they show they are able and willing, and determined to provide for themselves? And if it be the latter reason that makes additional churches requisite, is that

* Claims of the Dissenters on the Government of the Country. By Rev. A. Thomson, A. M. Coldstream, p. 38, 39. † Ibid, p. 59, 60.

part of the land, cursed enough already by an endowed, but, it seems, an idle and insufficient ministry, to get further endowments, that the curse may be doubled *?"

Time alone is requisite to show the results of the conflict now being carried on in Scotland: and it is only necessary to add a few particulars relating to the chief denominations.

United Associate Synod. This powerful and active body has *four* Theological Professors, men of acknowledged eminence, to receive their students for the ministry among them, at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Mid-Calder, and Berwick †.

Relief Synod. This body supports one Professor of Theology at Paisley ‡.

Reformed Presbyterian. This body also has a Professor of Theology at Paisley §.

Original Burgher. This body has a Professor of Theology at Glasgow ||.

These Presbyterian communities, as appears by their increase, have made worthy and successful efforts to promote the knowledge of Christ. Besides their labours in Home Missions, and similar Institutions, they co-operate, with zealous liberality, in extending the kingdom of Christ abroad by the London Missionary Society.

Scotch Episcopal Communion. This body supports a "Theological Institution," with two Professors: "Right Rev. J. Walker, D. D. for *Divinity*; and Rt. Rev. M. Russell, LL.D, for *Church History* conjoined with *Bell Lecture* ¶."

Independents. This body, as its rapid increase shows, has exhibited remarkable zeal in the Home Missionary field, in Scotland. A paper on the "Claims of the Congregational Union of Scotland," published in 1831, states, "In the *Lowlands*, besides many extensive itinerancies, upwards of *twenty ministers* have for many years received assistance from the funds, to enable them to increase their labours. Several of these servants of the Lord, in addition to their regular engagements at home, preach *once* or *twice* a week, throughout the year, in the villages and hamlets around them. Some of these ministers have *ten* or *twelve* out-stations, at which they preach in rotation during the week,

* Ibid, p. 91.

† Edinburgh Almanack for 1838.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

or on Sabbath evenings. Not fewer than *sixteen Gaelic Preachers*, and *five* who labour in the Orkney and Shetland Isles, are assisted by the Union *." The Report of 1836, mentions "*twenty-three* most devoted and faithful labourers" in this field; and states, "Since the General Meeting the Committee have distributed among *twenty-one* churches the sum of 279*l.*—to aid newly opened stations and for Itinerancies in the Lowlands, 305*l.*—and for the propagation of the Gospel in the Highlands and Islands, 596*l.*"

Rev. T. Scales, of Leeds, attended the meeting of the "Union" in May 1836, and says, "This important and highly useful seminary (the Glasgow Theological Institution) is flourishing under the care of its most excellent and disinterested Tutors.—There are *fourteen* students under the care of the Committee, besides four or five missionary students, some of the London Missionary Society's, and several other young men, some of them from English churches, making in all about *thirty*, who are enjoying the benefit of Mr. Ewing's and Dr. Wardlaw's Lectures. I could not refrain from expressing my admiration of their generosity and disinterestedness, that two such men, of whom any University in the kingdom might glory as their Humanity and Divinity Professors, should give their inestimable services to the Glasgow Theological Academy without fee or reward †."

Baptists. This body is laborious, zealously and liberally promoting the knowledge of Christ; supporting, as reported in the Edinburgh Almanack for 1838, *twenty-five* missionaries, under the Committee of an Institution denominated the "Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland."

Roman Catholics. Romanism has had some adherents in Scotland from the time of the Reformation, and considerable zeal and activity now prevail to gain converts. Their *sixty-six* congregations are governed by *five* bishops, still retaining the style assumed from them by the prelates of the English Episcopacy, of "Right Reverend:" *three* of them are called "Vicars Apostolic," and the other two are "Coadjutors." They have a Seminary at "Blairs, near Aberdeen, established in 1829, for the Education of young men designed for the Roman Catholic Priesthood: the number of students in 1836 was 42 ‡."

* Cong. Mag. 1831. † Ibid. 1836. ‡ Edinb. Alm. 1838.

CHAP. VI.

Section I. The Church of Ireland.

Dignitaries of the Irish Church—Mr. Adam's statistics—Spiritual desolation of Ireland—Testimony of Mr. Riland—of Archdeacon Glover—Report of Ecclesiastical Commissioners—Ecclesiastical statistics analyzed—Review of the religious statistics—Ecclesiastical Unions of Parishes—Illustrative cases—Diocese of Emly—Cases in Monaghan county—Mr. Sergeant Perrin's appeal—Lord J. Russell's examples—Revenues of the Prelates—Of Deans and Chapters—Of parochial benefices—Total revenues—Riot and bloodshed in collecting Tithes—Slaughter at Rathcormac—Expenses of soldiery and police in Ireland—Neglect of the Native Irish—Irish Home Missions—Lord Mountcashel's Church Reform Meeting—Evangelical Controversy at Dublin—Clerical persecution of Rev. E. Nixon—Irish Evangelical Societies in England.

Ireland, by the "Act of Union," passed in 1800, was incorporated with the kingdom of Great Britain: and by the *fifth* Article of that Act, the religious establishment of that country was conjoined with the English hierarchy, as the "United Church of England and Ireland." The following is a list of its principal dignitaries at that period:—

Sees.	Arch-Bishops	Bishops	Deans.	Arch-deacons.	Prebendaries.	Canons.	Chancellors.
1. Armagh	1	....	1	1	4	....	1
2. Dublin	1	....	2	1	14	....
3. Cashel & Emly.	1	....	2	2	10	....	2
4. Tuam	1	....	2	2	8		
5. Meath .....	....	1	1	1			
6. Kildare .....	....	1	1	1	8	4	4
7. Clogher .....	....	1	1	1	5		
8. Clonfert & Kilmacduagh.....	....	1	2	2	10		
9. Cloyne .....	....	1	1	1	14	....	1
10. Cork & Ross ..	....	1	2	2	17		
11. Derry .....	....	1	1	1	4		
12. Down & Connor	....	1	2	2	6	....	2
13. Dromore .....	....	1	1	1	1	....	1
14. Elphin .....	....	1	1	1	8		
15. Ferns & Leighlin	....	1	2	2	14	....	2
16. Killala & Achonry .....	....	1	2	2	8		
17. Killaloe & Kilfenora .....	....	1	2	2	8	....	2
18. Kilmore .....	....	1	1	1			
19. Limerick, Ardferf & Aghadoe	....	1	2	3	11	....	1
20. Ossory .....	....	1	1	1	8	....	1
21. Raphoe .....	....	1	1	1			
22. Waterford & Lismore .....	....	1	2	2	10	....	2
	4	18	33	33	168	4	19

Mr. Adam states, "In Ireland there are about 2,246 parishes, of which 293 are in the gift of the crown, 367 in that of laymen, 21 in that of Trinity College, 1,470 in that of the bishops. The Archbishop of Dublin presents to 144 livings, the Bishop of Ferns to 171, the Bishop of Cloyne to 106, and the Bishop of Kildare to 131. Yet the members of the Church in Ireland are comparatively few, not being supposed to exceed 400,000, whereas her revenues are immense *."

Ireland, in a religious point of view, presents, to the eye of an intelligent observer, a picture the most appalling, especially when surveyed by the light of the Christian Scriptures. While crafty statesmen and ambitious ecclesiastics have been grasping for power and wealth in Ireland, that fine country has, in every part, exhibited frightful scenes of misery and destitution, and the neglected people have sunk into ignorance and superstition, committing the most fearful crimes against their supposed oppressors. These various evils calling loudly for redress, many have made the case of Ireland a subject of diligent inquiry. Clergymen, however, who will be least suspected of exaggeration, have stated the injuries of Ireland in a most impressive manner; and they shall bear testimony here. Mr. Riland gives the following representation, from a "high church writer in the English division of the United Kingdom," in his "Christian Survey of the country in 1829:" "that from the time of the conquest of Ireland, down to this hour, the Church of England, established in that country, has entirely neglected to preach to nearly *two-fifths* of the population; and while in Wales and in Scotland care was taken that the clergy should preach in Welch and in Gaelic, no such object was attempted in Ireland. There certainly is no parallel to this iniquity to be found in the papal church; and it is a wonder how any clergyman of the Church of England, particularly in Ireland, can venture to say one word against papal abomination, until he has protested publicly against this barefaced violation of common honesty in his own church. The clergy, however, though they have done no duty, have not omitted to exact the pay to which they were entitled only for service performed: they have exacted, with

* Religious World, by Rev. Robert Adam, A.M., p. 204, 1824.

a rigour in the ecclesiastical courts unknown to the King's courts, the last penny of their real or assumed rights, from the starving population; while many parishes have been without incumbents, without houses for their residence, or churches in which they can preach*."

Disorders so dreadful, arising from the "tithe system," continuing to inflame the Catholic population of Ireland, the reformed Parliament appointed "Commissaioners of Inquiry concerning Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage," and "Public Instruction." Their "Reports" having been printed by order of the House of Commons, in 1833 and 1835; in the mean time an Act was passed, Aug. 14, 1833, for the extinction of ten of the bishoprics in Ireland, as the several prelates should die. Still but few of the ecclesiastical evils were removed, and the public demanded a reform in the Church of Ireland: but most of the clergy in England deprecated any appropriation of the misapplied revenues, even for the purposes of educating the injured people of that country.

Archdeacon Glover, in a letter to Dr. Pellew, Dean of Norwich, declining to attend a meeting, in May, 1835, "to address His Majesty to preserve the church temporalities," says, "The established Church of Ireland is an anomaly to which the whole Christian world supplies no parallel. Unions of *eight or ten or even more parishes* consolidated to make up one rich living; that *living without either church, or manse, or Protestant congregation; its incumbent enjoying, through a tithe agent, its large emoluments, and those emoluments wrung from a population, who never behold the face of their minister, or hear from his lips one word of exhortation* In every other part of his dominions, His Majesty accepts and acknowledges as the established faith, that form of worship which is most agreeable to the consciences of the great majority of his subjects. He accepts and acknowledges Presbyterianism in Scotland and Catholicism in Canada, and exercises the greatest caution in interfering with even the debasing and cruel superstitions of the Mahometans or Hindoos in India. But in Ireland we are not content to force upon her an establishment

* Ecclesiæ Decus et Tutamen, by Rev. John Riland, A. M., p. 75, 76.

which is the hereditary aversion of *six-sevenths* of her inhabitants, but we persevere in presenting this establishment to her view under the most forbidding and repulsive form. If conversion be our object, can any means more unlikely be adopted—can any project be marked by a more signal failure? Has not the present system been pursued long enough to answer every purpose of experiment? It has gone on for about three hundred years, and that wretched country, so far from becoming more Protestant, or more reconciled to their yoke of spiritual bondage, has gone on in one unvaried course of discontent, rebellion, and bloodshed,—a burden instead of a benefit to Great Britain; and that Gospel, which should have been the harbinger of peace, has been used as the source and watchword of the most savage barbarities, and the most relentless discord. If the experiment of controlling the conscience by brute force, or overawing it by a splendid and gorgeous hierarchy, although in support of truth, could be justified by any testimony of its utility, it might then be some reason why we should not abandon it as hopeless: but the very contrary is the notorious and admitted fact*.”

The “Commissioners of Public Instruction,” in their First Report, presented to Parliament in June, 1835, state the following particulars:—

Population of Ireland in 1834	7,943,940
Of whom there were,	
Members of the Established Church and Wesleyan Methodists.....	852,064
Presbyterians	642,356
Other Protestant Dissenters.....	21,808
Roman Catholics	6,427,712
	<hr/>
	7,943,940

Considerable omissions of Dissenters are known to have been made: this will appear certain, from the statement regarding the diocese of Clogher, where, under the head of “Other Protestant Dissenters,” and their “places of wor-

* Page 15, 16.

ship," we find *thirty* places of worship, and only *twenty-six* persons! The whole Report has been analyzed, and set down, therefore, as follows, in round numbers:—

Members of the Establishment	760,000
Dissenters, below specified	7,180,000
	<hr/>
	7,940,000
	<hr/>
Presbyterians	642,000
Wesleyans	65,000
Other Dissenters.....	45,000
Roman Catholics	6,428,000
	<hr/>
Total Dissenters	7,180,000
	<hr/>

Religion, as practically regarded in Ireland, will in a measure appear from the following statements:—

Roman Catholics, for 6,428,000 of people, have places of worship built by themselves	2,105
Episcopalians, for about 760,000 nominal members, have churches and chapels, provided by the State, most of them built originally by the Catholics.....	1,338
Other Dissenters, for about 752,000 persons, have places of worship built by themselves	855

There belong to the Established Church, 1,338 churches, 474 of which have been built since the year 1800, at an expense to Parliament of 445,180*l.* The Presbyterians have 452 churches, the other Dissenters have 403, and the Roman Catholics, 2,105: total, 2,960. The 7,182,000 Dissenters in Ireland have no benefice or glebe, while the 760,000 churchmen have 1,472 benefices, many of which are richly endowed, and 850 glebe houses. Out of the 1,472 endowed benefices, there are only 889 resident incumbents. *In 210 there is no church; in 339 of the benefices in which the incumbent is non-resident, divine service is performed by him or by a curate. In 158 of the benefices, no divine service is performed either by the incumbent or by a curate. In some of these cases, it ap-*

pears, that Divine service is performed in a school house : but 57 parishes or districts, comprising 3,030 nominal members of the Established Church, are without any provision for religious ordinances, according to the forms of that community ! *There are 41 benefices in which there is no member of the Established Church !*

“The unions in the Irish church,” as the Archbishop of Armagh, in a letter to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, said, in 1819, “have long been considered as one of its greatest defects.” “Some of these are made by the bishop of the diocese ;” and “of these episcopal unions, some, particularly those made in former times,” the archbishop remarked, “may be found to be extremely objectionable.” Of these episcopal unions, there are, according to the Irish Ecclesiastical Register, 220, comprising 704 parishes or parts of parishes ; some of which unions have *eight, ten, and even eleven* parishes in each. The following are examples :—

“*Tintern*, in the diocese of Ferns, is a union of *five parishes*, one of which is *seven miles* from the rest.

“*Templeneiry*, in Cashel, a union of *three parishes*, the boundary of one of which is above *twelve miles* from the church.

“*Kilcooly*, in Kilmacduagh, a union of *ten parishes*, of which two are detached, one *six miles*, and the other *ten miles* from the contiguous parishes.

“*Ballynakill*, in Tuam, a union of *nine parishes*, one of which is *thirteen miles* from the rest of the benefices, and *twenty-seven miles* from the church.

“*Burnchurch*, in Ossory, is a union of *fourteen parishes*, three of which are at opposite extremities of the county of Kilkenny*.”

The following are the first *twenty* cases out of *fifty* selected from the Report of the Commissioners by the Edinburgh Reviewer :—

* Edinburgh Review, July, 1835.

Name of Benefice.	Number of Members of Establ. Church.	Number of Clergym. of Establ. Church belonging to the Benefice.	Whether Clergymen reside within it.	Whether any Church.	Amount of Income from Tithes.		
					L.	s.	d.
Crooke	14	1	No resid. Clergy	No Chur.	190	5	3
Lisnakil	5	1	Ditto.	Ditto.	160	0	0
Kilbarrymeadow	12	3	Ditto.	Ditto.	300	0	0
Kilmolash	12	2	Ditto.	Ditto.	232	10	0
Kilrush	6	2	Ditto.	Ditto.	152	6	3
Modeligo union	4	2	Ditto.	Ditto.	440	0	0
Mora	9	2	Ditto.	Ditto.	259	7	11
Outeragh un.on	15	1	A res. Clergym.	Ditto.	242	6	1
Ro-smire	11	2	{ Curate resid. } { near officiates }	A Churc.	200	0	0
Seskeinane	3	1	No resid. Clergy	No Chur.	335	0	0
Geal	14	2	Ditto.	Ditto.	185	0	0
Hoare Abbey ..	10	2	Ditto.	Ditto.	166	3	1
Kilmore	3	1	Ditto.	Ditto.	100	0	0
Leughmoe	14	2	Ditto.	Ditto.	249	4	7
Templeree	9	1	Ditto.	Ditto.	207	18	10
Templebredin ..	2	1	Ditto.	Ditto.	124	19	0
Ardagh	14	1	{ Resides in ad- } { joining Parish }	A Churc.	600	0	0
Carrigdownane	4	1	No resid. Clergy	No Chur.	90	0	0
Clenne	17	3	Ditto.	Ditto.	559	19	0
Clonmult	1	2	Ditto.	Ditto.	225	0	0

The remaining thirty are precisely of the same character.

“In the diocese of Emly, out of a total population of 98,363, the numbers of the Established Church are 1,246, or only $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole. They have 35 places of worship and 31 clergymen. The diocese, which contains 42 parishes with provision for cure of souls, is divided into 17 benefices, in *seven* of which the incumbent is *resident*, and is *non-resident* in the remaining *ten*, in *five* of which no divine service is performed. In one of these there is no member of the Established Church; in three others there are less than 20; in only four do they exceed 100; in only one do they exceed 200. The average amount of tithe composition for each parish in this diocese exceeds 210*l.*; the total amount exceeds 7,000*l.* The dignitaries and prebendaries of this diocese, in right of their dignities and prebends, and the benefices forming the corps of each, have separate revenues, to the annual amount of 4,554*l.* 10*s.* 6*½d.* The united incomes of the 17

benefices in the diocese amount to 7,967*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* There is an economy estate of 111 acres, and there have been granted for building churches and glebe-houses, 5,670*l.* in gifts, and 4,320*l.* in loans. Such is a compendious view of the state of the church in the diocese of Emly. We abstain from comment : we have stated facts which can speak for themselves *.”

Emly is in the south : but the following instances are “from a county, *Monaghan*, which has been described as one of the most Protestant in the north of Ireland.” They were quoted by the Attorney-general for Ireland, in his place in Parliament, April 2, 1835, in urging the necessity of Church Reform.

“1. *Magheracloone*—198 Established Church, 8,449 Roman Catholics. Value of living, 430*l.* in tithes, with a glebe-house, and 42 acres of land, making a total of 556*l.* per annum. The incumbent generally resides at Bath, and visits his parish once a year : the duty is done by a stipendiary curate.

“2. *Carrickmacross*—607 Established Church, 2,75 Presbyterians, 12,069 Roman Catholics. Value of living 700*l.* in tithes : glebe-house, and 140 acres of land ; total 1,120*l.* Incumbent resides at Armagh : duty done by a stipendiary curate.

“3. *Donaghmoine*—470 Established Church, 14,003 Roman Catholics. Value of living : tithes, 1,050*l.* glebe house, and 50 acres ; total 1,233*l.* Incumbent non-resident, living in a distant benefice of considerable value, which he also enjoys : duty performed by a stipendiary curate.

“4. *Killany*—56 Established Church, 4,912 Roman Catholics. Value of living, 500*l.* in tithes, glebe-house, and 80 acres ; total value, 750*l.* Incumbent resides near Dublin : duty performed by a stipendiary curate.

“5. *Enniskeen*—136 Established Church, 3,680 Roman Catholics. Value of tithes, 500*l.* glebe-house, and 80 acres : total value, 750*l.* Incumbent non-resident.”

“Here,” said Mr. Sergeant Perrin, “is a district of five parishes in Protestant Ulster : in all, the incumbents are non-

* Ibid.

resident. The duty is performed by curates; and I believe well, and assiduously, and satisfactorily performed, by stipendiary curates; satisfactorily to the Protestant inhabitants, by stipendiary curates with small incomes.

"I never will consent to this state of things, that, while 750*l.* a-year is abstracted to meet the claims of the church, the whole of the religious duties should be performed by a person receiving a small stipend only; and that the remainder, whether it be 400*l.* or 600*l.*, or, as in other parishes, much more a-year, should go to be dissipated by an individual residing at Bath, or at Kingstown.

"I am not one of those who would withdraw any thing from the incomes of the Protestant working clergy; on the contrary, I would seek to place those members of that body in a situation more becoming their sacred calling, and more independent, by giving every actual incumbent, that is every clergyman doing duty, not less than 200*l.* or 250*l.* per annum, instead of 75*l.* I would then apply the remaining 500*l.* in parishes producing 750*l.*, to the original purpose, namely, the religious education and moral improvement of the rest of the parishioners. But it is said this would be spoliation—this would be robbing the church and endangering property. Who talks of robbing the church, and yet sustains the present system? Is it not robbing the church to get the business of that church done for a small stipend, perhaps for 75*l.* per annum, and to receive the difference without labour, and expend it in a foreign country? Is not this spoliation, misapplication, and diversion of the funds to purposes not ecclesiastical? I deny that such an application of the funds, as making provision for a suitable income for the working incumbent, and giving the residue to the moral and religious education of the parishioners, is liable to the imputation of church robbery. I say, they who divert it from these purposes to individual emolument are the spoliators—they who prefer the man to the duty—who regard and provide for the churchman, not the church—they divert, they misapply, they spoliolate and rob the church *."

* Ibid.

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Lord John Russell, in the same debate, stated the case of four adjacent parishes, having for incumbents *four absentee rectors*, drawing a total revenue from these benefices of 2,025*l.* or 500*l.* on the average, which were served by *two curates* for twenty years, at 75*l.* each. Thus in twenty years the stipends of the resident clergymen, who performed the whole duty, being deducted, 37,500*l.* were drawn from these parishes under pretence of religion, by absentee sinecurists, they leaving only 3,000*l.* as the real value of the religious services!

From the "Report of the Commissioners on Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland," it appears, that "the total gross revenues of the archbishoprics and bishoprics, *on an average of three years*, ending December 31, 1831, amounted to 151,127*l.* 12*s.* 4½*d.* The total net amount of the same was, on an average similarly taken, 128,808*l.* 8*s.* 3¾*d.* or 5,854*l.* to each. The richest archbishopric is that of Armagh, of which the average net yearly produce is 14,494*l.* 0*s.* 3¼*d.*; the richest bishopric that of Derry, averaging a net income of 12,159*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* The poorest archbishopric is that of Cashel and Emly, of which the average income is 6,308*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.*; the poorest bishopric, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, of which the average net income is 2,970*l.* 11*s.* 6½*d.*"

"We come now to the revenues of the deans and chapters, prebendaries and canons. It appears from the Reports of the Commissioners, that the gross annual amount, *exclusive of chapter dividends, and payments out of the economy funds*, received by 284 persons—dignitaries, prebendaries and canons, belonging to the chapters of the church of Ireland—was 152,606*l.* 16*s.* 8½*d.* Of this, about 112,000*l.* arises from benefices with cure of souls annexed to such dignities and prebends."

"Among the queries transmitted by the Commissioners to the respective dignitaries, prebendaries, and canons of cathedral churches in Ireland, was this—*Whether there are any and what duties annexed to the office?* 'There are *not any duties annexed*,' was the answer returned in the case of sixteen deaneries, nine precentorships, five chancellorships, seven treasurerships, two provostships, twelve archdeaconries, twenty-three prebends, and one canonry. We find 'at

seventy-five offices above enumerated are *sinécures*, by the admission of those who hold them—that some of the others are virtually *sinécures*, inasmuch as their duties are performed by deputy—and that the duties performed by the remainder are few, slight, and easy.”

Irish ecclesiastical dignitaries, therefore, have these revenues :—

	£.	s.	d.
“ Archbishops and Bishops	151,127	12	4½
“ Corporate Revenues of Deans and Chapters	1,042	11	5
“ The economy estates of Cathedral Churches.....	11,055	14	7½
“ Revenues of the subordinate ecclesiastical Corporations, such as Minor Canonries, Vicar-Choralships, &c...	10,525	19	5¼
“ Revenues of all Dignities and Prebends, exclusive of the incomes of the benefices with cure of souls, and deducting those which are annexed to Episcopal Dignities	34,481	12	0¼
Total.....	£.208,233	9	11¼

“These are the annual revenues of the Established Church in Ireland, *exclusive of the incomes of parochial benefices*, with cure of souls ; from which source, as we have already seen, incomes to the amount of more than 112,000*l.* are, in addition to the preceding, *possessed by the dignitaries and prebendaries of the Irish Church* *.”

“The revenues of the parochial benefices of Ireland arise mainly from two sources—glebe and tithe. There is a third source, called *minister's money*, arising from a house tax in certain parishes. The quantity of glebe land in Ireland is 91,137 acres, of which 87,000 acres are esteemed profitable. If we estimate the average value of glebe land at 15*s.* an acre, this part of the church revenues amounts to 65,250*l.* per annum.

* Ibid.

"Tithe is a much more ample source of revenue. It is estimated that the total amount of tithes in Ireland is 665,000*l.* : as there were 2,250 parishes under composition at the end of 1834, to the amount of 644,000*l.* ; of which, above 527,000*l.* was payable to ecclesiastical persons, and somewhat less than 117,000*l.* to lay impropiators : besides between 70 and 80 not yet under composition, estimated of the value of 21,000*l.* Such are the revenues of the parochial benefices of the Church of Ireland."

The total revenues of the Irish Church Establishment are
*herefore as follows:—

	£.	s.	d.
Ecclesiastical Dignitaries, before stated	208,233	9	11½
Parochial Benefices	665,000	0	0

£873,233 9 11½

Archdeacon Glover, our readers will probably admit, is justified, after reviewing these statistics, in saying that "*the established Church of Ireland is an anomaly to which the whole Christian world supplies no parallel*"—"a yoke of spiritual bondage," occasioning "*discontent, rebellion, and bloodshed*:" and Mr. Ri-land in declaring, "*There certainly is no parallel to this iniquity to be found in the Papal Church—a bare-faced violation of common honesty.*"

Ireland has groaned under this systematic oppression, and its patriots, with those of England, have called loudly for justice, which, until since the passing of the Reform Bills, has been denied; and even now all measures of Irish Church Reform are determinately opposed by the great body of interested ecclesiastics, under the pretence of its being an invasion of the sacred rights of the church. Examples of riot and bloodshed the most shocking might be given to illustrate the difficulty of enforcing the payment of tithes in Ireland. One out of many will suffice. "Aided by *two* companies of the 29th regiment under the command of Major Walker, about a dozen of the 4th Royal Irish Dragoon Guards from Fermoy, and a body of police, the Rev. Archdeacon W. Ryder, accompanied by W. Cooke Collis, Esq., Captain Bayley (all magistrates), and Mr. Pepper, proceeded to Gurtroe, about three

miles from Rathcormac, December 18, 1834." The catholic peasantry made some show of opposition to the seizure; the Riot Act was read, and the soldiers were ordered to fire, which they did, killing *twelve* persons, and wounding others. A coroner's inquest was held; and, on the *nineteenth* day from their being assembled, the jury gave their verdict: *eight* were for "Justifiable Homicide;" *two* for "Manslaughter;" and *thirteen* for "Wilful Murder," against the magistrates!

Enforcing tithes under such circumstances has inflamed the revenge of the injured peasantry, and hence many murders have been committed, even in the cases of several clergymen! But the supporting of the antichristian system has required a large military force; the magnitude of which will appear from the following passages of a speech of Mr. Ward, in Parliament, May 27, 1834.

"Since 1825, from 23,000 to 19,000 men have been regularly quartered in Ireland; as nearly as possible the same amount of forces as was required for our Indian Empire, and within one-third of the force employed to occupy all our colonies in *the other three quarters of the world*. From April 1, 1833, to March 1, 1834, during which there were 19,452 men quartered in Ireland, the expense of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, for the Irish department, amounted to 1,025,621*l.* In addition to this there was a police force, the expense of which had been increasing each successive year. In 1830, the Irish police force cost 256,663*l.*; in 1831, 268,119*l.*; and in 1832, 287,192*l.*; and since 1832, the increase had been greater in proportion. All this expenditure had been occasioned by the tithe system.

"By a return ordered March 18, 1828, it appeared, that the average number of tithe causes annually decided, between the ecclesiastical courts and quarter sessions, by civil process before the assistant barristers, was 17,981."

Religion, in such a state of things, must be in a deplorable condition in Ireland; and though all the guilt of the prevailing ignorance and superstition of the Irish, is generally charged, by interested Protestant Ecclesiastics, upon the Roman Catholic Priests, the above statistics loudly proclaim the contrary. An able writer remarks—"The Papists are

charged with keeping the Bible from the common people. In Ireland, the guilt of this attaches quite as much to Protestants. The Irish New Testament was not reprinted between 1681 and 1811, nor the Irish Bible between 1685 and 1817! And but for the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, it would not have been reprinted now. All that has been done for the moral and religious improvement has been independent of the state system, has formed no part of the state policy, nor has been supported out of the revenues of the Establishment*."

Notwithstanding this lamentable state of things in the Church of Ireland, a spirit of piety has arisen among the clergy; and, within a few years, some of them have been awakened to seek in earnest the spiritual welfare of the people. Roused by the active zeal of other Christian communities, several of this class of evangelical ministers began to itinerate, preaching the Gospel of Christ in unconsecrated places, in the year 1828. This led to the formation of a "Home Missionary Society," including, it is said, nearly *two hundred clergymen*, who made occasional excursions to diffuse the knowledge of Christ. "Its labours were at first desultory; but since 1832, they have been systematically distributed through eight circuits, which embrace no fewer than 173 stations: the congregations in each of them are regularly visited *once a fortnight, or month*, by clergymen approved by the committee. Churchmen, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, &c. have assembled in many places in large numbers, to hear the word of truth from the lips of these Missionaries†."

Great difficulties, as might have been expected, attended this *uncanonical* course, as most of the prelates and parochial clergy were averse to it; although it was *tolerated* by several of the dignitaries, and encouraged by a few, as a policy necessary in self-defence against the influence of the Roman Catholics.

Grieved at the enormities existing in the Irish Church, a considerable number of zealous churchmen called a public meeting at Cork, September 17, 1829, the Earl of Mount-

* Eclectic Review, Nov. 1836.

† Home Missionary Magazine, August 1835

cashel in the chair, to consider what means could be employed, to effect a revival of religion among the clergy. The miseries of the working curates were portrayed, and the flagrant system of pluralities and non-residence was reprobated in the strongest terms; and the following resolution of the assembly will illustrate this part of the history of the Establishment:—

“5. It is our firm conviction, that until the great doctrine of Christianity, which our Reformers learned from the Word of God, be faithfully preached in all our pulpits, until our clergy universally, according to the solemn vows of ordination that are upon them, ‘give themselves diligently to the sacred office, and forsaking as much as they may all worldly cares and studies, apply themselves wholly to this one thing,’ even as ‘watchmen and stewards, to teach and feed the Lord’s family,’ and until church preferment be applied as the reward of Christian attainments and learning, and not for purposes of political influence—the purity of our Church Establishment can never be restored, its permanence guaranteed by the esteem of an enlightened people, or the slanders of its adversaries put to silence.”

Encouraged by their reception among the Irish peasantry, and by the success of the Dissenters, and prompted to exertion by the zeal of the Catholic priests, this increasing body of evangelical clergy persevered in their itinerating labours. Dublin contained a number of this class: but their uncanonical practices, especially *praying extemporarily*, as the Dissenters, offended the archbishop, and he interdicted such irregularity. They, however, in a *Memorial*, protested against their superior’s injunction; and his Grace appealed to the Irish bishops for their judgment on the subject. Dr. Singer and other eminent clergymen taking part against the archbishop, prudence seemed to require that the controversy should cease.

Three hundred evangelical clergymen are believed now to be found in the Established Church of Ireland; and most of them are said to favour the “Home Missions.” Their *anti-evangelical* brethren, however, grievously hinder their labours, which the following case will illustrate:—

“Rev. Edward Nixon, a beneficed clergyman in the diocese of Meath, being appointed in his course to preach in Ardee

on Monday, Feb. 27, 1837, engaged a large room in the market-house, and among the numerous congregation was the Rev. Arthur Ellis, who threatened the *itinerant* with the displeasure of the archbishop." The apostolic missionary, notwithstanding, *sung, prayed, and preached*, after the manner of Dissenters. "An ecclesiastical suit, by citation, was instituted in the court of the Primate of Armagh, against the said Rev. E. Nixon, *at the voluntary promotion of the office*, by the Rev. A. Ellis, vicar of the parish of Ardee. The citation served on Mr. Nixon was, *to answer certain articles to be objected against him on the part of the promoter, for the health of his soul, and lawful reformation and correction of his morals; and more especially, for having preached in a private house in the parish of Ardee, without the licence of the Archbishop of Armagh, and without the leave, and against the will of the said Rev. A. Ellis, vicar of the parish of Ardee.* This indictment was preferred in the nineteenth century, by one clergyman of the Established Church against another! Mr. Nixon, on the trial, appealed from the Archbishop's Court to the Court of Delegates in Dublin, where the case has recently been argued several days*."

Ireland has been regarded with a generous sympathy by many Christians in England; and several institutions, supported by Churchmen and Dissenters, have contributed very efficiently to benefit that injured and degraded country. These are noticed, "Chapter IX, EVANGELICAL SOCIETIES."

Section II. Dissenters in Ireland.

Ireland a Roman Catholic country — Large majority Dissenters — Analysis of the Dissenting Communities — General Synod of Ulster — Arians in the Synod — Declaration of religious opinions — Secession of Arians — Part of their congregations remain — Concealed Arians — Presbyterian Synod of Ireland — Presbytery of Antrim, Synod of Munster, Remonstrant Synod — Parliamentary Grants to Presbyterian ministers — Covenanters, Antiburghers, Scottish Seceders — Wesleyan Methodists — Primitive Methodists — Independents — Baptists — Roman Catholics — Rank and number of priests in their hierarchy — Puritans among the Catholics.

Ireland has correctly been denominated a Roman Catholic country, nearly *six and a half millions* of its population being

* London Patriot, Jan. 11, 1838.

of that religion; while but little more than *one and a half million* are Protestants. Ireland has also been called a country of Dissenters: for while the members of its Established Church hardly exceed *three quarters of a million, seven millions and a quarter* of its people are now Dissenters, including the Catholics: hence no small measure of the calamities that afflict Ireland.

Dissenters have greatly increased in Ireland during the present century; and from the various educational, scriptural, and missionary instrumentality brought into operation, a still greater multiplication is expected in the conversion of souls to the saving knowledge of Christ. The following appears to be the present number of ministers or churches in Ireland, as far as can be ascertained from the best sources of information:—

	Ministers or Churches.
General Synod of Ulster	282
Presbyterian Synod of Ireland..... ..	141
Presbytery of Antrim, Synod of Munster, and Remonstrant Synod	40
Covenanters, Antiburghers, and Scottish Se- ceders	36
Wesleyan Methodist Chapels, about	196
Primitive Methodists	84
Independents	35
Quakers	40
Baptists	15
Moravians	9
Other Dissenters.....	10
<hr/> Total Protestants	888
Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland	6,134
<hr/> Total Dissenters in Ireland	7,022

Concerning some of these communities little need be said; but others demand special notice, on account of their acknowledged influence in diffusing the knowledge of the Scriptures.

GENERAL SYNOD OF ULSTER. Protestant Christianity con-

tinued to advance in connection with this synod; so that it has increased by the addition of about a *hundred congregations* since the commencement of the century. Arianism, however, still progressed among them, and the orthodox ministers became alarmed; particularly as Mr. Potter, stipendiary clerk to the Synod, had avowed himself an Arian. At the general meeting of the Synod in 1827, his removal from office was proposed, but rejected by a majority of 31, lest it should be "construed into persecution." Mr. (now Dr.) Cooke with others protested, and made a motion for an "Orthodox Declaration of the Religious Opinions of the Synod," as follows—"That whereas some members of the Synod have made open profession of Arian sentiments, and whereas Mr. Potter, in his evidence before the Commissioners of Education Inquiry, has declared it as his opinion that there are more real than professed Arians in this body; and whereas Mr. Cooke, in his evidence before the said Commissioners, has declared his opinion, that, to the best of his knowledge, there are *thirty-five* Arians amongst us, and that very few of them would be willing to acknowledge it; and whereas Dr. Hanna, on a similar examination, declared his opinion that he presumes there are Arians amongst us; we do hold it absolutely incumbent upon us, for the purpose of affording a public testimony to the truth, as well as to vindicate our religious character as individuals—to declare, that we do most firmly hold and believe the doctrine concerning the nature of God, contained in the Westminster Shorter Catechism; viz. '*That there are three persons in the Godhead—the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and these three are one God, the same in substance, power, and glory:*' and that we do affix our signatures to the Declaration, in the minutes of the Synod, and the Moderator should be instructed to write to the absent members, enjoining them to forward their signatures."

Much discussion arose upon this question, after which it was agreed, that instead of signature, "that the body do declare *viva voce*, standing up when answering to their names. The votes stood thus:—117 ministers and 18 elders voted, "I believe the doctrine;" 2 voted "I do not believe;" and *four* retired from the house before the vote was called *."

* Congregational Magazine, 1827.

Success having thus far crowned the efforts of the reforming party, various measures were introduced for the purification of the Synod; and "a cry of persecution was raised, of intolerance, of probing the heart, and lording it over conscience." The Arians foreseeing their downfall, *seventeen* of the more courageous among them voluntarily withdrew in 1830, under pretence of persecution, and of the love of religious liberty. The "Orthodox Presbyterian," of June, 1830, states, "Upon Tuesday, May 25, *seventeen* ministers, who have separated from the General Synod of Ulster, assembled, with *sixteen* elders, in the meeting house of the First Arian Congregation, Belfast. They have denominated themselves, 'The Remonstrant Synod of Ulster,' though not so numerous as some of our Presbyteries, and though embracing within the sphere of their ministry a population, we opine, which at the most liberal estimate would not outnumber two of our large orthodox congregations. Still the loss of *seventeen* ministers and congregations appears to effect a formidable breach in the walls of our Presbyterian Zion. But upon examination, we find the loss is more in name than in reality. The ministers indeed are gone; but, generally speaking, a large portion of the congregations remain with the Synod of Ulster." Having reviewed them severally, and found that many of them had declined through the ministers having embraced heterodoxy, and fallen into a lifeless spirit, while some of the people had formed new congregations, the Editor remarks, "Thus it will be seen, that while *seventeen* ministers have withdrawn from the Synod of Ulster, the breach is *filled up by nine ministers and nine congregations*, leaving barely eight ministers and eight congregations that have totally withdrawn from the orthodox communion."

Twenty more ministers deposed to as Arians still remained in the Synod, besides the *concealed Arians*: "these ministers are in full communion with the Synod of Ulster; they form part of her numerical strength, they preach from her pulpits, sit in her church-courts, and throw their whole influence into her affairs *." Religion in their congregations, so far as is

* Congregational Magazine, 1831.

known, appears to be at a low ebb. A *second* class, denominated *Baxterian* in sentiment, are but little distinguished for practical godliness; and a *third*, the largest and by far the best class of the Synod's ministers, are said to be decidedly evangelical, according to the Westminster Confession: vital godliness evidently flourishes in their congregations, as is proved by their prayer meetings, sabbath schools, visiting the sick and poor, and supporting various institutions for the advancement of the knowledge of Christ.

PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD OF IRELAND. This body has increased during the present century, in a degree more than equal to that of the Synod of Ulster; having added about *forty congregations*. They are regarded as bearing the same relation to the "Associate Synod" of Scotland, as the Synod of Ulster has to the Established Church; though neither of them has any immediate connection with the Scotch communion. Evangelical orthodoxy is believed to distinguish the ministers of this denomination; and most of them are zealous for the popular Christian institutions.

PRESBYTERY OF ANTRIM, the SYNOD OF MUNSTER, and the REMONSTRANT SYNOD. These several bodies are believed to have ministers whose sentiments in doctrine are entirely Arian or Socinian; and the state of religion in their congregations is represented as exceedingly low, corresponding with that of the Unitarians in England; and their congregations subsist on the bounty of the State.

Early in the present century, the congregations under the care of the Synods and Presbytery of Antrim were arranged in *three* classes, according to the number of families and stipend of each. Agreeably to this classification is the allowance of the ministers — some only 50*l.*, some at the higher rate of 75*l.*, and the highest 100*l.* per annum; while the congregations add to the sum. These new arrangements were made the pretext for imploring and obtaining increased help from the national treasury, to support the 'Presbyterian Synod of Ireland,' called Seceders. Their ministers are the continued stipendiaries of the State. Their classes are 70*l.*, 50*l.*, and 40*l.* per annum. Are these the principles of their brethren of 'the voluntary churches' of Scotland? Let the devout advo-

cate of national establishments of religion, of state patronage, or territorial endowments for the advancement of Christianity, ponder well the palpable fact, that up to this day *thousands of pounds yearly are devoted to maintain in Ireland Arian and Socinian ministers!* It is desirable that the English public should further know, what the effect is of that, which, improperly is denominated Royal Bounty, but may more correctly be designated government improvidence, parliamentary extravagance, and national robbery. At the close of the session of parliament for 1833, nearly 24,500*l.* were voted for the support of Presbyterian ministers in Ireland *!'

COVENANTERS, ANTIBURGHERS, and SCOTTISH SECEDERS. These are but small bodies, but reputedly of evangelical sentiments, disclaiming any connection with the State for the support of their religious worship.

WESLEYAN METHODISTS. These are numerous in Ireland, having been encouraged by several of the evangelical clergy, on account of their having professed to be *not Dissenters*, but *Churchmen*; and under this denomination they were classed by the late Commissioners of Inquiry. They are immediately connected with the Wesleyan Conference in England, by whom they are reported in their Minutes, as follows, for 1837 :—

Regular Preachers	97
Missionaries	25
Supernumerary and Superannuated Preachers ...	39
	<hr/>
	161
Members in Ireland	24,023
PRIMITIVE METHODISTS. This body is reported to have,	
Circuit Preachers	40
Missionaries	19
Members	16,000

INDEPENDENTS. This body includes about *thirty-five* congregations; and they have a Theological Institution, for the education of their ministers, at Dublin. Nearly *fifty* mis-

* Book of the Denominations, p. 510, 511.

sionaries are employed by the Irish Evangelical Society, in connection with the Independents.

BAPTISTS. This body, by the liberality of Christians in England, is labouring with considerable zeal in Ireland: they support about *fifty* agents as "Scripture readers" to the people, and schools for about 10,000 children.

ROMAN CATHOLICS. This very great body is governed in ecclesiastical matters by a numerous hierarchy, consisting of *four* archbishops, *twenty-four* bishops, and various orders of clergy: each prelate is assisted by a vicar-general and dean. There are also chapters, and members of them who are dignitaries; colleges, professorships, orders of brotherhood, and monastic superiors; secular and regular clergy, parish priests and curates. It is said, that in most of the town-parishes, besides the priest, who is rector, there is generally a plurality of curates, sometimes *three* or *four*. There are some unions of parishes in the Catholic Church as well as in the Established Church: supposing, therefore, that of the 2,450 parishes, 450 had been merged in such unions, there are 2,000 rectors, and 3,000 parish curates: the Catholic clergy will be, therefore, for all Ireland,

Archbishops	4
Bishops	24
Vicars General	28
Deans.....	28
Professors in Colleges.....	50
Secular Clergy.....	5,000
Regular Clergy, including Monks, Friars, &c... ..	1,000

6,134

Various seminaries have from time to time been established in Ireland, for the education of the priests, particularly at Carlow, Kilkenny, Tuam, Waterford, and Wexford. At these places, it is presumed, there are about *two hundred* students, the greatest number at Carlow, being attracted by the celebrity of Dr. Doyle; and probably *one hundred and fifty* are studying in the Irish College in Paris, at Salamanca, and at Rome.

Maynooth College, or the "Royal College of St. Patrick," at Maynooth, in Kildare, was established in 1795, by an Act of Parliament, at an expense of 32,000*l.*: two other Acts were passed in 1800 and 1808, extending and describing the privileges of this Institution. The number of students is generally about *four hundred*: it is supported by annual parliamentary grants of about 10,000*l.* The course of study is extensive, in the Greek and Latin classics, logic, rhetoric, mathematics, and natural philosophy, to complete which requires *four* years, after which *three* years are devoted to dogmatic and moral theology; but the study of the Scriptures is very limited: there is a class of Hebrew scholars, consisting, however, of only about *fourteen*.

Many serious Protestants in England have dreaded the rapid increase of the Roman Catholics in Ireland; and those who have most regard to the *temporalities* of the Establishment have been peculiarly zealous in promoting that apprehension: others, however, of the most intelligent and pious, entertain no fears for scriptural Christianity, assured that it is progressing, even among the Catholics of Ireland. They wish to see the Catholic clergy coming forward in literary competition, taking an interest in the progress of general learning, and encouraging the growth of intelligence, knowledge, and scientific researches. There is manifestly a growing body of *Puritans* in the Roman Catholic community in Ireland, who read with deep interest the Holy Scriptures, and encourage the same in their people; and the greatest hopes are entertained in regard to this class: for, while they cherish determined hostility against the political system of the Established Church, as unjust, oppressive, and unchristian, they are silently and efficiently exerting their influence in promoting, to a considerable extent, the saving doctrine of Jesus Christ.

Section III. Education in Ireland.

Education essential to Christianity — Parliamentary Grants for Education in Ireland — Kildare Street Society — Political Protestantism — Hibernian Society — Methodist, Baptist, and Irish Schools — New Board of Education — Party opposition — Progress of the system — Voluntary and Pay Schools — Statistics of Education in Ireland.

Knowledge is essential to religion: ignorance is most pernicious to its interests; and the progress of Christianity has,

in all ages, secured the advancement of Education. Ireland, however, has been most lamentably neglected in this respect until recently; but at the present time, knowledge is rapidly advancing among the people, by the combined operations of various schools, and the extensive circulation of the Holy Scriptures.

Enormous sums of money, granted from time to time by Parliament, have been extravagantly expended to little purpose, under the pretence of education in the Protestant religion; but comparatively little good was done by any, except by the "Kildare Street Society Schools," and they have generally been regarded as rather provoking than conciliating the Catholics, by their directors exhibiting a sectarian and controversial Protestantism, instead of carrying forward a vigorous system of instruction, that was useful, charitable, and purely Christian. Voluntary associations were, therefore, formed by different denominations of Christians in England, to promote the Scriptural Education of the poor in Ireland: two especially deserve notice.

Hibernian Society. This institution was formed in 1806, for the purpose of giving the poor the knowledge of the Scriptures, by means of Day and Sunday Schools, and the agency of "Scripture Readers," among the peasantry: incalculable benefits have arisen to Ireland from the operations of this valuable Society.

Sunday School Society for Ireland. This institution was established in 1809, supported also by different denominations of Christians; and its labours have been worthy of its name in benefiting the Irish Poor.

The Wesleyan Methodists, and especially the "Baptist Irish Evangelical Society," and for those who use only the native language the "Irish Society," have also done great good in forwarding the work of Scriptural Education in Ireland, by numerous Day and Sunday Schools.

Ireland, however, continued to groan under various evils: "the grinding tithe system" was far from being the least; and education, conducted by political controversialists, occasioned the Catholics to cherish a still more inveterate hatred against Protestantism, and even to dread the Bible. Several

“Commissions of Inquiry” concerning the state of Education having been appointed by Parliament, their Reports recommended a new system of Education, which should include both Catholics and Protestants, to be carried on under a Board of Directors, of different denominations of Christians. This new system has been formed according to an Act of Parliament passed in 1832. *Seven* Commissioners have its administration, consisting of *two* Roman Catholics, *two* Presbyterians, and *three* Episcopalians, rendering their services, with one exception, gratuitously. This is regarded by liberal men of all parties, as a wise attempt at conciliation between Protestants and Catholics; as, while the Bible itself is not to be used as a *class book*, except on Saturdays, when religious instruction is to be imparted according to the principles of the parents, all the instruction given in the schools is based upon the Holy Scriptures, by a series of elementary books, judiciously compiled from the Sacred Volume. This “Board,” not being constituted exclusively of the Established Clergy, nor under their direction, the greatest opposition was made to it, chiefly by a political party, joined by many serious persons, who were led to believe that it was “a scheme of infidelity,” “mutilating the Scriptures,” and even “rejecting the Bible.” Notwithstanding the clamour of this party, the plan has succeeded; and in little more than a year from its commencement in the spring of 1832, a *thousand applications* had been made to the new Board, signed by 15,000 requisitionists, 6,000 of whom were Protestants, and 161 Protestant Ministers. Of these applications, 700 were granted; and there were, at the end of *two* years from the above date, 100,000 children in the schools under the patronage of the Board!

Having reviewed the various plans adopted to promote education in Ireland, a sensible writer remarks, “There remain to be stated the *voluntary* and *pay schools* throughout the country. Of these we find there were, in 1826, schools wholly maintained by individuals, 322, containing upwards of 13,600 scholars: pay schools, unconnected with societies, 9,362, containing about 400,000 pupils: strictly Roman Catholic female schools, attached to nunneries, 46, educating about 7,500 children; Christian Brotherhood and other religious orders,

24 schools, numbering about 5,500 scholars; and day schools supported by subscriptions, 350, containing nearly 34,000 pupils; giving, of what we may designate by denomination of the teachers and patrons, Roman Catholic charity schools, 420, in which 47,000 pupils were receiving daily education. The inquiry of the Commissioners showed, that, in 1826, there were, independently of Sunday Schools, more than 560,000 scholars in the four provinces of Ireland, attending 11,829 schools. This was *nearly treble the number* exhibited in 1812. If we have not exceeded our data, we have found, that, at this time, 1834, there may be, deducting some who are connected with more than one society,—

	Schools.	Scholars.
Roman Catholic Charity Schools	420	47,000
Pay Schools	9,353	400,000
Schools maintained by individuals	322	13,600
Erasmus Smith's Schools	125	10,990
Moravians	—	150
Wesleyan Methodist Schools	20	5,000
Baptist Irish Evangelical Society's Schools	160	10,000
Irish Society's Schools.....	370	11,000
Sunday School Society for Ireland	1,221	100,000
London Hibern. Society's Schools	1,569	50,000
Board of Education Schools	700	100,000
Kildare Place Society Schools ...	1,621	90,000
Schools of the Association for discountenancing Vice	249	15,922
Charter Schools	32	2,210
Diocesan Schools	12	480
Foundling Hospital		600
Female Orphan House ..		200
Hibernian Society for Soldiers' Children		400
Hibernian Marine Society for Sailors' Children		140

Total of Children educated in Ireland 857,692

“In round numbers, we are here presented with the scholars in Ireland, as 800,000. These calculations may

appear incredible; yet the *more important* items are taken from accredited Reports, with numerous deductions, and the final surrender of 50,000, to make the sum come into round numbers. This statement gives us one scholar for every ten of the people in Ireland: they ought surely to be a well-conducted nation; and did the Establishment accomplish the work it is so well paid for, this should still be a nation of saints *."

CHAPTER VII.

BRITISH COLONIES.

Providence designs Britain to evangelize her vast Colonies—Government has never sent forth Evangelical Missionaries to the Heathen—Nor the Established Church—Voluntary Societies have provided the Missionaries—BRITISH INDIA—Continental India—Its Statistics—Missionary Stations—CEYLON—Its religious Statistics—BRITISH AMERICA—Lower Canada—Its Statistics—Upper Canada—Its Statistics—Nova Scotia—Its Statistics—New Brunswick—Its Statistics—Newfoundland—WEST INDIES—Their Statistics—Jamaica—Its Statistics—Barbadoes—Its Statistics—SOUTH AFRICA—Its Statistics—Missions in the Colony—AUSTRALIA—New South Wales—Its Statistics—Van Dieman's Land—Its Statistics—Statistics of the United States of America.

DIVINE PROVIDENCE has favoured Great Britain more than all other nations with the knowledge and ordinances of the Gospel of Christ: and that same Almighty Government has brought under her dominion vast and populous regions, not only in Europe, but in Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia. Infinite wisdom has designed these possessions, not merely to enrich her merchants, to aggrandize her nobles, or to elevate her sovereign, but for higher purposes—doubtless for the benefit of the unenlightened nations; and that, while the civil power protects the various colonies, the Christian churches shall arise in all their spiritual might, and by holy missionaries give the treasures of the Holy Scriptures, in the various languages of the heathen, and preach among them, for their saving conversion to Christianity, the doctrines of reconciliation with God, and the unsearchable riches of Christ.

* Political Christianity, &c. illustrated in the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Educational Statistics of Ireland, by *Medicus Exul.*, pp. 132, 133.

Christian Missionaries to the heathen, however, have never been sent by the British Government ! And, what is far more remarkable, notwithstanding the possession of immense revenues by the clergy, such missionaries and translations of the Scriptures have never been provided by the Established Churches of England and Ireland ! Chaplains have indeed been sent and supported by the Government, to perform the services of the Church for our countrymen in the distant Colonies, where, within the last few years, ecclesiastical establishments have been formed at great expense : yet neither the rulers of the state nor the dignitaries of the Church have made Christian provision of preachers, or the Scriptures, for the evangelization of the millions of our pagan fellow-subjects ; and this has frequently been a subject of astonishment and regret to many intelligent persons. All the wonderful provisions that have been made for the heathen in our colonies, in the preaching of the Gospel, and in giving them the blessed Word of God in their native languages, have at once been undertaken and accomplished, under the Divine blessing, by the voluntary efforts of the different denominations of Christians. Many Churchmen have indeed most worthily co-operated in the work ; but the various societies have laboured under many painful restrictions, and even opposition, from the ruling powers ; sometimes without even toleration ; as was the case, until the year 1813, in British India.

Christianity in the British Colonies cannot fail to be an interesting subject of inquiry, on many accounts ; and in this place it seems necessary to make some reference to its progress, as a part of British Church History.

SECTION I. BRITISH INDIA.

CONTINENTAL INDIA. This immense territory claims notice in the first place, on account of its vast population ; it is reckoned to contain about 90,000,000 besides

Allied or subject states..... 40,000,000

Total population of India ... 130,000,000

A very small proportion of these are natives of Britain; though there is a rapidly increasing number of Anglo-Britons. For their interests, chaplains were appointed; India, and all our foreign colonies, being considered in the diocese of the bishop of London! Dr. Buchanan, however, one of these chaplains, in 1804, published a "Memorial," urging upon the prelates and the government of England the necessity of an "Ecclesiastical Establishment in British India," especially as there were "*three* Archbishops and *seventeen* bishops of the Roman Catholics in the East." On the renewal of the "Charter of the East India Company," in 1813, the Act of Parliament provided for an episcopal prelate, as "bishop of Calcutta."

Mr. C. Grant's (now Lord Glenelg) Bill in 1833, provides for an enlargement of the "Ecclesiastical Establishment in India, by the creation of two new bishops, one for Madras, and the other for Bombay, at a salary of 24,000 *sicca rupees*, respectively to be paid out of the revenues of those territories." British Church History will be illustrated by the expressions of the "Court of Directors of the East India Company" regarding this measure. In their letter to Mr. Grant, July 10, the Court stated, "that the principle upon which a Christian Church in India, at the expense of the nation, has been instituted, was, that it was the duty of the Government to provide for its civil and military functionaries the means and services of their religion. The Court were desirous that the principle should be maintained; but the Court's conviction, at the same time, was strong and sincere, that both practice and policy demanded, that the expense to the natives of India, of a Church Establishment with which they had no community of feeling, should be limited to what is essentially necessary for the use of the servants of the state. The Court considered there was no necessity for the extension of the Episcopal Establishment in India. If it were extended, it would be impossible to resist the extension of the Scotch Establishment. The Court called attention to the fact, that since the see of Calcutta was established, the expense had been augmented from 48,000*l.* to 100,000*l.*; and the clerical part of the pension list from 800*l.* per annum to 5,000*l.* a year. The Court contemplated the

the "Evangelical Almanack" for 1836: they have since probably increased.

Stations. Missionaries

Baptist Missionary Society :—

Bengal Presidency, Calcutta...	4	9
Ditto, various places	25	34
General Baptists at Orissa.....	2	3
	—	—
Total	31	46
	—	—

London Missionary Society :—

Bengal Presidency, Calcutta.....	1	2
Ditto, various parts	14	8
Madras Presidency, ditto	13	19
Bombay Presidency, Surat.....	1	1
	—	—
Total.....	29	30
	—	—

Church Missionary Society :—

Bengal Presidency, Calcutta.....	1	2
Ditto, various parts.....	11	8
Madras Presidency.....	8	13
Bombay Presidency	1	2
	—	—
Total	21	25
	—	—

Wesleyan Missionary Society :—

Madras Presidency, total	5	10
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Gospel Propagation Society :—

Madras Presidency.....	3	7
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Scottish Missionary Society :—

Bombay Presidency	3	4
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American Missionary Society :—

Bombay Presidency	3	4
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The London Missionary Society, in their "Report" for 1837, state their missionaries and stations as follow:—

"EAST INDIES. Stations and out stations, 310; Missionaries, 36; Assistants and Native Teachers, 375."

The Wesleyan Methodists, in their "Minutes of Conference" for 1837, report:—

“CONTINENTAL INDIA. Madras district, 13 Missionaries, 4 Assistants, and 320 Members.”

These numbers of stations and missionaries, convey but an imperfect idea of the advancement of Christianity in India: for besides the progress of schools, and the operations of the printing press, the translation of the Scriptures into almost all the languages of the East, chiefly by the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, and the diffusion of divine knowledge, have prepared the way for a moral revolution in Asia, and which is now being accomplished under the blessing of God.

SECTION II. CEYLON.

This important island, containing about 1,000,000 inhabitants, was possessed by the Portuguese from 1505, until it was taken by the Dutch in 1656; but it was conquered in 1796 by the English. Religion was taught both by the Portuguese and Dutch; and Cordiner, in 1801, reckoned the Protestants of Ceylon to exceed 342,000; and there were as many Roman Catholics: their religion, however, is believed to have been little more than the name of Christian.

Mr. R. M. Martin reckons the places of worship in Ceylon, built by the Portuguese and Dutch, as amounting to 369; containing sittings for 118,800; with an attendance averaging about 63,923; and he states the “Ecclesiastical expense to the government to be 8,548/.*” About a hundred schools are reported, with 93 masters, and 9 mistresses.

Scriptural Christianity has been greatly revived in Ceylon by the labours of missionaries, reported as follows in 1835:—

Stations. Missionaries.

Baptist Society, commenced in 1812	.....	2	.....	2
Wesleyan ditto.....	1814	.....	10	..... 21
Church ditto.....	1818	.....	4	..... 8
American Board .....	—	.....	5	..... 7

Mr. Martin remarks, “With grateful acknowledgments to the God of missions, it is mentioned, that very much more than could have been reasonably expected has been accomplished. The several languages used by the inhabitants,

* Colonial Library.

whether learned or vernacular, have been acquired; the Holy Scriptures have been translated; other valuable books have been composed, or rendered into the native tongues; several hundreds of the heathen, and of professing Christians, have been united into religious fellowship; and the leaven of Christianity is finding access into the remotest parts of the island*."

The Wesleyan "Minutes of Conference" for 1837, report "9 Missionaries, 14 Assistant Missionaries, and 817 Members in Ceylon."

SECTION III. BRITISH AMERICA.

North America, except Canada, belonged almost entirely to Great Britain from its first colonization, until the United States declared their independence in 1776: still British America includes immense regions, whose widely scattered population has been rapidly increasing, especially by emigration from Europe. Canada was originally a French colony; but it was conquered by the English in 1759, when the population of Lower Canada was estimated at 70,000; and Upper Canada, a few years after, at about 10,000 settlers; the whole population of British America did not exceed 100,000: but now, 1838, it is thought to amount to 1,500,000. In 1833 the population was

Lower Canada	626,429
Upper Canada	322,005
Nova Scotia	154,400
New Brunswick.....	101,830
Newfoundland	77,541
Prince Edward's Island.....	32,676

Total population of British America ... 1,314,891

LOWER CANADA. This province having been colonized by France, the people generally speak the French language; and the Roman Catholic is the prevailing religion; but they

* Colonial Library.

have no civil or secular connection with the Pope. The clergy have the twenty-sixth part of all the grain raised on the lands of the Catholics. Hay and potatoes are exempted from the charge; and if a Catholic turn Protestant, or sell his lands to a Protestant, the estate is no longer subject to this burden. The church is governed by a bishop, a Canadian born and educated, who receives, in addition to the rent of some lands of little value, a stipend of 1,000*l.* per annum from Great Britain. The incomes of the *curés* average 300*l.* The Romish church of Lower Canada has *one* primate or archbishop, *two* coadjutors or titular bishops, and *four* vicars-general; under whom are upwards of 200 *vicaires, curés, &c.*

The Church of England establishment consists of the bishop of Quebec, appointed in 1825, and upwards of 30 clergymen. The number of churches is about 30; and *one-seventh* of the whole of the lands in the townships, is set apart for the Protestant church. According to the census of 1831, the population of Lower Canada was thus stated:—

Roman Catholics	403,472
Church of England	34,620
Ditto Scotland	15,069
Presbyterians, not of the Church	7,811
Methodists.....	7,019
Baptists	2,461
Other denominations.....	5,577
Jews.....	107
	<hr/>
	476,136
Not accounted for.....	35,781
Increase to 1833.....	114,512
	<hr/>
	626,429
	<hr/>

Religious provision for Lower Canada:—

Roman Catholics, 1 abp., 2 bps., 4 vic. gen.	200 curés.
Episcopalians, 1 bishop	30 ministers.
Scotch Church.....	14 —
Other Presbyterians	5 —

Methodists (2,520 members reported 1837, and 6 assistant missionaries).....	10 ministers.
Congregationalists	8 —
Baptists	6 —
Missionaries of other denominations	6 —

UPPER CANADA. The prevailing form of religion is that of the Church of England, which is under the superintendence of the bishop of Quebec, whose subordinates are the archdeacons of Toronto and Kingston, and about 40 clergymen; the number of the churches in the province being about 40. "Upper Canada contains 26,000,000 acres of land capable of cultivation; *one-seventh* of which, 18,000 reserved lots of 200 acres each, are set apart for the Protestant clergy." "Not an extravagant provision," says Archdeacon Strahan. The religious provision of Upper Canada, as far as is published, is as follows:—

Episcopalians, 2 archdeacons	40 ministers.
Scotch Church	21 —
Other Presbyterians	20 —
Baptists, about 50 chapels and 1,976 com- municants	48 —
Wesleyan Methodists (15,517 members in 1837)	98 —
Other Methodists.....	5 —
Congregationalists	8 —
Roman Catholics, 1 bishop, 35 chapels	19 —

"The Roman Catholic bishop receives 500*l.* per annum from the Government, and the clergy 1,000*l.* a year divided among them, as a government appropriation."

"A recent Parliamentary return states," Mr. Martin remarks, "that the 40 working clergy of the Established Church in Upper Canada, have stipends from 50*l.* to 130*l.* each; the majority 100*l.*, payable out of the funds in the province; the 23 working clergy of the Roman Catholics have 50*l.* each average; and the Church of Scotland 15 clergy have 60*l.* each, all paid out of the funds raised in Upper Canada: the archdeacons have 300*l.* each; the prelate of the Romish Church, styled *Regiopolis*, 500*l.* The total clerical

charges on the colonial revenue of Upper Canada for 1832 were, Church of England, 4,430*l.*; Roman Catholic, 1,500*l.*; Church of Scotland, 1,120*l.*; Presbyterian Synod of Upper Canada, for salaries of ministers, 700*l.*; Roman Catholics, 900*l.*; British Wesleyan Methodists, 900*l.*; Canadian Methodists, 600*l.* Total, 10,150*l.*”

Mr. Martin further adds, “There is also voted in the British Parliamentary estimates for the year ending March 1836, 6,540*l.* for the clergy of North America, of which the Protestant bishop receives 3,000*l.* per annum; the Roman Catholic, 1,000*l.*; the archdeacon of Quebec, 500*l.*; the rector, 400*l.*; and the remainder is divided among 10 Protestant clergymen, of whom 3 are Presbyterians.”

Methodism in the United States professing a sort of Episcopacy, such a form was adopted by the Methodists in Canada; but, as Mr. Martin remarks, “the long contemplated union between the British Methodists, and their more numerous Episcopalian brethren, has been accomplished. Episcopacy is to be renounced, and a president sent annually from the British Conference, with power to direct the Canadian Conference*.”

NOVA SCOTIA. Mr. Martin estimates the denominations of Christian professors as follows in 1833:—

Church of England	28,659
Ditto Scotland	37,227
Ditto Rome	20,401
Baptists	19,790
Methodists	9,408
Other Dissenters	8,354
	<hr/>
	123,839
	<hr/>

The Methodists report for 1837, Nova Scotia, including Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island, 14 ministers or missionaries, 5 assistant missionaries, and 2,762 members†.

The Church of England has a bishop, appointed in 1825,

* Colonial Library.

† Minutes of Conference, for 1838.

an archdeacon, and 32 ministers: the Church of Scotland has 12 ministers: and the Roman Catholic Church 14 priests, under a bishop. About 50,000 acres of land have been granted for the support of religion and schools in Nova Scotia. The ecclesiastical establishment, as supported by the Home Government, and the expense thereof, from April 1834 to March 1835, are stated thus: bishop of Nova Scotia, salary 2,000*l.*; archdeacon, 300*l.*; president of King's College, 50*l.*; presbyterian minister, 75*l.*

Mr. Martin remarks, "The different religious communities live in harmony; but the contrast between the salary of the bishop, and that of the Presbyterian clergymen, *viz.* 2,000*l.* and 75*l.*, has given rise to observations and feelings by no means advantageous to the Protestant church."

NEW BRUNSWICK. The Established Church in New Brunswick is in the diocese of Nova Scotia, under the government of an archdeacon. Perfect accuracy as to the religious statistics of New Brunswick cannot be given; but the following are reported:—

Church of England, 1 archdeacon	26 ministers.
Ditto Scotland.....	5 —
Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia	3 —
Baptists	16 —
Romish Church, 1 bishop	12 priests.
Wesleyan Methodists (2,487 members, with 2 assistant missionaries).....	19 missionar.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts contributes largely to the support of the ministers of the Church of England, as their missionaries.

NEWFOUNDLAND. Various denominations of Christians are found in this most ancient of the British American Colonies; but their various statistics are not known. The Wesleyans report 11 Missionaries and 1,789 members in 1837.

Mr. Martin remarks, "There has usually existed a very commendable harmony of religious feeling among the different persuasions: the Wesleyans, Roman Catholics, Congregationalists, and Dissenters generally, being more numerous than the Episcopalian church, over which there

is an archdeacon; the Romish church has a bishop. Since the introduction of a local legislature, the clergy have unhappily taken an active part in the elections, by which course they have distracted the community."

SECTION IV. WEST INDIES.

Negro slavery, in the British West Indies, has brought a fearful amount of guilt upon our government and country. That abomination still exists, an opprobrium on our national character as Christians, though under the delusive name of "Apprenticeship," notwithstanding 20,000,000*l.* were paid for the emancipation of the slaves, August 1, 1834, by act of Parliament, which received the Royal assent, August 28, 1833. The following report of the population of the West Indies, will show their importance:—

Whites, 77,002; Free Coloured, 124,887; Apprentices, 694,741. Total, 903,510.

Christianity is grievously impeded by the operation of the dreadful system of degradation and cruelty, in some respects worse than slavery; though generous and extensive efforts have been made by different missionary societies to evangelize the Negroes.

New ecclesiastical arrangements were made for the West Indies, in 1824, in favour of the Church of England; in which *two* episcopal sees were created by act of Parliament, and bishops were appointed for Jamaica and Barbadoes. Many churchmen however, with others, are of opinion, that this provision of dignitaries has contributed but little to the advancement of the knowledge of Christ or the interests of religion, as the prelates have been determinately opposed to missionary operations: hence the Church Missionary Society has been almost entirely prevented from entering, except by schools, into this field of labour in the West Indies. Other denominations have shared this work among them, as the bishops have no sort of authority over any of the Dissenters. The following were recently the missionary statistics of the West Indies:—

	Moravian Sta. Miss.	Wesleyan Sta. Miss.	Baptist Sta. Miss.	London Sta. Miss.	Church Sta. Miss.
Jamaica Distr.	8 9	15 28	31 16	8 6	14 3
Antigua	8 17	20 47	—	—	—
St. Vincent's..	10 24				
Bahama	—	5 6	3 3	—	—
Guiana	—	—	3 1	13 12	—
Total.....	26 50	40 81	37 20	21 18	14 3

JAMAICA. Jamaica is the largest of the British West India Islands, being about 150 miles long, and 40 wide. Negro Slavery has been supported here in all its most dreadful forms; so that, although it has received from Africa, in the course of *three* centuries, 850,000 negroes, 670,000 between 1700 and 1808, the population consists at the present time of only, Whites, 37,000; Free Coloured, 55,000; Apprentices, 322,400; Total, 414,400: for, prior to the abolition of the Slave Trade, Jamaica lost annually 7,000 on the slave population, or two and a half per cent.! The former slave code of Jamaica is one of the most atrocious specimens of legislation that ever disgraced a civilized people. Much has been done towards the final emancipation of the slaves; but as every attempt to communicate religious instruction had been *generally* opposed by the planters before the late Act of the Imperial Parliament, so they have, in various ways, made the condition of their slaves, *in some respects, worse since than before*, as is testified by the Governor of Jamaica. The hope of the slaves is, however, under the blessing of God, in the Christians of Great Britain.

Jamaica is divided into *three* counties and *twenty* parishes: Middlesex, with *eight* parishes; Surrey, with *seven* parishes; and Cornwall, with *five* parishes; in each of which there is a church, which is a rectory, besides chapels of ease. The church establishment consists of —

Bishop, 1; Archdeacon, 1; Rectors, 21; Curates, 36. Churches, 21; Chapels, 18.

Besides the Episcopalians there are —

	Stations.	Missionaries.
Moravians	8	9
Wesleyans	15	28
Baptists	43	17
Independents.....	8	6
Scotch Church	—	4

These numbers by no means furnish an accurate statement of all the various operations by which the Negroes and others are benefited; for the various plans in successful operation in England, are, to a great extent, acted upon in diffusing the saving knowledge of Christ in Jamaica.

Ecclesiastically, according to the government of the Church of England, the diocese of Jamaica includes the Bahama Islands. The bishop has a salary of 4,000*l.* per annum, and the archdeacon 2,000*l.* a year. "The established church clergy," says Mr. Montgomery, "are paid partly by stipend and partly by fees. The parish of St. Ann's, for example, stipend, 378*l.*; fees, 200*l.* average; vestry allowance, 400*l.*; church burials, 50*l.*; total, 1,028*l.*; with thirty acres of glebe and an island curate. Some parishes have a large glebe: thus St. Elizabeth's has 300 acres of glebe, a rectory, and 68 slaves; and the income is — stipend, 378*l.*; fees, 245*l.*; burials, 50*l.*; total, 673*l.* and the aid of an island curate and auxiliary. The Rev. Mr. Bridges says, that the average annual expenditure of Jamaica of late years, for her ecclesiastical establishment, has not fallen far short of 30,000*l.* He gives the rectors' stipends at 8,820*l.*; the curates' salaries, 10,550*l.*; the aggregate vestry allowances, 3,430*l.*; and the surplice fees, 5,372*l.*; independently of the annual expenditure in maintaining 39 churches and chapels*."

BARBADOES. Barbadoes, next to Jamaica, is the most populous of all the Islands in the British West Indies. For this reason it was fixed upon, in 1824, as the seat of the *second* West Indian Bishop, whose diocese was to comprehend all the Leeward Islands. Barbadoes is the most easterly of the Caribbee Islands subject to Great Britain, and the

* Colonial Library.

principal of the group. It is about 22 miles long and 14 broad; and the population is reported as follows:—

Whites, 14,900; Free Coloured, 5,150; Apprentices, 81,900: Total, 102,010.

Barbadoes is divided into *eleven* parishes, with churches and chapels belonging to the Church of England, capable of containing 8,000 persons: the ecclesiastical establishment is stated as costing 4,050*l.* per annum.

Besides the Episcopalians, there are reported in Barbadoes—

Wesleyans, 965 Members, 4 Missionaries.

Moravians 6

Antigua, St. Vincent, the Bahama Isles, Guiana, Trinidad, and the several other minor colonies, seem scarcely necessary to be further particularized, as their general statistics, both *popular* and *religious*, have been summarily given at the head of the present section, in the general notice of the West Indies.

SECTION V. SOUTH AFRICA.

Southern Africa forms a most important and valuable part of the British Empire. The colony of the Cape of Good Hope was settled by the Dutch in 1660; but it was taken by the English in 1795; restored at the peace of Amiens, retaken in 1806, and finally ceded to Great Britain at the peace of 1814, as essential to our commerce with India and the East. This colony was reckoned to be about 550 miles long, and 220 broad; but during the last few years it has been considerably enlarged by new accessions of territory acquired from the injured natives.

Cape Colony possessed about 62,000 inhabitants when it came into the possession of the British; but in 1827, the population of its western province was 45,014 free, and 28,934 slaves; total, 73,948. That of the eastern was 39,513 free, and 6,575 slaves; total, 46,088. Grand total, 120,036. In 1832, they were reckoned thus:

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Free Persons	48,672	44,043	92,715
Slaves	18,812	15,521	34,133
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	67,484	59,364	126,848
Army and Strangers			18,152
			<hr/>
			145,000
			<hr/>

Oppressions the most grievous were endured by the aborigines in the Cape Colony ; but they found an able, intelligent, and persevering advocate in the person of Dr. Philip, of the London Missionary Society ; and who, in union with those distinguished Christian patriots, Wilberforce, Buxton, and their noble-minded colleagues, succeeded in obtaining effectual protection and liberty.

Cape Town contains about 20,000 inhabitants. The population having been originally from Holland, they were mostly professors of the Dutch faith, and nominally Calvinists. English colonists have, however, become numerous, and their places of worship are reported as follows :—

Dutch Reformed or Calvinistic	1
Lutheran	1
Independent	1
Wesleyan	1
Episcopalian	1
Roman Catholic	1

Mr. Martin says, “The Dutch colonists are divided into Calvinists and Lutherans ; the Calvinist or Reformed communion corresponds almost entirely with the Church of Scotland ; hence pastors are now sent out, one for each district, from that establishment. The Dutch Reformed Church is under the General Church Assembly, composed of *two* political commissioners, *three* moderators, including a President, Secretary, and Actuaries, and all the officiating clergymen and delegated elders from the several churches in the Colony. It meets every fifth year. The principal minister at Cape

Town has 400*l.* a year, and *two* others 300*l.* a year each; and in each district with a Calvinist congregation, there is a minister with a salary of 200*l.* a year.

“The English Episcopal Church ranks next in point of numbers: it is included in the diocese of Calcutta, with a resident senior chaplain on a salary of 700*l.* a year. They had no church at Cape Town until 1835, when St. George’s was finished, with 1,000 sittings; and another has been erected at Graham’s Town, for the British settlers, having an English chaplain with a salary of 400*l.* per annum.

“The Lutheran church at Cape Town has a minister paid by his congregation. The Presbyterian or St. Andrew’s church has a minister paid by the government 200*l.* in aid of his stipend. The Roman Catholic chapel has a pastor with 200*l.* from government.”

Christianity has been successfully propagated in various parts of South Africa, among the Hottentots, Caffres, and other pagan tribes, even beyond the limits of the British colony. The Moravians entered this field so early as the year 1736, when it belonged to the Dutch. The London Missionary Society founded a mission to the Cape in 1798, Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Kicherer, with two Englishmen, being the first Missionaries. Their labours succeeded, under the Divine blessing; and in 1818, Dr. Philip was sent to the Cape, as superintendent of the Society’s mission in South Africa. The Wesleyans also, about 1818, entered upon the work among the Caffres on the eastern province, and since that period, several labourers from other missionary institutions. The following was the general report of stations and missionaries in 1835.

	Stations.	Missionaries.
Moravian Missionary Society	6	19
London	23	26
Wesleyan	18	19
Glasgow	3	2
French Protestant	2	6
Rhenish	2	6
	—	—
	54	78

Inestimable blessings have followed the labours of these servants of Christ, and civilization has followed evangelical instruction among Hottentots, Caffres, Bushmen, and others of the savage tribes of Africa.

Mr. Martin remarks, "During the twelve years that the Wesleyan Missionaries have resided in this country, they have done great good, and the Kaffers of South Africa must ever look up to them as the instruments in the hands of God. Mr. Bruce has published a grammar of their language. Into the Namacqua dialect the Four Gospels have been translated by Rev. Mr. Schmeler, of the London Missionary Society, whose wife, a pious native, was of great assistance to him : they have been printed by the Bible Society. The Gospel by Luke, the book of the prophet Joel, the Church Liturgy, and several other valuable works, have been printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press at Graham's Town, besides a Dictionary of the Kaffer language by Mr. Dugmore.

"The Ecclesiastical Establishment costs—salaries, 1,912*l.*; contingencies, 463*l.* : total, 2,376*l.*"

SECTION VI. AUSTRALIA.

Australia is the name given to the southern continent, or the vast island of New Holland, which is about 2,730 miles in length, and its breadth is nearly 2,000 miles. Captain Cook took possession of it, in 1770, in the name of his Britannic Majesty.

NEW SOUTH WALES. This province forms the eastern side of New Holland. At the close of the American war, it was chosen as the place for the settlement of our convicts ; for which purpose, it was resolved to fix upon Botany Bay ; and in 1788, a spot was chosen, a little further north, on Sydney Cove.

New South Wales, in 1832, had a population, as reported, of 27,611 males, and 8,987 females; total, 36,598 ; of whom 4,673 came free, 8,727 were born in the colony, 6,644 were free by servitude, 886 were pardoned, 15,668 were convicts. They were professedly 25,248 Protestants ; 11,236 Roman Catholics ; 9 Jews ; and 19 Pagans. Emigration has con-

tinued to increase; and according to the census of 1835, the population was 60,794: there being 44,643 males, and 16,151 females. Sydney, the capital, had 16,233 inhabitants.

Mr. Martin remarks on the subject of religion: "The ministers are provided for by the government; and the decree giving to the Episcopal Church *one-seventh of the whole territory* has been revoked, that portion still remaining as church and school lands, but applicable to the general purposes of religion and education, without reference to sect. The Episcopal Church of *Australia* was, until very recently, in the diocese of Calcutta, but is now presided over by a bishop of its own. The number of chaplains of the Established Church is *fifteen*; of whom, *two* are stationed at Sydney, *one* each at Paramatta, Liverpool, Windsor, Castlereagh, Port Macquarie, Campbell Town, Illawarra, Narellan, Pitt Town, Bathurst, Newcastle, Field of Mars, and Sutton Forest. There are also *three* catechists, a clergyman, as head master of the King's School, and the Rev. L. E. Threlkeld, at Lake Macquarie, as missionary to the Aborigines.

"Of the Presbyterian clergy, there are *four* ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, paid by the Government; and of the Roman Catholic clergy, a vicar-general and six chaplains. The Wesleyan Missionary Society has *four* principal stations." The Minutes of Conference for 1837, report 221 members. The Baptists and Independents have several ministers in New South Wales; some of the latter have been sent forth by the "Colonial Missionary Society."

Mr. Martin states the charges of the Ecclesiastical Establishment, previously to the appointment of the bishop of Australia in 1836, as follows:—"Archdeacon, 2,000*l.*; *fifteen* chaplains, *four* catechists, clerks, musicians, and church officers, 5,543*l.*; Rev. L. E. Threlkeld, 150*l.*; superannuated clerk, allowance to clergymen and catechists, 715*l.*; forage, maintenance, boatmen, clothing and rations, travelling expenses, &c. 1,109*l.*; rent of houses, chapels, &c. 640*l.*; compensation, and parochial expenses, 645*l.*; building church, repairs of parsonages and churches, 740*l.* Total 11,542*l.*"

"*Presbyterian Clergy.* Four ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, 600*l.* *Roman Catholic clergy and schools:*

Vicar general 200*l.*; *six* Roman Catholic chaplains, 900*l.*; Roman Catholic schools, 800*l.* Total, 1,900*l.*”

“*Sydney College* was established January 1830, in shares of 50*l.* each: 3,000*l.* were expended in erecting the college: the chief justice is president, with a committee of management.

“*Australian College*, at Sydney, was originated by its principal, Rev. J. D. Lang, D.D., minister of the Scotch church, Sydney. Its capital is 7,000*l.*, one half to be contributed by the Colonial government, by order of Lord Goderich when secretary for the Colonies, on condition that half be contributed by subscribers; of that sum about 100 shares had been subscribed for in January 1834.” These institutions are regarded as likely to be eminently advantageous to the interests of Christianity.

VAN DIEMAN'S LAND. Captain Cook also took possession of Van Dieman's Land, which lies about 90 miles south of New Holland, separated by Bass's Straits: it is a large island, being supposed to be about 260 miles long, and 200 wide; and of great value as a British Colony.

Van Dieman's Land is also a convict settlement: its population, in 1831, was reckoned to be 26,699; including 9,202 males, 5,865 females; military, 1,130; convicts, 9,884; at Macquarie Harbour and Port Arthur, 462; aborigines, 150: but emigration, it is believed, had increased it to probably 35,000 in 1837.

Mr. Martin remarks, “Van Dieman's Land is included in the diocese of Australia. The Established Church clergy consists of a rural dean, *one* senior, and *seven* junior chaplains; there are *three* Presbyterian ministers, *one* Independent, *one* Wesleyan, and *one* Roman Catholic priest, all paid by government. The stipend of the senior chaplain at Hobart Town is estimated at 1,000*l.* per annum; this arises from fees, the glebe, &c. The salary of all the chaplains is the same, 250*l.* per annum. In several places, where the congregation is not numerous, the service of the church is performed by lecturers, a sort of *lay-clergymen*, whose utility in our colonies as catechists are unquestionable.

“Ecclesiastical and school department 10,003*l.*; including

4,228/. Episcopalian establishment, and Calvinists : 5,129/. for schools of the Episcopalian establishment ; and 645/. for Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic clergymen."

Mr. Martin is incorrect as to the Rev. T. Millar, Independent minister at Hobart Town ; as he declines receiving any pecuniary allowance from the government, choosing rather to rely upon the pious liberality of his congregation, according to the sacred institution of Christianity in the New Testament.

Several minor colonies it will be unnecessary to notice further in this place. Religion, it must however be remarked, is aided in all these various colonies by Sunday and other schools, Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies, upon the same principles as those in so beneficial operation in Great Britain.

SECTION VIII. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

British Christianity was carried to America, by the persecuted Nonconformists, during the intolerant reign of the Stuarts. For a century and a half, from the landing of the first congregation of colonists in 1620 to 1776, numerous exiles of different denominations established their several communities in that vast country ; and they have increased, while a British colony, and since its Independence, upon the "voluntary principle without an Established Church," to above 17,000 churches, having about 13,000 Ministers ! Such a state of things is unprecedented in the whole history of Christianity ! The following is a statistical view of the United States in 1836, with a population of 13,000,000.

Denomination.	Ministers.	Churches.	Communicants.
Congregational Independents	1,100..	1,171.....	155,000
Baptists.....	4,158.....	5,926.....	416,930
Presbyterians.....	2,038.....	2,533.....	227,561
Episcopalians.....	629.....	605.....	24,500 ?
Quakers	400.....	462	
Wesleyan Methodists ..	2,625.....	3,000 ?....	638,784
Associate and other Methodists	400	600 ?....	50,000
Associate Presbyterians	79.....	169.....	12,886
Cumberland ditto.	70	100.....	15,000

Denominations.	Ministers.	Churches.	Communic.
German Reformed.....	180.....	600.....	30,000
Dutch ditto.	165.....	197.....	21,115
Lutheran (and Moravian?) ...	216.....	800.....	89,487
Roman Catholics	312.....	338	
Universalists	350.....	550	
Unitarians	150.....	170	
New Jerusalem, &c.	50? ...	83	
Jews	—	—	—
Total	12,922.....	17,314...	1,681,263

CHAP. VIII.

CONTROVERSIES OF BRITISH CHRISTIANS.

Intelligence produces the investigation of principles and claims—Socinian Controversy—Calvinistic Controversy—Baptismal Regeneration Controversy—Bible Society Controversy—Nonconformist Controversy—Ecclesiastical Establishments Controversy—Voluntary Churches Controversy.

Intelligence and public opinion, making advances so extraordinary as we have seen, in a state of society like that of Great Britain in the *nineteenth century*, must have engaged many minds, even of a sluggish order, to investigate ecclesiastical claims and customs; and this could not fail to produce controversies of the utmost importance to Christianity. These, in all their multifarious forms, cannot be traced within the limits of this work; but some reference to them, with a notice of those most material, is essential to a clear illustration of British Ecclesiastical History.

I. SOCINIAN CONTROVERSY.

Dr. Priestley having emigrated to the United States of America, after his losses in the disgraceful "Birmingham Riots," Unitarianism lost its chief advocate. That cause received a fatal blow from "The Calvinistic and Socinian systems compared, as to their moral tendency," by Mr. Andrew Fuller. But Mr. Belsham, an apostate from orthodoxy,

was now regarded as the most zealous and able champion of Socinianism. On account of his learning, therefore, he was selected by the "Committee" of the Unitarian Society, to write the "Preface" to the "Improved Version of the New Testament," published by that body in 1808. Mr. Belsham, a few years after, sent into the world his "Calm Enquiry concerning the Person of Christ."

Dr. Nares published a learned review of the Socinian New Testament, exhibiting the rashness, partizanship, and unfaithfulness of the Translators, especially as manifested in their "Notes." Dr. Magee, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, published his two "Sermons on the Atonement and Sacrifice of Christ:" his learned critical Notes extended the work to *two* octavo volumes; and it was highly esteemed, as ably vindicating the Divinity and Incarnation of Christ.

Dr. J. Pye Smith also published *four* "Discourses on the Atonement, Sacrifice, and Priesthood of Christ;" which have been held in the highest estimation, as forming a work that has never been surpassed, for Scriptural statement of doctrine, critical illustration, and sound reasoning, on those points on which it treats of the grand essentials of Christianity. Dr. Smith also gave to the world his profoundly learned treatise on the "Scripture Testimony to the Messiah," in three volumes; a work which has been commended as beyond all praise, by the most learned among all the orthodox denominations of Christians.

Dr. Wardlaw's "Discourses on the Socinian Controversy" have brought the highest honour to their author, and done great service to the cause of Scriptural Christianity.

II. CALVINISTIC CONTROVERSY.

Calvinism is the system of Christian doctrine held generally by the Protestant Reformers: it is commonly so called, from the name of John Calvin, a reformer of France; and as opposed, in *five* particular points, by the system of James Arminius, who was Professor of Theology at Leyden, in the age succeeding the Reformation. The fathers of the Established Church of England, those of the Church of Scotland, and of the Church of Ireland, and the Translators of the

English Bible, are generally acknowledged to have been doctrinal Calvinists: it is also admitted by most divines of established reputation, that the Articles of the Church of England, and the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, are Calvinistic in doctrine. Calvinism includes the inspiration of the Scriptures—the Trinity of Persons in the Godhead—the Divinity, Incarnation, and Atonement of Christ—the Personality and Divinity of the Holy Spirit—and his gracious influences upon the soul, producing personal holiness in all real Christians. The peculiarities of Calvinism, however, to which the Arminians object, are those points which are particularly declared in the *seventeenth* Article of the Church of England: and these have called forth, from time to time, the greatest opposition from Socinians, and from those who have been averse to serious godliness, and from some even of persons possessing real piety.

Evangelical ministers having increased in the Church of England, several of the prelates laboured with great zeal to counteract the progress of their Calvinistic doctrines: among these the most conspicuous were Dr. Marsh, bishop of Peterborough, and Dr. Tomline, bishop of Lincoln; and many pious curates felt the sad effects of their hatred of Calvinism, by the loss of their curacies. Dr. Tomline, in addition to his extraordinary persecution of Mr. Bugg and Mr. Maddock, made a bold attack upon their principles, in a volume entitled, "Refutation of Calvinism:" but his caricature of the doctrine which he pretended to refute, and his perversion of some of the most important principles of the Reformation, called forth an able reply, in two volumes, from a clergyman of his own diocese, the venerable Commentator on the Bible, Thomas Scott, under the title of "Remarks on the Refutation of Calvinism;" and also another work of a more powerful kind, from Dr. E. Williams, President of the Independent College, Rotherham, entitled "A Defence of Modern Calvinism." Dr. Tomline, however, had too much prudence to attempt a reply to so learned, orthodox, and masterly a work as that of Mr. Scott; much less would he engage with so powerful an opponent as Dr. Williams.

Calvinism, nevertheless, found an acute opponent in the late

Richard Watson, a Methodist minister of acknowledged talents and learning, in his "Theological Institutes:" but this work has been replied to in a recent volume, on "Divine Sovereignty and Personal Election," by Dr. Payne, President of the Independent College, Exeter. Several other writers have appeared on both sides of the controversy; but those esteemed the most able are Bishop Tomline and Mr. Watson on one side; and on the other, Mr. Scott, and Drs. Williams and Payne.

III. BAPTISMAL REGENERATION CONTROVERSY.

Baptismal regeneration is a doctrine of the Romish Church; and the Liturgical services of the Church of England are objected to by the Dissenters, and by many of the evangelical clergy, as teaching the same error. Some, however, deny this unfavourable imputation, and say that the objectionable expressions should be interpreted by the Scriptures, as they are explained by Archbishop Secker, in his "Lectures on the Catechism:" but high-church divines choose rather to *interpret the Scriptures by the Liturgy*. Hence has arisen a controversy which is far from uninteresting.

Dr. R. Mant, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, now bishop of Down and Connor, in his "Bampton Lectures" for 1812, strenuously insists on the certainty of baptismal regeneration—that every child, baptized by an episcopally ordained priest of the Church of England, is certainly regenerated, made an heir of heaven, and endowed with the Spirit of God; and that there is no other regeneration. So ably was this doctrine supposed to be treated by the learned Lecturer, that the part of his lectures referring to this point was adopted as a Tract, and widely published by the Christian Knowledge Society. But the dogma, thus sanctioned and cherished by most of the clergy, being utterly repugnant to the principles and preaching of the evangelical clergy, and, in their view, to the doctrine of the Scriptures, many of them entered the lists with Dr. Mant, denouncing his notion as a sentiment most delusive and pernicious to the souls of men. Among the most able of the opponents of the bishop, were Mr. J. Scott, a worthy son of the Commentator

on the Bible, Mr. Biddulph, a clergyman of Bristol, and the present bishop of Calcutta, Dr. D. Wilson. This controversy is still carried on by the two opposite parties in the Church of England, especially by a party in the University of Oxford.

IV. BIBLE SOCIETY CONTROVERSY.

Ministers of religion who are not persons of piety cannot be cordially zealous in circulating the Scriptures. High churchmen, having never been distinguished for their godliness, would naturally be disinclined to co-operate with Dissenters, especially in distributing the Bible, thereby making it as the exclusive standard of Christianity. Numerous, from the first, were the opponents of the Bible Society; among whom, of the greatest note, was Dr. Wordsworth, Dean, and Rector of Bocking, and Domestic Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Wordsworth was answered by Dr. Dealtry and several others, especially by Lord Teignmouth, the President of the Society.

Opponents far more formidable, however, arose in the Edinburgh Bible Society, protesting against the Committee circulating, or aiding societies on the Continent to circulate, the Apocrypha, as if it were a part of the Holy Scriptures. Public opinion sustained the opposition. The Committee acknowledged their error; retraced their steps; and abandoned the practice, into which they had inadvertently been led, circulating by themselves and by those in connection with them, only the inspired Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

Vigorous opposition arose also from a few others, led on by Captain Gordon, who, with his party, insisted upon the exclusion of all Socinians, and requiring a declaration of belief in the Holy Trinity, as essential to membership in the Society; and that all its public meetings should commence with prayer. Many writers engaged in defence of the original constitution of the Society, having no test, but attachment to the Bible. They defended the practice of refraining from *vocal prayer* at the public meetings, on account of the insuperable practical difficulties, which would attend its observance; because of churchmen requiring the reading of written forms,

while free prayer, according to existing circumstances and necessities, would be used by Dissenters. Those who were dissatisfied, very few in number, after having made great confusion at the public meeting in London, in 1831, seceded, and formed what they choose to denominate the "Trinitarian Bible Society."

V. NONCONFORMIST CONTROVERSY.

Dissenters from the established hierarchy are necessarily regarded with jealousy, their existence being a virtual protest against that system as antiscriptural. Besides their various disabilities, they complained, that in every district of the country, offensive and slanderous Tracts of the "Christian Knowledge Society," especially Bishop Gray's "Address to Sectarists and Seceders," have been widely circulated, exciting public odium against them. Many of the Episcopal "Charges" and "Visitation Sermons" also, were particularly complained of, as unworthily attacking and calumniating Dissenters. Various works were, therefore, published to counteract the influence of such publications, and to instruct the younger members of their communities in the reasons of Protestant Nonconformity. Among these may be mentioned, Mr. J. A. James's *Church Member's Guide*; Palmer's *Dissenters' Catechism*, by Dr. Newman; and Hurn's *Reasons for Secession from the Church of England*.

The Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, brought a great increase of liberty to Dissenters, and some of the principal ministers and laymen in London formed, in 1829, the "Society for Promoting Ecclesiastical Knowledge." The Committee, formed chiefly of Independents and Baptists, engaged many of the most able of their writers to furnish Essays on the Scriptural nature of the "Church," "Bishops," the "Priesthood," "Deacons," and the chief subjects in dispute between Churchmen and Dissenters, the whole forming a portable "Ecclesiastical Library."

"Dissent and the Church of England," by J. A. James, Dr. Redford's "Church of England Indefensible," and Binney's "Dissent not Schism," are reckoned as among the most powerful works on the side of Dissenters: but the substance

of the controversy may be seen in the "Letters between Dr. Lee, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Cambridge, and Dr. J. P. Smith, President of the Independent College, Hmerton, published in 1835.

VI. ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT CONTROVERSY.

Dissenters, suffering various civil privations in consequence of their religious principles, have not only objected to the constitution and peculiarities of the Church of England, but in many instances have denounced ecclesiastical establishments as unsanctioned by the institutes of Christianity.

Graham's "Review of the Ecclesiastical Establishments of Europe," awakened much attention at the commencement of the century. Since the publication of that able work, many others have investigated the subject—Whether a "Priesthood of various Holy Orders" as that of the Church of England, or a "Presbyterian Ministry," as that of the Church of Scotland, should be established with special privileges, and supported at the public charge. Dissenters generally maintain that both systems are contrary to the letter and the spirit of the New Testament—opposed to the practice of the apostles and early Christians for several centuries—unjust in themselves, as requiring the whole community to support a privileged body for the benefit only of a few, while Dissenters from the system suffer the privation of various civil rights—at the same time the professed design of the institutions fail, by introducing incompetent and irreligious men into the ministry; in illustration of which they refer to the condition of Ireland, Wales, and England, and even Scotland. Dissenters affirm, that piety in the Established Churches exists and flourishes among its ministers independently of their secular establishment; and that a far larger amount of serious religion, and a far greater number of pious and able ministers, would be found in our country, if the people were allowed to choose and support their own religious pastors, uncontrolled by patronage or any interference of the state: in proof of which they refer to the harassing persecutions which many pious curates have endured from their superiors in the Church of England—to the triumphs of Christianity in the early ages,

even in opposition to state patronage—to the increase of the voluntary churches in Great Britain— and to the unexampled progress of religion in the United States of America.

Dr. Chalmers of Edinburgh, and Mr. S. C. Wilks, Editor of the *Christian Observer*, are esteemed the ablest writers in defence of Ecclesiastical Establishments : and, on the other side, Dr. Wardlaw of Glasgow, Mr. Ballantine, in his “*Established and Dissenting Churches compared*,” and especially Thorn’s “*Union of Church and State Anti-scriptural and Indefensible*.”

VII. VOLUNTARY CHURCHES CONTROVERSY.

Compulsory Christianity, is declared by the Dissenters to involve a contradiction ; and the compulsory support of Christianity, they regard as anti-scriptural and pernicious : hence they trace all the evils existing in the Established Church of the United Kingdom. Dissenters say to the Government, “*Let us alone, and let religion alone, and Christianity will regenerate the world under the blessing of God and the Spirit of Christ.*” Legal enactments to compel the whole community to contribute to the support of a privileged hierarchy, they say, are most pernicious to religion — as their operation engenders haughtiness in the priesthood — creates suspicion in the irreligious — strengthens generally the avaricious propensity in the human heart — creates popular prejudice against the only scriptural mode of supporting Christianity — and impedes the generous disposition of the pious, abridging their means of promoting the kingdom of Christ.

Ecclesiastical dignitaries, and those who are interested in “*church property*,” would naturally be opposed to the “*voluntary principle* ;” still its operations in the Church of England and in the Church of Scotland, since the failure in obtaining additional parliamentary grants for the building and endowing of churches, prove its power, and give zeal to those engaged in the controversy. The rapid increase of population is forcing this question on the attention of the British Government, and exciting all Europe.

CHAPTER IX.

BRITISH EVANGELICAL SOCIETIES.

Messiah the Saviour of all nations—His Commission to the Apostles—Christianity essentially Missionary—Principal Societies—American Indian—New England Piety—General—New England Propagating—Bible and School—Christian Knowledge—Gospel Propagation—Highlands of Scotland—Moravian—Religious Book—Naval and Military Bible—Wesleyan—Sunday School—Baptist—London—Scottish—Village Itinerancy—London Itinerant—Baptist Home—Religious Tract—Church—Sunday School Union—British and Foreign Bible—British and Foreign School—Hibernian—Jews—Prayer Book and Homily—Irish Evangelical—Baptist Irish—Dublin Irish—European—British and Foreign Sailors—Home—London Irish—Newfoundland Schools—Ladies Hibernian—Christian Instruction—Reformation—Trinitarian Bible—City Mission—Colonial—Reflections.

Messiah was promised to Adam, to Abraham, and to the people of Israel, as the Saviour in whom *all the families of the earth should be blessed*. He was foretold as the **DESIRE OF ALL NATIONS**; and Christianity is adapted to be the religion of all mankind. In conformity with ancient predictions, therefore, our Divine Lord commanded his apostles—“*Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.*” Endowed with extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit, they prosecuted their benevolent mission, and published to all people the glad tidings of salvation by the Mediator.

Christians in all ages, partaking of the same Spirit, while possessing the Scriptures, have been excited to the work of evangelical missions, as the Gospel is essentially missionary in its principles, prompting believers to seek the conversion of sinners to God.

British Protestantism has been remarkably distinguished for its missionary zeal and activity; and various notices have already been given of the noble efforts which have been made for the evangelization of the world: but an enumeration of the principal societies will here be necessary, to illustrate the ecclesiastical history of Britain.

I. (1646) *American Indian Missionary Society*. This first British Institution for the evangelization of the Heathen, was established in Massachusetts, by the Congregationalists who emigrated from this country to New England: their successes

were famous, especially through the translation of the Scriptures, by John Eliot, the "APOSTLE OF THE INDIANS."

II. (1649) *Society for the promotion of Piety and Learning in New England*. This was established by an Act of the Long Parliament, promoted by Dr. Calamy, Mr. Whitaker, and others, to aid in supporting Eliot and his colleagues among the Indians.

III. (1656) *General Missionary Society*. Oliver Cromwell projected this grand institution: it was to have *four* chief secretaries, and to embrace Europe and the whole world. Chelsea College was designed for the Mission House; but though the Society afforded some aid to the Missionaries in America, the plan was frustrated in 1658, by the death of Cromwell.

IV. (1663) *Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England and America*. This was a renovation of the institution formed in 1649, whose charter became void by the Restoration. Mr. Baxter, Mr. H. Ackworth, and the Hon. R. Boyle, were the chief actors in this good work; and many Missionaries were aided by it, among the American Indians.

V. (1670) *Bible and School Society*. Dr. T. Gouge, a non-conformist minister of London, originated this institution, and was its chief agent: his schools in Wales, and his distribution of religious books, and of the Bible in Welch, were blessings to many; and his devoted labours were extolled in his funeral sermon by Archbishop Tillotson.

These several Societies have been superseded by our more favoured institutions; still they are worthy of notice, as they may be regarded as having been like seed sown to bring forth fruit, which is ripening in our days in the universal diffusion of Christianity.

VI. (1698) *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*. This was formed after the example set by the Dissenters, as remarked by Bishop Burnet. For many years it seemed almost extinct; but it has been roused to activity by the extraordinary operations of the Bible Society and the Tract Society, and in February 1834, "a sum not exceeding 4,000*l.*" was voted, to arrange for the translation and circulation of the Scriptures in foreign languages." High churchmen govern

this society, patronized by all the prelates; its "sectarian and slanderous" publications have already been referred to, against which, and others as inculcating "pernicious doctrines," the evangelical party are still carrying on a determined contest. Its "Committee of General Literature and Education" have published the "Saturday Magazine," and various useful works. Its receipts for sales and subscriptions in 1836-7 were 78,078*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.*

VII. (1701) *Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.* This institution arose out of the last mentioned; and its charter, by William III, bears date June 16, 1701. Its ordinary receipts for 1836-7, were 16,307*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*, increased this year to 78,120*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*, by extraordinary sums, including 34,850*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* "Collections under King's Letter of 1835," and 8,823*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* "*Compensation Money for Slaves!*" This society reports grants to 131 missionaries, who serve as the colonial chaplains, or curates; its affairs are directed by *high churchmen*; and its *retaining slaves* on the "Codrington estates," *for whose emancipation payment has been received*, has for many years excited the indignant protest of the evangelical clergy.

VIII. (1709) *Society for Promoting Christianity in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* Queen Anne sanctioned this society, and great good arose from it; but being in connection with the established church, its operations declined until within the last few years, in which it has been provoked to good works by the Dissenters.

IX. (1732) *Moravian Missionary Society.* This commenced with several of the brethren devoting themselves to the service of the Negro slaves in the West Indies. They have laboured in those islands, in Greenland, South Africa, and other places, with great success: its receipts in 1836 were 12,961*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.*

X. (1750) *Book Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor.* This was founded by dissenters in London, who were soon joined by pious churchmen, to circulate Bibles and the best religious books at the lowest possible prices. Impediments to its prosperity have arisen, partly through its funded property, about 5,000*l.*, so that its valued and needed

operations are extremely limited; its sales and subscriptions not amounting to 2,000*l.* per annum.

XI. (1780) *Naval and Military Bible Society*. This contemplates supplying the Army and the Navy, and recently the merchant seamen, and all descriptions of watermen: its receipts in 1836-7 were 3,009*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*

XII. (1784) *Wesleyan Missionary Society*. Wesley and Whitefield commenced their public ministry as chaplains for the new colony of Georgia. Wesley returned from America, and devoted his life as a kind of "Home Missionary," while Whitefield spent his life as a general missionary, and closed his ministry in a foreign country. Wesley continued his attentions to America, and in 1784 he appointed Dr. Coke and others to that field of labour. They sailed in 1787, for Nova Scotia, but were driven to Antigua; and thus began their missions to the West Indies. Dr. Coke continued his labours, as director of the missionary operations, and died in 1814, on a mission to Ceylon. The Wesleyan Missionary Society was organized in 1817, since which it has greatly increased, embracing not only the heathen, but British colonies, the nations of Europe, and even Ireland: it reports for 1836-7, about 180 stations, missionaries about 300, salaried catechists about 200, and members about 62,000: the receipts, including 5,000*l.* Government grants, 75,526*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

XIII. (1785) *Sunday School Society*. This was founded by W. Fox, a deacon of a Baptist church in London: it supplies grants of Bibles and other requisites to poor schools; expending thus, about 950*l.* per annum.

XIV. (1792) *Baptist Missionary Society*. This was the earliest of the societies that contemplated the conversion of the heathen world. Dr. Carey was its originator, and its most devoted and successful labourer, whose Oriental learning far surpassed that of every professor in the most famous universities. Dr. Carey and his learned colleagues, Dr. Marshman, Mr. Ward, and others, have translated the whole or parts of the Holy Scriptures, into the Bengalee, Chinese, and other languages and dialects to the number of *forty*, which they have printed at their great establishment at Serampore. Its various missions, especially those in the East and West Indies

have been crowned with the blessing of God. It reports for 1836-7, receipts 19,258*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*; 4,212*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* were for Serampore.

XV. (1795) *London Missionary Society*. Dr. E. Williams, an Independent minister of Birmingham, in 1794, projected this institution; whose founders were the principal Independent ministers, several evangelical clergymen, who laboured with the Calvinistic Methodists, and some of the Scotch Secession Church. Its commencement roused the churches of Christ to the missionary work, by sending forth at once, in 1796, *thirty* missionaries to the South Sea Islands. Great success has attended the operations of this society, especially in the South Seas, South Africa, India, and China. Dr. Morrison's translation of the Scriptures into the Chinese, and his other labours, have been incalculably beneficial. For 1836-7 the society reports, 428 stations, 114 missionaries, 482 assistant missionaries and teachers, 84 churches, and 6,615 communicants: the receipts 64,372*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*

XVI. (1796) *Scottish Missionary Society*. This was formed in connection with the Established Church of Scotland. Its labours, though limited, have been useful in Russian Tartary, the East and West Indies. It reports for 1836-7, receipts 4,711*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.*

XVII. (1796) *Village Itinerancy or Evangelical Association for Spreading the Gospel in England*. This was projected by Rev. J. Eyre, A. M. an evangelical clergyman, uniting with Dissenters to support Home Missions. It originated the HACKNEY ACADEMY (see page 534), and has sent forth more than a hundred ministers, and it aids many who are insufficiently supported. Its income is about 1,300*l.* per annum.

XVIII. (1796) *London Itinerant Society*. This was instituted to supply evangelical instruction to villagers, by preaching and Sunday schools, within *fifteen* miles of London. Many villages have been greatly benefited by its gratuitous labourers, about *fifty* in number, and its annual income is about 400*l.*; but it has led to the formation of many similar institutions in England.

XIX. (1797) *Baptist Home Missionary Society*. This supports wholly or aids about 100 preachers, besides assistant

preachers in various parts of England and Wales, and schools with about 10,000 children: its receipts for 1836-7 were 1,874*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.*

XX. (1799) *Religious Tract Society*. This great institution originated with Joseph Hughes, A. M., a Baptist minister of London: it is composed of Churchmen and Dissenters, designed to publish tracts and books containing nothing sectarian, but "pure truth, in the words of Scripture, or those evangelical principles of the Reformation in which Luther, Calvin, and Cranmer agreed." Extraordinary prosperity, under the manifest blessing of God, has attended this Society; and its various publications, in English and in many foreign languages, have contributed most essentially to the advancement of religion among all denominations of Christians; the new publications of the year 1836-7 were 196; and the total number issued was 16,077,265. The receipts for the year were, sales 57,173*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.*; for benevolent purposes 6,826*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*; legacies 2,747*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; total, 67,775*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

XXI. (1800) *Church Missionary Society*. This was formed by evangelical episcopalians; but though designed to promote Christianity with the forms of the Church of England, its directors could scarcely proceed, being discountenanced by the bishops and other dignitaries. Two Germans were at length sent as Missionaries, in 1804, to Western Africa, three more in 1806, and in 1809 two more to New Zealand; but in 1811, Rev. M. Horne, a chaplain from Sierra Leone, aroused the Committee by publicly appealing to them, that they had not "*in Africa or the East, one English clergyman who served as a Missionary.*" Public opinion prevailed against the prelates; and arrangements were soon made to procure several Englishmen as well as Germans for this service; and, since 1814, the Society has been progressing, especially with schools in West Africa, New Zealand, and India: still most of the dignitaries and the high church party are opposed to the Church Missionary, as especially unfriendly to the Establishment, being under *lay direction*: its receipts for 1836-7 were reported as 71,727*l.* 1*s.*

XXII. *Sunday School Union*. This was formed to aid teachers and schools in their more prosperous and efficient

course, providing the most suitable school materials at the lowest possible prices : its publications have rendered great service to schools, and its sales of 1836-7 amounted to 9,422*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

XXIII. (1804) *British and Foreign Bible Society.* This magnificent institution originated with Rev. J. Hughes, A. M. a Baptist minister, the founder of the Tract Society, and who continued one of its secretaries till his decease, October 3, 1833. Its exclusive design is the circulation of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment ; those in England of "the authorized version," and in foreign languages those of the most approved translations. It has been greatly opposed by high churchmen, and very few of the bishops have been its patrons, as they have objected to its direction by *laymen*, and to a union with Dissenters, even in disseminating the Word of God ; yet it has continued in its gigantic course, marked by the Divine blessing in benefiting every part of the world. The report for 1836-7 states the receipts for the year to be, including sales, 108,740*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* ; the issues of the Scriptures to be 541,843 copies ; the total issues from the commencement, 10,293,645 copies, in about 158 languages or dialects !

XXIV. (1805) *British and Foreign School Society.* This originated with Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, an ingenious schoolmaster of London ; his system of *mutual instruction* was adopted by the public society, and patronized by the Royal Dukes of Kent, Sussex, and the King. Christian doctrines are taught from the Bible only, as the text book. This institution occasioned the formation of the "National School" system in England, modelled by Dr. Bell ; and also the "Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland," called the "Kildare Street Society." The central model school in London is a most valuable establishment ; and it has instructed many of the Missionaries of different societies, qualifying them for the establishment of schools : several thousands of Teachers have been trained in the school for home and foreign service ; and its operations have benefited every division of the world : its receipts for 1836-7 were 5,144*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*

XXV. (1806) *Hibernian Society.* This includes all denominations of Christians, designing the Scriptural education of

the poor in Ireland: it reports for 1836-7, schools 2,355, scholars 135,933, receipts 10,625*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.*

XXVI. (1808) *Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews*. This comprehended different denominations of Christians, under the patronage of the Duke of Kent. Difficulties arose in its management after the erection of the "Jews' Chapel" in London, when it was agreed to vest the management of the Society in members of the Church of England, they taking the pecuniary responsibility from the Dissenters: it supports various missionaries, besides an establishment in London, and its receipts in 1836-7 were 14,887*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*

XXVII. (1819) *Prayer Book and Homily Society*. This is designed to supply "the authorized formularies of the Church of England both at home and abroad, in English and foreign languages," especially among the poor. Its receipts for 1836-7, including sales, were 2,072*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

XXVIII. (1814) *Irish Evangelical Society*. This is designed "to promote the preaching of the Gospel in Ireland, by maintaining an evangelical academy for the education of native and other students, and by assisting pastors and itinerant preachers, leaving the congregations to choose their own pastors and forms of worship." About *fifty* agents are thus employed by this society, whose receipts in 1836-7 were 3,102*l.* 7*s.* 4½*d.*

XXIX. (1814) *Baptist Irish Society*. This employs itinerant preachers and establishes schools, as the means of promoting Christianity in Ireland. The schools of this society contain about 10,000 children, and its receipts for 1836-7 were 2,100*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*

XXX. (1816) *Irish Society of Dublin*. This was formed to promote the knowledge of the Gospel among those who use the native language of Ireland, especially by means of Scripture readers: its receipts for 1836-7 were 1,641*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.*

XXXI. (1818) *European Missionary Society*. This was for many years called the "*Continental Society*," including different denominations, and designed to assist evangelical ministers on the continent of Europe in preaching the Gospel and distributing the Scriptures. Many laborious ministers are aided by this society, whose receipts for 1836-7 were 2,122*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*

XXXII. (1818) *British and Foreign Sailors' Society, including the Port of London and Bethel Union Society*. This was originally called "the Port of London Society for promoting the moral and religious improvement of Seamen:" the "Bethel Union Society," formed in 1819, united with it in 1827, and in 1833 the institution, newly organized, adopted its present title. This Society fitted up the first floating chapel for seamen, in 1818; and its labours have been eminently blessed in the conversion of seamen: it employs many agents in London, and in provincial and foreign ports, to preach the Gospel to sailors, and in various ways, by visitation, tracts, books, Bethel Meetings, and libraries, to evangelize sailors of all nations: its receipts for 1836-7 were 2,262*l.* 3*s.* 4½*d.*

XXXIII. (1819) *Home Missionary Society*. This designs the evangelization of the unenlightened towns and villages of Great Britain: its labours have been eminently successful in benefiting multitudes in the neglected populous parts of the country: it reports for 1836-7, receipts 7,578*l.* 2*s.* 5*a.*, and that it employs 85 preachers, wholly or partly supported by the society, to labour among 30,000 hearers, surrounded by a population of 350,000: it reports also 66 Sunday schools, containing 6,000 children.

XXXIV. (1822) *Irish Society of London*. This designs the evangelical instruction of the native Irish in London, and to aid the Society in Dublin: its receipts for 1836-7 were 2,770*l.*

XXXV. (1822) *Newfoundland and British North American School Society*. This designs the Christian education of the poor in our American Colonies: its receipts for 1836-7 were 3,046*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*

XXXVI. (1823) *Ladies Hibernian Female School Society*. This designs the instruction of the female children of the poor in Ireland: its schools are reported to contain about 12,000 children, and its receipts for 1836-7 to be 2,229*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

XXXVII. (1825) *Christian Instruction Society*. This originated with Rev. J. Blackburn, of London, to promote a systematic visitation of the ignorant population in courts, lanes, and neglected parts of towns: its plans have been adopted with beneficial results in London and many provincial towns, by Independents, Baptists, and Calvinistic churches, in

England, Scotland, and Ireland. The London Society reports for 1836-7, receipts 1,212*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.*; gratuitous visitors 1,909, and 13 stipendiary agents, in 85 associations.

XXXVIII. (1827) *British Society for Promoting the Religious Principles of the Reformation*. This was designed to make converts from the Roman Catholics, both in England and Ireland, by public discussions, lectures, and various publications: its reported receipts for 1836-7 were 3,149*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.*

XXXIX. (1829) *Society for Promoting Ecclesiastical Knowledge*. This was designed to explain the true nature of Christian institutions, as established by Christ and his apostles and taught in the New Testament, in opposition to the assumptions of the Roman Catholic priesthood, and the Protestant prelacy as advocated by the Christian Knowledge Society: for several years the Committee published Monthly Essays on the most important subjects, forming an "Ecclesiastical Library" in six volumes. This Society has for the present suspended its operations.

XL. (1831) *Trinitarian Bible Society*. This was formed by a few gentlemen who seceded from the British and Foreign Bible Society, on account of its having no test to prevent Socinians from being members: its peculiarity consists in professing to contain those persons only who hold the doctrine of the Trinity: its receipts for 1836-7 were 2,979*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* In 1835 it issued 9,131 Bibles and Testaments; and its receipts were 2,467*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*: free 1,005*l.* 11*s.* and 1,462*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*: its payments were, 1,891*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* for the Scriptures, and 394*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* for management.

XLI. (1835) *City Missions Society*. This is designed to evangelize the neglected poor of our great cities and towns, by a system of constant visitation by stipendiary agents. Many cities and towns have adopted the system, chiefly the Dissenters, the parochial clergy being generally opposed to every thing of the kind, as an invasion of the clerical office; still the evangelical clergy have adopted the system in part, under the designation of "*Pastoral Aid*," and "*Clerical Aid*" societies. The *London City Mission Society* reports for 1836-7, receipts 3,123*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

XLII. (1836) *Colonial Missionary Society*. This is designed to send well-qualified ministers to the British Colonies,

in connection with the Congregational Union of England and Wales: several have been sent to Canada and Australasia during the first year: the receipts were reported as 1,002*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

CONCLUSION.

INTELLIGENTLY reflecting on the foregoing details, every pious mind must admire the mysterious arrangements of Providence. Reviewing the rise, progress, conflicts, and present state of the Church in Britain, no enlightened believer in the Word of God can fail to deplore the dire effects of human depravity, as seen in multitudes who have assumed the title of Christians, and even that of the ministers of Christ, laying aside the inspired oracles, corrupting the sacred ordinances, and dishonouring the name of the Redeemer. Notwithstanding, by contemplating the patient zeal of the pious, he will be more fully established in the conviction of the divinity, excellency, and beneficial influence of pure, scriptural, apostolical Christianity.

God, who, by the unspeakable gift of his Son manifested in the flesh—by the exhibition of him to the world as a propitiation for sin—by the acceptance of sinners through his righteousness and atonement—by the inspiration of the Scriptures,—and by the appointment of the gospel ministry,—“has abounded towards us in all wisdom and prudence,”—as we see, seasonably interposed for us at the Protestant Reformation. By that merciful event the Holy Scriptures were restored to mankind, as the inestimable boon of Heaven, the charter of eternal life to every believer; and God has, since that eventful period, been evidently carrying forward a glorious work in the regeneration of our country—increasing the amount of scriptural knowledge, by the laborious studies of eminently learned and pious ministers—and greatly multiplying the true disciples of Christ. These again, “as workers together with God,” have been employed to impart the Gospel of our salvation to all nations of the Heathen! Thus the highest possible honour has been put upon all denominations of British Christians.

Britain, we perceive, is nevertheless far from being com-

pletely evangelized: "iniquity abounds" with our increasing population: infidelity and sensuality rage among the ungodly; and multitudes of our deluded youth are led in the broad paths of perdition. Christians, however, are awaking, and the moral machinery, which God has set in motion, is producing happy results throughout the whole British Empire. Education, on the principles of the Holy Scriptures is carried forward with renewed zeal in colleges and grammar-schools, and in schools on the Sunday, National, and British systems—and copies of the Word of God are issuing from the Bible Society and other institutions, by *hundreds of thousands*, in a manner unprecedented. Religious Tract and Book Societies are multiplying Scriptural treatises by *millions* in their issues, far beyond the operations of former years, aided by the astonishing improvements of modern science and art; while faithful, learned, orthodox, and zealous ministers of Christ are increasing in a degree unknown since the days of the Apostles. These things manifestly declare the presence and blessing of God.

Controversy is necessarily carried on, relating to essential principles, that "THE BIBLE—THE BIBLE ALONE, THE RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS," may be practically acknowledged through the land, making Divine Revelation the only standard of appeal, the sole authority in our national Christianity.

Jehovah has declared concerning Messiah's kingdom, that "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea." Believing this infallible promise, as designed to be fulfilled in a great degree by British instrumentality, let British Christians continue to pray for the Spirit to be poured forth upon their pastors, missionaries, and all flesh, glorifying the Lord Christ by the diffusion of his saving truth, while they reiterate the language of the inspired Psalmist, "BLESSED BE HIS GLORIOUS NAME FOR EVER, AND LET THE WHOLE EARTH BE FILLED WITH HIS GLORY. AMEN, AND AMEN." Psalm lxxii, 19.

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